# Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland With the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers

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INGULF, 1030?-1109, PETER, OF BLOIS, FL. 1190, RILEY,
HENRY T. (HENRY THOMAS), 1816-1878

# Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland With the Continuations by Peter of Blois and Anonymous Writers

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# INGULPH'S CHRONICLE

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# INGULPH'S CHRONICLE

OF THE

# ABBEY OF CROYLAND

WITH THE

CONTINUATIONS BY PETER OF BLOIS

AND ANONYMOUS WRITERS

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN WITH NOTES

BY HENRY T. RILEY, M.A.

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# PREFACE.

The Latin text of Ingulph's History of the Abbey of Croyland was first published in Sir Henry Saville's *Scriptores post Bedam*, London, 1596, reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. In these editions the work appears in a mutilated form, as, besides various omissions, it abruptly terminates with Ingulph's[1] return from his visit to the court of William the Conqueror; and, in common with the other Chronicles contained in the same volume, is disfigured by numerous typographical errors. The work was first printed entire, and somewhat revised, in the first,[2] or Fulman's, Volume of Gale's Collection of the *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*, Oxford, 1684. Though a great improvement on Saville's edition, it is not without a considerable number of errors in the orthography of the English words. The narrative commences with the reign of Penda, who died in 655, and terminates in the year 1091.

In the same volume was also published the Continuation by Peter of Blois. Though this professes to have been written as a Continuation of Ingulph's History at the request of Abbat Henry de Longchamp, it notices but very few facts prior to 1100, the first year of the reign of Henry I. The Marsham and Cottonian Manuscripts of Ingulph, in which Fulman found this Continuation, were, unfortunately, in a mutilated state, and terminate abruptly in the year 1117, *temp.* Henry I. It is not improbable, however, that we have a very considerable portion in what has been preserved, as the writer appears only to have carried his history to the time of Abbat Waldev or Waltheof,[1] and the accession of King Stephen, in 1135.

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[1] P. 175 of this Volume.

[2] Sometimes quoted as the *Third*.

The second Continuation of Ingulph (which, with the third and fourth Continuations, is also found in the same collection) was written by one of the Priors[2] of that place, whose name has not come down to us. The writer informs us, at the close of his narrative,[3] that he had continued the work of Peter of Blois from the beginning of the reign of Stephen. The portion, however, prior to 1144 is lost, and from that date to 1171, the work is so mutilated that all the fragments which remain are comprised in two pages of the present Volume.[4] From that period, the Chronicle continues, with occasional slight interruptions, to 1254;[5] after which there is an hiatus to the date of the fragment in pages 328-9, probably about 1280. From 1281, there is another hiatus, to 1327, which comprises, as we learn from other sources,[6] the resignation of Abbat Richard, in 1303, the accession of Simon de Luffenham, his cession in 1322,[7] and the accession of Abbat Henry de Caswyk. Between 1328, the second year of Edward III., and 1388, the twelfth of Richard II., there is a further hiatus, during which Abbat Henry was succeeded, on his decease in 1358, by Thomas de Bernak, at whose death, in 1378, John de Asheby was elected abbat, and held that office when the narrative is resumed in 1388 [8]

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[1] See the second Continuation, p. 450.

[2] See pages 450 and 452.

[3] P. 450

[4] See pages 271—273.

[5] See pages 280, 281, 284, 291, 299, 315, 317

[6] Dugdale's Monasticon, Browne Willis's Mitred Abbies, Gough's History of Croyland.

[7] See p. 331. The MS. history of Croyland in the Cottonian Library. Vespas. B XI. says that he was deposed by the bishop of Lincoln for partiality shewn to his kindred.

From this date to the death of Abbat Litlyngton in 1469, this chronicle has come down to us unmutilated; and in this portion consists its most essential value; as, in common with the next Continuation, it gives many historical facts connected with the latter part of the reign of Henry VI. and that of Edward IV., some of which are of considerable importance, and nowhere else to be found.

A marginal note (given by Fulman in p. 557 of his volume, most probably from the MS.), informs us that the Third Continuation was written by a Doctor of Canon Law and Member of the King's Council, the same person who is mentioned (p. 469 of this Volume) as having been sent by Edward IV. as his envoy to the Duke of Burgundy at Abbeville; like his predecessor, he was a member of the community of Croyland. He commences with a relation of several events which had taken place during the previous ten years, but had been omitted by the preceding Chronicler; and then continues the narrative from 1469 to 1486, the second year of Henry VII. By succeeding historians of the reigns of Edward IV. and Richard III., this work has been found of the greatest value.

Of the fourth and last Continuation, which appears from the opening words[9] to have been written some time after the third, a small fragment only has survived, the principal merit of which consists in its interesting account[10] of the last moments of Cardinal Beaufort; a picture very dif-

[8] P. 333.

[9] P. 511.

[10] P. 513.

ferent from that drawn by Shakspeare, and probably more in accordance with truth. After giving a somewhat lengthy account of the cession of the Church of Brynkhurst, or Eston, to the Abbey of Peterborough, it terminates abruptly in 1486, the remainder of the MS. being lost. The writer seems to have been an ecclesiastic, and was most probably a monk of the Abbey of Crovland.

H.T.R.

# EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION.

It is a singular circumstance, that, with the exception of a transcript[9] of the sixteenth century, no ancient manuscript of Ingulph's Chronicle is known to exist. After the dissolution of the Monasteries, a manuscript, which had the reputation of being an *autograph* of Ingulph, remained for many years in the church at Croyland, where it was preserved with great care in a chest locked with three keys. Selden endeavoured in vain to gain access to it, and when Fulman made enquiries (probably about 1680), it could no longer be found. Two ancient copies, however, are known to have formerly existed: one, in the possession of Sir J. Marsham, which was the basis of Fulman's edition; and another, from which Selden published the Laws of the Conqueror, was in the Cottonian Library, and burnt in the fire of 1731. Marsham's[10] copy has long since disappeared. Spelman states, erroneously no doubt, that he[11] consulted the *autograph* itself, and from it transcribed a portion of the Norman laws.

For many years after the publication of Ingulph, there seems to have been no suspicion that any portion of the work, or the Charters contained in it, were other than genuine. The Charters are quoted as such by Sir H. Spelman, and Sir W. Dugdale in the *Monasticon*, and Selden and Stillingfleet[12] rely upon the authority of the work. From the time, however, of Henry Wharton,[13] who detected certain anachronisms in the attestations of earlier Saxon Charters, doubts have been very generally entertained as to the genuineness of the documents, and by some as to that of the history itself.[14] Wharton's enquiries were continued at very considerable length by Hickes in his *Thesaurus*, who satisfactorily proved, from the feudal tone that pervades them, that the Charters are either of Norman origin or the production of still later times. Sir F. Palgrave, after an elaborate[15] examination of the work, has similarly come to the conclusion that the Charters are forgeries of a more recent date than the time of Ingulph, and that they were compiled with the view of supporting the pretensions of the so-called *Golden Charter*.[16]

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[9] Arundel MSS. No. 178.

[10] In a letter preserved in the Bodleian, Dr. Gibson, bishop of London, accuses Obadiah Walker, the Roman Catholic Master of University College, Oxford, of having purloined this copy.

[11] *Concilia*, i. p. 623.

[12] *Origines Britannicæ*, p. 21.

[13] *History of the Bishops of London and St. Asaph.*

[14] Hickes seems inclined to support the genuineness of the history,

The question then remains to be solved at what period these documents were forged, by whom, and for what purpose. Hickes is of opinion that the convent found it necessary to forge Ethelbald's Golden Charter, that they might preserve the lands which they held without deed, or of which the deeds had been lost, from the Normans, and says that "he is almost compelled to believe that Ingulph was the forger, or else that the convent palmed off the history upon the world under the authority of his name." He also says, "I have given a portion of the Charter of Ethelbald, which I have so often had occasion to condemn. In the original it appears resplendent with gold, the manufacture, perhaps, of Ingulph himself. This Charter, by means of which that knave cajoled King William,[17] is sufficiently proved to have been fictitious." Sir Francis Palgrave expresses strong doubts whether the Chronicle itself (including the Charters) is of much older date than the thirteenth, or first half of the fourteenth century.

A careful examination of the First and Second Continuations of Ingulph will probably afford some clue to the solution of this question. It will be found that in the history of Croyland, between the years 1091 and 1415, no mention is made of the existence of *any one* of these Saxon Charters. In 1189, Abbat Robert, in a case drawn up by him,[18] relies for proof of the foundation of his house by Ethelbald, not upon any existing charters, but solely upon the *Life of Saint Guthlac*, written by the monk Felix. In Vol. 41 of the Cole Collection of MSS. in

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though he appears in one passage to throw some doubts on it, in consequence of Ingulph's derivation of the name *Croyland*, as signifying *crude* or *muddy* land (p. 8). He perhaps preferred the derivation of Crowland from the crows, by which, according to the early legend of Felix, the anchorite Guthlac, while dwelling there, was persecuted.

[15] See vol 34 of the Quarterly Review.

[16] A copy of Ethelbald's charter of 716, conspicuous for its golden crosses and azure and vermilion, but evidently of spurious origin. Hickes, who has engraved a portion of it, speaks of it in 1705, as being then in the possession of Dr. Guidot, of Bath. It seems to have been the same which is mentioned by Gough, in his history of Croyland, as being in 1734 the property of Robert Hunter, lord of the manor of Croyland.

[17] See his visit to Court described, p. 171.

[18] P. 275.

the British Museum, there are nearly 200 folio pages of abstracts from the Abbey Registers of law-suits carried on by the convent, fines, conveyances, and other memoranda. A careful search has been made in these, as also in most of the documents connected with Croyland, set forth in Gough's First and Second Appendix, or referred to in Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, but not a hint can be found, to give us reason to believe that between the periods above-mentioned, these Charters were in existence.[19]

Prior Richard Upton, being at a loss how to prevent the encroachments of the people of Spalding, determined, as we read in p. 367, to unsheathe the sword of ecclesiastical censure, which had been granted by St. Dunstan, and solemnly pronounced sentence of excommunication at the doors of the church against all who should infringe the liberties of the church of St Guthlac. Not content with reading this censure (which bears strong marks of being fictitious, and was probably composed on this occasion), Prior Richard "resorted to the temporal arm, and taking with him the muniments of the illustrious kings, Ethelbald, Edred, and Edgar, hastened to London, to bring the parties to trial."[20] This sudden mention of these Charters, the first time for several hundred years, cannot but take us by surprise, and extort from us the enquiry, where had they been in the meantime, and why had they never been used on similar occasions before?

After his arrival in London, we read that it was nearly two years before the Prior could make arrangements for coming to trial. It is far from improbable that these two years were spent in framing, for the discomfiture of his antagonists, the Charters which now appear in Ingulph's Chronicle. Prior Richard being thus employed, we can understand why, just before the trial, he felt very uncomfortable in mind; why (p. 368) he "lay awake in bed, sad and disquieted in spirit, and unable to sleep;" and how great was the necessity for consolation to be administered to him, by no less a personage than Saint Guthlac himself. This explanation, too, will account for the large outlay of five hundred pounds (p. 388) upon these suits, as the scribes would be not unlikely, on such an occasion, to make their own terms.

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[19] 1091 and 1415. In vol. 44, p. 53, Cole MSS. we find several mandates from Edward the Third commanding the convent to admit Hugh de Kensington, keeper of his salt-cellar, as a corrodier on their foundation; and three or four plaints in answer by the convent, in which they allege that the abbey had been founded by Ethelbald *five hundred* years before the Conquest. This they would have hardly dared to assert, if they had had at that moment among their archives a deed which proved that Ethelbald founded the abbey in 716, only 350 years before that event. Cole has added a Note, in which he remarks that it is pretty clear that they did not know *when* their Abbey was founded.

[20] P. 368.

The experiment appears to have fully succeeded ; to the satisfaction of both judges and arbitrators the Charters of Ethelbald and Edred were produced, judgment was given in favour of the Convent, and thus did the monks of Croyland, the first time perhaps for centuries, gain a complete legal victory over their neighbours of Spalding and Moulton.

It was upon this occasion probably that the manuscript long preserved at Croyland as the *autograph* of Ingulph was first compiled. Finding among their archives a Chronicle of the convent from the earliest times, (said to have been composed by the Sempects[21] by order of Abbat Turketul,) the monks made it the vehicle of their fictitious Charters, added to it the histories which had been written by Egelric and Ingulph, had the whole copied afresh, and deposited the manuscript in the Sacristy as corroborative proof of their title to their lands. It was for this reason, perhaps, that so few copies of the manuscript were allowed to circulate; as the forgers must have been conscious that to the scrutinizing view of the scholar, the anachronisms and contradictions with which the Charters were filled would be too evident.

Fictitious as most, if not all, of the Saxon Charters are, and fabulous as much of the history is likely to be, it is still difficult to subscribe unreservedly to Sir F. Palgrave's opinion, "that the History of Ingulph must be considered to be little better than an historical novel—a mere monkish invention ;" though, at the same time, it cannot be denied that the work is full of interpolations.

For the guidance of the reader of this Chronicle, which, despite of its imperfections, forms, with its Continuations, a most interesting repertory of mediæval law, history, and anecdote, we may usefully devote a few lines to an examination of the more prominent errors or interpolations which have been detected in the portions of it ascribed to Egelric and Ingulph.

Sir F. Palgrave thinks that the account of Turketul betrays marks of a spurious origin ; that it does not fully agree with the narrative of Vitalis, and is probably founded on his story at a later period. "If a *Cancellarius*," he remarks, "existed among the officers of the Anglo-Saxon Court, he was nothing more than a notary or scribe, entirely destitute of the high authority which Ingulph bestows on him." The mention of Turketul as *Cancellarius* certainly does bear suspicious marks of the handy-work of some interpolator, but it would be hardly fair, on this ground, to reject the whole account; as his relationship to the king (which is mentioned also by Vitalis) would invest him with considerable influence, which would be increased if he really did fill the office of royal secretary.

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[21] See p. 97. Of course the story of their great ages, 168, 142, and 115 must be rejected.

[21*] See the concluding words of Ingulph's History, p. 223.

With Sir F. Palgrave we must reject the account of Turketul's prowess at the battle of Brunenburgh, which relates how he[22] penetrated the hostile ranks, struck down the enemy right and left, and, amid torrents of blood, reached the king of the Scots; and then contradicts itself by telling us that, in after-times, when a monk, he "esteemed himself happy and fortunate in that he had never slain a man, nor even wounded one." Such a story cannot have been penned by a friend and kinsman of Turketul. Sir F. Palgrave also observes that the Synod[22*] at which the seven bishoprics were conferred was held in 905, two years before Turketul was born: while the Saxon Chronicle places the death of Dynewulph in 900, and the succession of Frithestan in 910. This was probably interpolated by some enthusiast, desirous to award to Turketul more honor than was really his due. "The passage respecting the education of Ingulphus at Oxford," says the same writer, "long since raised the suspicion of Gibbon,[23] and it still remains to be proved that Aristotle formed part of the course of education at Oxford at a time when his works were studied in no part of Christendom." It is not improbable that this is an interpolation by some favourer of the pretensions of Oxford in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. A wish to surpass the alleged antiquity of Cambridge, as supported by the narrative[24] of Peter of Blois, may possibly have prompted the insertion of this testimony in favour of Oxford.

Sir F. Palgrave has also suggested, that the journey[25] of Ingulph to Jerusalem must have taken place between 1053 and 1059, when the Patriarch Sophronius died, as the emperor Alexius did not ascend the throne till 1081, some years after Ingulph had settled at Croyland: that Emperor's name was probably added as a gloss by some ignorant annotator, and eventually became incorporated with the text.

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[22] Pages 74 and 75.

[22*] Pages 72 and 73.

[23] *History*, B. ix.

[24] P. 237.

[25] See p. 148. We cannot agree with Mr. Wright (*Biog. Brit. Literaria*, vol. ii. p. 30), that 1064 is the date: nor does it appear that the writer confounded the expedition alluded to with that of Peter the Hermit. Ingulph seems to have joined the pilgrimage mentioned by Vitalis, B. III. c. 4, as taking place in 1057, under the chief bishop of the Bavarians. See Ordericus Vitalis, B. iii. c. 4.

Dr. Lappenberg[26] informs us that it is erroneously stated that Constantine[27] fell at the battle of Brunenburgh, it being his son who was slain: and that the statement that the emperor Henry (who died in 936) sought the hand of Athelstan's daughter for his son Otho is a mistake. He also observes, that (in p. 97) earl Rodolph, the *son*, is called the *husband* of Goda

Mr. Wright, in his able work on the Anglo-Norman writers, is of opinion that Ingulph's account of the [28]*exiguitas* of his parents contradicts his statement in p. 123, where he speaks of his father as living at court: and that Ingulph would hardly have ostentatiously published the forged charters an opinion which seems well-founded He remarks also, that the work appears too vain-glorious to have been written by Ingulph himself The self-complacency however, which we find displayed by the Abbat throughout his story, and the patronizing air with which he explains the more barbarous usages of the persecuted Saxons, combined with the frivolous display of Gallic learning in pages 165 and 166, strongly bespeak the Anglo Norman prelate.

The same author is also of opinion that the Continuation ascribed to Peter of Blois is spurious, but the reasons adduced by him hardly seem to warrant so decided a conclusion. "It is not probable," he says, "that the monks of Croyland should have applied to a stranger to write the history of their house, and we can trace no connection between them and Peter of Blois." On the contrary, it seems to have been considered a mark of respect, not uncommonly paid, for a convent to request a learned stranger to employ his pen in the service of their house. Vitalis,[29] almost a stranger and half a foreigner, was engaged by the monks of Croyland to write the epitaph of earl Waltheof, for the moment almost the national hero and Saint of the English; Abbo of Fleury, a Norman by birth, at the request of Dunstan, wrote the Life of St. Edmund, an English Saint; and William, a monk of Malmesbury, wrote the Chronicles of the Abbey of Glastonbury That Peter of Blois was on intimate terms with abbat Henry de Longchamp we have some right to conclude from the zealous manner in which we know that he stood forward in support[30] of his brother Chancellor, William de Longchamp, bishop of Ely. The allusion in Peter's Continuation to the writings of Averroes[31] is manifestly an interpolation.

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[26] *Geschichte von England*, Preface. [27] P. 75.

[28] See p. 127. Mr Wright renders this word *mean estate*; narrowness of circumstances seems rather to be meant, and if so, there does not of necessity appear to be any contradiction. [29] *History*, B. iv. c. 17.

[30] See his spirited letter to Hugh de Nunant, bishop of Coventry, in Hoveden, vol. ii. p. 238. *Bohn's Antiquarian Library*. [31] P 231.

An explanation of a few of the terms which form component parts of names of places mentioned in these Chronicles may not be inappropriate. The termination *ee* or *ea*, as in "Schepishee" and "Southee," is supposed to be a corruption of the French *eau*, "water." *Lode* or *lade*, as in "Wodelade"[32] and "Cappelade," (afterwards, "Whaplode,") signifies *a cut of water*. *Hirne* or *hyrne* means a *horn* or *corner* of land, bounded by streams, as in "Namanslandhyrne,"[33] and [34]Aswyktofthyrne. *Lound* or *lond* is the old form for *land*, as in [35]"Goggislound," "Alderlound," and "Paylond." *Beck* is still a provincial name for a "*rill*" or *stream*, as in "Pynchbeck," "Holbeck." *Drove* was a *road for cattle*. *Holt* means *a wood*, as in "Apynholt," and "[36]Harenholt." "Algarkirk" and "Peykirk," mean *Algar's church* and *Pega's church*. The word *lake*, as signifying *standing water*, enters into the composition of such names as "Mengerlake," "Luttlake," "Southlake," "Dedmanslake," and "Werwarlake." *Helieston* (in pages 127 and 154) appears to have been a wrong spelling in the original for "Helpeston."

A cut through the wood.

[33] "No man's land corner." In some places it is written "Norman's land."

[34] "Aswyk's toft corner," *toft* being a place where a messuage has formerly stood.

[35] "Gog's land," "Alder land," and "Pega's land."

[36] Probably meaning "the hare's wood."

# SUCCESSION OF THE ABBATS OF CROYLAND.

| | | A.D. |
|---|---|---|
| Kenulph, appointed | | 716 |
| Patrick | | |
| Siward. | | |
| Theodore | | |
| Godric. | | |
| Turketul | | 948 |
| Egelric the Elder | | 975 |
| Egelric the Younger | | 984 |
| Osketul | | 992 |
| Godric II. | | 1005 |
| Brichtmer | | 1018 |
| Wulgat | | 1048 |
| Wulketul | | 1052 |
| Ingulph | | 1075 |
| Joffrid | | 1109 |
| Waldev | Not mentioned in this History | 1124 |
| Godfrey | | 1138 |
| Edward | | 1153 |
| Robert de Redinges | | 1172 |
| Henry Longchamp | | 1190 |
| Richard Bardeney | | 1236 |
| Thomas Wells | | 1246 |

| | | A.] |
|---|---|---|
| Ralph Mershe | | 125 |
| Richard Croyland | | 128 |
| Simon Luffenham | | 130 |
| Henry de Caswyk. | | 132 |
| Thomas de Bernak (not mentioned in this Hist.) | | 135 |
| John de Asheby | | 137 |
| Thomas Overton | | 139 |
| Richard Upton | | 141 |
| John Litlyngton | | 142 |
| John Wysbech | | 146 |
| Richard Croyland II. | | 147 |
| Lambert Fossedyke | | 148 |
| Edmund Thorpe | | 148 |
| Philip Everard, or Evermue | Not mentioned in this History. | 149 |
| William Gedyng | | 150 |
| Richard Berdeney | | 150 |
| John Welles, or Bridges | | 151 |
| Abbey Dissolved | | 153 |

# INGULPH'S HISTORY

## OF THE

# ABBEY OF CROYLAND.

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INASMUCH as I, Ingulph, by the long-suffering of the Divine Goodness, abbat of the monastery of Croyland, am bound, by virtue of the duties imposed upon me, to devote my attention to ecclesiastical matters; it appears to me especially desirable to know who were the founders and benefactors of our monastery, at what period it was founded, and by whose alms food and the other necessaries of life are here provided for us; and at the same time to learn what estates or possessions our respective benefactors have bestowed as alms upon us. These particulars I have endeavoured to learn, to the end that they may be set forth, as well for your information, as for that of our successors, in behalf of whom we are in duty bound to implore and entreat the mercy of God.

But, as it would be a tedious task to dwell at length upon each of these particulars, to the extent to which we find matter afforded us in various quarters; I shall make it my especial object to treat, though in a compendious form, of such things only as are likely to be deemed most necessary to be known by us who live at the present day, and to be brought to the notice of our successors. These particulars I shall therefore set forth, just as I have learned them, either from the trust-worthy information of my brethren now residing here, (who, in their turn, have received the same from their predecessors), or from an attentive examination of ancient records and other documents which have been perused by me. In accordance with the prophetical language of the Psalmist, "I will utter sayings of old; which we have heard and seen, and our fathers have told us,"[1] and I will remind you of the words, "Let your children tell their children, and their children another generation;"[2] thereby making good those other words of Scripture, "Whatsoever things were written aforetime, were written for our learning."[3]

I have therefore determined, in the first place, to speak of the succession of certain kings of Mercia, who, in very remote times, were converted to the catholic faith. Although Penda, who was a heathen, and notorious for his impiety, usurped the kingly name and the sovereignty of the Mercians, and in his tyrannical frenzy martyred Oswald, the king and saint, he was the father of several sons who proved most devoted supporters of the Christian religion The names of these were Peada, Wulpher, Ethelred, Merwald, and Mercelm; while Kynenburga and Kyneswitha, women celebrated for their sanctity and the purity of their lives, were his daughters. The unbridled desires, however, of this same Penda, after he had been long possessed by this heathenish frenzy, brought him to an end suitable to his deserts. For, by the grace of God, Oswy, the brother and successor of Saint Oswald, (of both of whom I here make mention, that the remembrance of them may be perpetuated, to the praise of Him who alone shall recompense each according to his works) cut him off, and thereby increased the number of souls in hell.

His eldest son, Peada, succeeded him as king. This Peada had the intention of founding the monastery at Medeshamsted,[4] but being prevented by an untimely death, he bequeathed his religious zeal to his brother Wulpher, who succeeded him on the throne, and to Saxulph, a man of very considerable influence; for it is a matter beyond doubt that this monastery was afterwards founded by them, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 664. After reigning sixteen years, the said Wulpher departed this life, in the seventeenth year of his reign.

On his decease, his brother Ethelred succeeded him on the throne, and after a reign of thirty years became a monk in the monastery of Bardeney.[5]

He was succeeded on the throne by Kenred, the son of Wulpher, who, after a reign of four years, left his kingdom, and set out for Rome, where he departed this life at the threshold of the Apostles.

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[1] Psalm lxxviii. 2, 3 [2] Joel i. 3. [3] Rom. xv. 4.

[4] The original name of Peterborough. [5] Or Partney, in Lincolnshire.

Kenred was succeeded by Celred, who was the son of Ethelred, the former king, and reigned eight years.

In these days lived the Clito[6] Ethelbald, who was then in exile. He was the great nephew of Penda, through Alwy, his brother;[7] and was a man remarkable for the gracefulness of his figure, his strength of body, and his indomitable courage. On the other hand, a thing greatly to be lamented, he was extremely proud in spirit, and immoderately fond of rashly courting danger. For this, as no doubt we may be allowed to believe, he had to submit to many hardships, and to endure a very long estrangement from the helm of state.

While the before-named king Celred was unrelentingly pursuing him from place to place, the strength of himself and his adherents being now quite exhausted amid the doubtful perils of warfare, he repaired, according to his usual wont, to Guthlac, the man of God, his confessor; to the end that, finding all human counsel fail, he might obtain that of God; and with great humility disclosed to him those complaints which tribulation extorted from him. When the holy man of God had heard his words, in soothing language he consoled him, and, as though an interpreter of a Divine oracle, revealed to him in its proper order each event as the same should befall him; promising him the rule over his own people, the conquest of his enemies, and the sovereignty over other nations Nor were these things to come to pass through fighting, blows, or effusion of blood; but he bade him have full confidence that through the Divine power and goodness he should obtain the same.

To this he added, by way of admonition, "Acknowledge the Lord thy God, and above all things fear Him: make it thy study also to venerate the Holy Church. Oftentimes lament the wickedness of thy misdeeds, and with constancy observe thy purpose of leading a good life; and hope for the sure assistance of the Lord, if thou shalt first in His presence have offered up the merits of good works."

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[6] A title given to princes of the royal family among the Anglo-Saxons.

[7] This is evidently a mistake. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, (under the years 626 and 716) Alwy was the son of Eawa, who was the brother of Penda.

With these words and this doctrine Ethelbald was so much refreshed in spirit, that, without delay, in presence of his father Guthlac and the other persons then standing by, that which he conceived in his heart to do, he pronounced with his lips; and declared that as soon as it should be his lot peacefully to arrive at the helm of state, he would found in that same spot a monastery of religious, to the praise of God, and in memory of his said father Guthlac This promise in after-times he efficiently and devoutly fulfilled.

In the meanwhile, however, after some time had elapsed, the before-named Ethelbald, being still an exile, and lying concealed in secluded spots, heard tidings of the death of the holy man; upon which, full of grief and sorrow, he hastened to the spot. After shedding many tears and praying at great length, while he was watching in an adjoining cottage, the holy man appeared to him, and consoled him in these words: "Have confidence, my son, and be not sorrowful; for, through my intercession, the Lord hath heard thy prayers, and, before the present year shall have run its course, thou shalt gain the sceptre of the kingdom, and shalt in happiness enjoy a lengthened course of days." To this, he made answer, "My lord, what shall be a sign to me, that these things shall thus come to pass?" "To-morrow, before the third hour of the day," the holy man replied, "to those who are dwelling in this isle of Croyland, food shall unexpectedly be given."

Thenceforth, bearing in mind everything that had thus been said to him, with undoubting hope he believed that the same should come to pass. Nor did his faith deceive him; for he found that all things were carried into effect in accordance with the prophecy of the man of God.

Guthlac, the servant of God, being thus dead and buried, upon his intercession being invoked, signs, displayed in miracles and wondrous healings, began oftentimes to gleam forth; which (as from your[9] archives I have been enabled to collect) are set forth clearly and in a most perspicuous style in the book which treats of his Life and Miracles. When king Ethelbald found that his blessed consoler was conspicuous for his miraculous powers, full of gladness and devotion, he sought the place of his burial, and, having now gained the sovereignty, with the greatest care fulfilled the promises which he had formerly made to the man of God, while he was still alive.

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[9] He addresses his brethren, the monks of Croyland.

Immediately sending for a certain monk of Evesham, Kenulph by name, a person famed for his religious life, he gave, granted, and for ever confirmed to him and those there serving God, the isle of Croyland, to the end that he might found a convent there. He also fully absolved the whole of the island from all rents and secular dues, and secured the same in presence of the bishops and nobles of his kingdom by his charter; which was to the following effect:

"Ethelbald, by Divine Providence, king of the Mercians, to all followers of the catholic faith, health everlasting. To the King of all kings and the Creator of all mankind, I do with exceeding joy return thanks, for that He hath patiently borne with me, though polluted with all sins, even unto the present time, and hath in His mercy drawn me away therefrom, and hath in some measure elevated me to the acknowledgment of His name. Wherefore it is good for me to adhere unto God, and in Him to place my hope. But how shall I repay God for all that He hath bestowed upon me, in order that I may do that which is pleasing unto Him in the sight of living men? Inasmuch as without Him we possess nothing, are nothing, and are able to do nothing. For He, the author of our salvation, and the bestower of all things, with great readiness receiveth the very least of our gifts, that so He may have a cause for repaying us with joys mighty and infinite Those who follow His doctrines with the works of mercy, He thus consoles, saying, 'Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.'[10] Hence it is, that, having been instructed by the counsels, and prevailed upon by the prayers, of the devout anchorite Guthlac, my dearly beloved confessor, I have joyfully formed the following determination. As a perpetual testimony to be preserved thereof, I do by this public deed[11] give, grant, and deliver unto Almighty God, the blessed Virgin, and Saint Bartholomew, out of my demesnes, for the purpose of founding a monastery of Black Monks,[11*] serving God in conformity with the rules of Saint Benedict, the whole island of Croyland, the same to be set apart for the site of an abbey, and severally to be held; being surrounded by four rivers, that is to say, by the river called Shepishee, on the east; by the river called Nene, on the west; by the river called Southee, on the south; and by the river called Asendyk, on the north, where runs the Common Drain[12] between Spalding and the said island; the same being also four leagues[13] in length and three leagues in breadth: together with the marsh lands adjoining thereto, which lie towards the west, and opposite to the said island, on either side of the river Welland; one part of which, called Goggislound, on the north side of the river Welland, is two leagues in length,[14] extending from the bridge of Croyland, by which the island is entered, as far as Aspath, and is one league in breadth, extending from the river Welland, which lies to the south thereof, as far as Apenholt on the north, near the banks of the said river, the same being throughout the whole length thereof of equal breadth; and the other part of the said marsh, on the south side of the river Welland, is two leagues in length, from the bridge of Croyland as far as Southlake, near the banks and opposite to Aspath, and two leagues in breadth from the river Welland as far as Fynset, near the river Nene, on the south side of the said marsh: together with several piscary in the rivers Welland and Nene, as far as the beforementioned limits of either of the said marshes, and in all the waters that encompass the said island. And, for the said purpose, I have appointed a certain monk of Evesham, Kenulph by name, a man of approved piety, to be abbat thereof, to the end that he may there collect monks of the said order, of approved life, in subjection to himself; and have granted to them from my treasury, for the purpose of building the said monastery, in the first year, three hundred pounds of lawful money, and, during the ten years next ensuing, one hundred pounds in each year; and have given them permission to build a vill there, as also to enclose as much of the said two marshes lying on the west, for the use of themselves and their people, as to the said monks shall seem fit. I do therefore will, that the aforesaid monks shall have these my gifts, with all their appurtenances, free of and acquitted from all secular burdens, as a perpetual alms from me, together with all the profits and advantages that may arise or be derived within the aforesaid limits, as well above ground as beneath, together with common of pasture for all kinds of animals, at all seasons, for themselves as well as their men or tenants with them there dwelling, on either side of the river Welland, that is to say, on the one side, as far as the lands of Medeshamsted, and on the other, as far as the buildings of Spalding; together with all liberties and free customs, as fully as in times past the royal power has bestowed the same upon any church in my kingdom. And I do further strictly command, that if any person shall presume to devise any impediment in contravention of this exercise of my authority, that so they may not peacefully possess whatever has been given and granted by me, the same person shall pay one hundred pounds of lawful money into my treasury, and shall, in addition thereto, make due satisfaction to the said monks for their losses and expenses thereby incurred. I do also entreat all my posterity, who shall succeed me on the throne, so to keep inviolate this my censure and condemnation, as they shall wish to receive the due reward of justice, and to escape the punishment of avarice. And may he who shall uphold and defend these alms-deeds of mine be eternally rewarded, by being chosen as one of the elect of God. This my charter was confirmed in the year from the Incarnation of Christ, 716, as is attested beneath by the following trust-worthy witnesses, with the sign of the Holy Cross. + I, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, have, of my gratuitous will and consent, confirmed the same. + I, Brithwald, archbishop of Canterbury, have ratified the same. + I, Wynfrid, bishop of the Mercians, have approved of the same. + I, Ingwald, bishop of London, have fully consented hereto. + I, Aldwin, bishop of Lichfield, have sanctioned the same. + I, Tobias, bishop of Rochester, have applauded the same. + I, Ethelred, abbat of Bardeney, have greatly desired the same. + I, Egwald, abbat of Medeshamsted, have earnestly requested the same. + I, Egga, earl of Lincoln, have advised the same. + I, Leuric, earl of Leicester, have given my assent hereto. + I, Saxulph, son of earl Saxulph, have supported the same. + I, Ingulph, priest and an humble servant, being summoned, have heard the same. + I, Ethelbald, who unworthy as I am, still, by the Divine forbearance, guide the helm of the kingdom of the Mercians, do, with the greatest faithfulness, in all humility return unto Christ my Creator; of whom in the Psalm it is written by the prophet, 'His tender mercies are over all His works;'[15] to His goodness I do wholly submit myself, and to the prayers and spiritual services of holy mother Church do commend myself."

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[10] St. Matthew, xxv 40.

[11] Or, more strictly, "patent," or "open chirograph."

[11*] This is the first of the supposed anachronisms noticed by Hickes.

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[12] This is probably an arm of the river Welland, now called the "Shire Drain," which runs along the southern border of the county, and falls into the Wash, at the mouth of the river Nene These streams are generally called "waters" in the original

[13] Leuca. The "leuca," or French league, generally consisted of 1500 paces; but Ingulph in another passage speaks of it as containing 2000 paces.

[14] The length is measured from east to west, and the breadth from north to south.

Upon this occasion it was, that a certain poet wrote the following lines:—

> "This abbey, Christ, I, Ethelbald, the king
> Of Anglia, by God's grace, have for Thee built.
> The isle of Croyland, of the king's demesne,
> That same, Oh Jesus! do I grant to Thee—
> The whole, great God, with its encircling streams
> On every side, I do to Thee present.
> Three hundred pounds the building to promote
> This year, I hereby pledge myself to give—
> And, in the following ten, one hundred pounds
> Each year, I will unto the builders pay.
> Kenulph, the monk of Evesham profess'd,
> Shall be first abbat; him I do appoint.
> The gifts, too, of my nobles I confirm,
> Should they grant lands or tenements to God
> Should any native Kenulph e'er molest,
> His chattels all I hereby confiscate,
> And, till he shall due reparation make
> Unto the monks, he shall in prison lie.
> The English nobles and my prelates all
> Before the Lord are witnesses hereof.
> Guthlac, confessor, saint, and anchorite
> Here lies; before him I these words do speak—
> May that most holy priest for ever pray
> For us, before whose tomb this grant I make."

Croyland consisting of fenny lands, (as, in fact, its name indicates, for it means "crude" and "muddy" land), it was not able to support a foundation of stone; wherefore, the king ordered huge piles of oak and beech in countless numbers to be driven into the ground, and solid earth to be brought by water in boats a distance of nine miles, from a place called Upland, (which means the "higher ground,") and to be thrown into the marsh. And thus, whereas the holy

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[15] Psalm cxlv. 9.

Guthlac had been previously content with an oratory made of wood, he both began and finished a church, founded a convent, enriched the place with decorations and lands, and other valuable possessions, and loved the spot with the greatest tenderness all the days of his life. And never, at any time, since its first foundation by the hands of the said king, has the monastery of Croyland been in want of religious to dwell therein, even unto the present day.

There were also in those times, some persons in the said island who led there the lives of recluses, and who, maintaining a holy friendship with the man of God, had resorted to him as long as he lived, just as sick men do to a physician; and thus, by his teaching and example, obtaining healing supplies for their souls.

Of these, one had been recently converted to the catholic faith, Cissa by name, a man sprung from a noble family, and, in former times, of great influence in worldly matters; but now, having left all things behind, he had become a follower of his Lord Jesus Christ. Another was Bettelm, a most attached servant of the father before named. A third was Egbert, who was admitted by him to a more strict confidence than any of the rest. A fourth was Tatwin, who had formerly been his guide and steersman to the said island. All these had separate dwellings to the end of their lives, with the sanction of the before-named abbat, Kenulph, in different cottages, situate not far from the oratory of the holy father, Guthlac.

Saint Pega, however, the sister of our holy father Guthlac before named, shortly after the close of the first year from his death, leaving there, in the hands of abbat Kenulph, the scourge of Saint Bartholomew and the Psalter of her brother, together with some other relics, returned by boat to her cell, which lay to the west, at a distance of four leagues from the oratory of her said brother. Having lived here two years and three months in tearful lamentations, she travelled, suffering greatly from cold and hunger, to the threshold of the Apostles Peter and Paul. On entering the city of Rome, after suddenly causing all the bells to ring for the space of one hour, she proclaimed to the citizens the merits of her sanctity: and there, devoting herself entirely to the service of God, at last fulfilled the number of her days in the fear of the Lord. Her holy body being there committed to the earth among many other holy relics belonging to the Roman city, her spirit, quitting the toils of this present existence, ascended to eternal rest.

King Ethelbald, before-named, his monastery of Croyland being now erected and completely finished, gave his utmost attention both to promoting the good of the holy church everywhere throughout his kingdom, and to bestowing dignities and privileges upon other convents of religious men and women as well. Accordingly, for the purpose of strengthening the liberties of the church throughout his kingdom, in the third year of his reign, we read that he promulgated the following statute:—

"Whereas it frequently happens, in accordance with the uncertain vicissitudes of temporal affairs, that those institutions which have been founded upon the testimony and by the counsel of many and faithful persons, are, through the contumacy of still more, and by means of machinations and fraudulent pretences, without any consideration of what is reasonable, and to the peril of their own souls, brought to nothing; unless the establishment thereof has, on the authority of letters and by the testimony of hand-writing, been consigned to memory in all time to come. Wherefore, I, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, in consideration of my love of the heavenly land, and for the redemption of my own soul, am sensible that I ought to form a determination, by good works, to make it free from all the bonds of sin. And moreover, inasmuch as the Almighty, in the merciful exercise of His clemency, without any preceding merits of mine, hath bestowed upon me the sceptre of this kingdom, I do willingly make repayment to Him out of that which He hath so given me. For the better carrying out this purpose, I do, while I am still alive, grant the following privilege; that all monasteries and churches in my kingdom shall be free and exempt from all public taxes, works, and burdens, except only the building of castles and bridges, from which no person can ever be made exempt. And further, the servants of God are to have full liberty in the enjoyment of the produce of their woods, the fruit of their fields, and the taking of fish; nor are they to make offerings of any presents whatever to the king, or to the nobles, unless the same be voluntary: but they are to be at liberty to serve the Lord in peaceful contemplation throughout the whole of my realm to the end of time."

The before-named king Ethelbald, after a reign of forty-one years, having rashly engaged in battle at Seggeswold,[16] with the tyrant Bernred, was there slain, in accordance with a prophecy of the holy father, Guthlac. The tyrant Bernred, however, had not long to glory in his excessive tyranny, for he perished in the same year. King Ethelbald was buried at Ripadium, or Ripedune,[17] which was at that time a very celebrated monastery, and, with the consent of the nobles of the whole of Mercia, left the kingdom of the Mercians to Offa, grandson to his uncle by the father's side. Offa was the son of Dignfert, the son of Enulph, the son of Osmod, the son of Eoppa, the son of Wibba, father of king Penda.

This Offa reigned forty years, and founded a monastery of Black Monks at the city of Verulam, in honour of God and of Saint Alban, the protomartyr of the English. Shewing himself everywhere most duteous to the saints of God, and ever ready to listen to the prayers of religious men, at the entreaty of Patrick, the lord abbat of Croyland, who had succeeded Kenulph, the first abbat thereof, he by his charter confirmed the grant of his monastery of Croyland in the following words:—

"Offa, king of the Mercians, to all lovers of Christ throughout the whole kingdom of Mercia, health everlasting. Always keeping in remembrance that the days of man are short, and that, in this fewness of our days, whatsoever a man shall sow that same he shall reap, it is my desire, by the holy acts of my present life, to purchase for myself and to reap an everlasting reward in that to come. I do therefore take into my hands Patrick, abbat of Croyland, and the monks there serving God, and all their servants, as also the place itself, and I do command, that, in like manner as my brethren the monks of Saint Alban's, they shall be free and discharged from all secular burdens, and shall everywhere throughout my kingdom be held acquitted from the payment of all taxes: and I do confirm to them their aforesaid monastery, together with all their possessions and all other things whatsoever, which my kinsman, the late renowned king Ethelbald, the founder of the said monastery, bestowed upon the same, and whatsoever his nobles or mine have since bestowed or shall bestow hereafter, as also whatsoever the faithful in Christ shall in all times hereafter bestow upon the said monastery of Croyland. This present deed, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 793, I, Offa, king of the Mercians, have granted and confirmed. + I, Æthelard, archbishop of Canterbury, have consented hereto. + I, Ægbald, bishop of Winchester, have subscribed hereto. + I, Aldred, bishop of Dorchester, have set my sign hereto. + I, Aldulph, bishop of Lichfield, have approved hereof. + I, Benna, abbat of Medeshamsted, have confirmed the same. + I, Ceolburga, abbess of Berdea,[18] have sanctioned the same. + I, earl Heabricht, at the command of my lord the king, have signed the same. + I, Tilhere, the priest of my lord the king, Offa, have, at his mandate, written this deed with my own hand."

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[16] Saxwold, in Lincolnshire, is probably the place referred to. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Henry of Huntingdon, and Simeon of Durham, call this place Secandune. Matthew of Westminster calls it Sacchenda.

[17] Repton, in Derbyshire.

In the year following, the said Offa, king of the Mercians, departed this life on the fourth day before the calends of August, and his son Egbert succeeded to the glories of his rule; but, after having reigned one hundred and forty-one days, he was seized with a malady, and departed this life. He was succeeded by Kenulph, a mighty man, and happy in his holy offspring; in peace, piety, and justice, for a period of twenty-six years, he most gloriously guided the helm of state.

After Kenulph, the first abbat thereof, the before-named Patrick succeeded to the pastoral office of the abbey of Croyland. He was succeeded, in the time of king Kenulph, by Siward, the third abbat of the said monastery. He was related by blood to king Kenulph, and, being a man of great piety, and his confessor, and admitted by him to the strictest intimacy, by the royal munificence, in the twelfth year of his reign, he obtained a charter to the following effect:

"Kenulph, by the mercy of God, king of the Mercians, to all the Mid-Angles throughout the whole of Mercia, who confess the Christian faith, perfect peace and health everlasting. Know, all and each of you, that the Lord hath, by most signal signs and by remarkable prodigies, wrought wondrous new and innumerable miracles, by his Saint, the most blessed confessor of Christ, Guthlac, whose body rests in the monastery of Croyland; as I and my queen have on our late pilgrimage with our own eyes beheld; and hath thereby rendered him more refulgent and conspicuous in the eyes of the whole world. Wherefore, at the entreaty of that most religious man, our spiritual father and counsellor, Siward, lord abbat of the said monastery, the venerable father Wulfred, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, who accompanied us on our pilgrimage, counselling and advising us thereto, I have taken under my protection the said monastery of Croyland, together with the whole of the island adjoining thereto, according as the same is by boundaries set forth in the charter of the late king Ethelbald its founder, as also the monks of the said monastery, and the lay brethren and all the servants thereof. Moreover, all pilgrims going thither for the purposes of devotion, and returning with the mark of Saint Guthlac upon their cowls or hoods, I do will to be free and absolved for all future time from all tribute and tolls, wheresoever throughout the whole kingdom of Mercia they shall come. And further, as to the alms-gift which Thorold, the sheriff of Lincoln, has given to the said monks in Bokenhale; as also the alms-gift which Geolph, the son of Malte, has given to them in Halington; as also the alms-gift which Fregest, the most valiant knight, my former tutor, has given to them in Langtoft; as also the alms-gift which Algar, who is still my knight, has given to them in Baston and Repingale; I do give, grant, and confirm the same as a perpetual possession unto God and Saint Guthlac, and to the aforesaid monastery and the monks serving God therein. In the year from the Incarnation of Christ, 806, I, Kenulph, king of the Mercians, have signed this charter with the sign of the holy cross. + I, Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, have advised the same to be done. + I, Kinebert, bishop of Winchester, have set my sign hereto. + I, Wonwona, bishop of Leicester, have consented hereto. + I, Celred, abbat of Medeshamsted, own brother of Siward, the lord abbat, have zealously promoted the same. + I, Cuthred, king of Kent, at the command of my lord the king Kenulph, have given my consent hereto. + I, Ceolwulph, brother of my lord the king Kenulph, have approved of the same. + I, Algar, the thane, have been present hereat. + I, Sigga, the priest, by the command of my lord the king Kenulph, have presented this charter, written with my own hand, in presence of my venerable fathers and lords aforesaid, to the venerable Siward, lord abbat of Croyland, before-named."

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[18] Perhaps meaning Bardney, in Lincolnshire.

In the year of our Lord Christ, 819, Kenulph, the renowned king of the Mercians, after having reigned for a period of twenty-six years, to the great grief of all, ended his worldly career, after many good works, which in his lifetime he had done with equal sanctity and zeal. His body was consigned to the tomb at Wynchelcombe,[20] a monastery of Black Monks, which he had built from the foundation; while his blessed soul sought the realms of heaven.

He left his son Saint Kenelm, a boy then seven years old, heir to the throne. Through the treachery of his sister Quendreda (with so great ambition did this most wicked woman aspire to the sceptre of the kingdom), within a few months after the death of his father, he was slain in a certain wood, whither he had, toward the close of the day, been taken to walk. Here this most innocent boy was most cruelly martyred by Ascebert, his tutor, and only through a divine miracle his body was at last discovered; a ray, containing an immense body of light, having shone throughout a whole night upon the body of the martyr. Upon this it was taken to Wynchelcombe, and there solemnly buried in the tomb at the side of his father.

After his martyrdom, his uncle Ceolwulph, the brother of king Kenulph, succeeded to the kingdom of the Mercians, and reigned one year; being in the second year of his reign expelled by one Bernulph, a foolish man, but remarkable for his wealth and influence, though in no way connected with the royal line.

In the third year of his reign Bernulph was conquered in battle and put to flight by Egbert, king of Wessex: after which, striving to make amends for his slothfulness, he led an army against the East-Angles, who by entreaties and money had aroused the West-Saxons against him; but he was shortly after defeated by them in a pitched battle, and slain.

He was succeeded on the throne by Ludecan, his kinsman, who, after a reign of two years, while making preparations to avenge the death of Bernulph, having led an army against the East-Angles, was surprised by them, and slain.

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[20] Or Winchcomb, in Gloucestershire.

Thus were the tyrants in a short time removed who had assumed the purple, against all right, and, while they oppressed the kingdom with their violent measures, had wasted the whole of its military resources, once very great, and ever attended with victory; upon which, with the consent of all, Wichtlaf, duke of the Wiccii,[21] (whose son, Wymund, had married Alfleda, the daughter of Ceolwulph, the former king, and brother of the most noble king Kenulph), was made king, and reigned thirteen years, subject, however, to the authority of Egbert, king of Wessex, to whom he was a tributary. For immediately after he was made king, and before he was able to collect an army, he was pursued by the generals of Egbert throughout the whole of Mercia; on which, by the care of Siward, the lord abbat, he was, without the privity of any other person, concealed for the space of four months in the cell of the most holy virgin, Etheldritha. (She was the daughter of Offa, the former king of the Mercians, and wife of the holy martyr Ethelbert, the former king of East Anglia, in whose name the present episcopal see of Hereford is dedicated; but at this period, in her love for Christ her spouse, was living as a recluse in one part of the cell situate on the south side of the church of Croyland, over against the great altar there.) Here he lay concealed in safety until such time as, through the mediation of the before-named venerable abbat Siward, he had made peace with the said king of the West Saxons, and, after promising to pay an annual tribute, was permitted to return unmolested to his kingdom. In return for this service, at a later period, he granted a charter to the said monastery of Croyland, which contained very valuable privileges, and was to the following effect:

"Wichtlaf, by the Divine dispensation, king of the Mercians, to all the worshippers of Christ who inhabit the whole of Mercia, health everlasting. For me to preach and publish the mighty works of God would be a thing far from becoming; but of a truth it seemeth honourable and glorious [to declare the same]; wherefore I will openly confess unto the Lord, who dwelleth on high, and who looketh down upon the lowly in heaven and upon the earth; forasmuch as, though for a time He was angered against me, His wrath hath been turned aside, and He hath consoled me, and though in His anger He humbled me, a sinner, to the earth, and dragged me down even to the dust, He hath again in His mercy raised the poor out of the dust, and hath lifted up the needy from the dunghill, that so I may sit among princes, and inherit a throne of glory.[22] Wherefore, on the day of good things, that I may not be unmindful of the evil ones, 'I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon to them that know me;'[23] not, indeed, of Rahab, the harlot, but of Etheldritha, the most holy virgin, my kinswoman, who, in her love for her spouse, the Lamb without blemish, is a recluse at Croyland, and who, in the times of my tribulation, most carefully concealed me in her cell from before the face of the enemy and persecutor for the space of four months. I will also make mention of Babylon; not of the tower of confusion, but of the most holy church of Croyland, which spot is a tower which reacheth unto heaven, and which with watchings and prayers, with psalms and meditations, with discipline and afflictions, with tears and sobs, with alms-deeds and innumerable other acts of devoutness and piety, in behalf of a sinful generation, doth extreme violence to the kingdom of heaven day and night. Wherefore, forasmuch as the venerable father Siward, the lord abbat of Croyland, hath protected me in his tabernacle on the evil day, and hath concealed and saved me from the face of him that afflicted me; in addition to the privileges granted thereto by the kings of Mercia, my predecessors, who have nobly graced the aforesaid monastery with various liberties and gifts, I do also of my poverty make offering unto the great altar of the aforesaid monastery, of a chalice of gold, a cross of gold, and the [holy] table of my own chapel, covered with plates of gold; and do make profession that I will always, to the best of my ability, prove myself a defender of the said church. I do also command my servants throughout the whole of Mercia appointed, that they shall in all things obey and serve the abbat of Croyland, the monks, and all the brethren of the said most holy monastery, whenever they shall come unto the cities and the royal castles upon any business whatever, in such manner as they would obey my son Wymund or myself; and that they shall receive nothing from them for the expenses which they or their people may there incur; but that my treasurer shall take upon himself all the said expenses, and pay the same in full out of the public treasury, when an account thereof shall have been received under the signature or mark of the said monks, and my said servants shall have reckoned up the same."

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[21] The people of Worcestershire.

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[22] In allusion to 1 Sam. ii. 7, 8, and Psalm xiii. 7, 8.

[23] Psalm lxxxvii. 4.

"I do also will and command, that whoever in my kingdom shall be found guilty of any offence, and shall be amenable to the laws for the same, if the said person shall flee to the said monastery, and shall, in presence of the abbat of the said monastery for the time being, invoke the favour of the most holy confessor, Guthlac, who in the body resteth there, and shall swear everlasting fealty and service to him; he shall be safe and secure under the protection of the abbat and his monks, in whatever service they shall employ him, throughout the whole island of Croyland; and shall enjoy my protection and full impunity, as though he were in an asylum or in my own chamber; and no one of my servants shall presume to pursue him any further, nor yet in any way to molest him, under pain of losing his right foot, which penalty shall be inflicted upon all persons in my kingdom who shall in any way attempt to violate this my privilege. And further, it shall be lawful for all such fugitives to sail upon and to fish in the five rivers which surround the said island, and to labour in any other way in which they may be directed by their masters, without challenge or molestation on the part of my servants or of any other person whatsoever. But if any such person shall be captured beyond the said rivers, or beyond the limits of the said monastery, he shall, without any favour, suffer the penalty which he had previously incurred, whether the same be death or loss of limb, if my servants, or any other adversaries of such person shall be able, on the oaths of six trustworthy men, to prove that such person has been found beyond the said limits The said boundaries of the monastery of Croyland by its five rivers aforesaid, I have caused to be described and marked out for the guidance of my own servants, as also of its abbat and monks, in relation to their fugitives aforesaid. Now the said rivers are called by the following names: Schepishee, which lies on the east, and on the western bank of which stands an ancient cross of wood, which is ten feet distant from the river, and is situate at equal distances between two corners of the said island, of which Aswyktoft is one, being the corner and boundary of the said island on the north-east,[23] and Tedwarthar is the other, being the corner and boundary of the said island on the east. The second river bounds the said island on the south, and is called Southee. On its bank there stands a stone cross, which is distant from Namanlandhirne five perches, and six perches from Southee, where the river Southee enters the river Nene, which runs to the bridge of Croyland. In this direction the limits for the fugitives run into the marshes on the west, and take a south-westerly direction through Fynset, and then, as far as Folwardstakyng, a north-westerly direction Thence they take a turn to the north, to the spot where the river Southlake enters the river Welland, just opposite a stone cross, which stands on the northern bank of the said river Welland, being distant five feet from the said river, which runs thence to the bridge of Croyland aforesaid. The limits for the fugitives, however, take a direction from the said cross through the northern marshes straight to Oggot, which is the corner of the boundaries to the west; they then run in an easterly direction through Wodelade, as far as Apynholt, where they take the course of the river Welland, (which is the fourth river, and bounds the island on that side, in the same manner as the third river, the Nene, bounds it on the other side of the bridge of Croyland,) as far as the Drain of Asendyk, which falls into the Welland, where a broken cross of stone stands on the southern bank of the river Asendyk, from the waters of which it is five perches distant. The said river Asendyk is the fifth river, and separates the said island from the place of that name, running in a northerly direction as far as Aswyktoft.[24] If any fugitive shall be found beyond the said five rivers and the boundaries beforenamed, then, even as Shimei,[25] when he went forth from Jerusalem, he shall be amenable to the public laws, and shall suffer the punishment which he had deserved. And if, within the boundaries aforesaid, and the outer banks of the aforesaid rivers, any fugitive shall commit any homicide, theft, or other offence, he shall be arrested by the officers of the said monastery for his misdeeds in the said island, the protection of which he has so forfeited, and shall be there judged and condemned to the abbat's prison. And, to the end that this my privilege may endure more firmly and more surely to the times of our descendants, I have obtained confirmation thereof by my lord Egbert, the king of Wessex, and Ethelwulph, his son.

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[23] "Vulturnum" can only have this meaning here.

[24] This description of the boundaries, as here stated, appears very confused. It is more than probable that, from the total change made in the face of the country about Croyland by the operations in forming the Bedford level, but few of these boundaries could now be traced from an actual survey of the spot.

[25] Alluding to Solomon's injunctions to Shimei, 1 Kings ii. 36 40.

"I do also present to the vestry[26] of the said monastery, for the service of the most holy altar, the purple robe which I wore on the occasion of my coronation, for the purpose of making a cope or chasuble of the same, and likewise, as an ornament for the most holy church, my veil[27] of gold embroidery, upon which is worked the destruction of Troy, to be hung upon my anniversary, if it shall so please them, on the walls thereof. I do also present to the refectory of the said monastery, for the use of him who shall daily preside in the said refectory, my gilded cup, which is chased all over the outside with savage vinedressers fighting with dragons, and which I have been in the habit of calling my 'crucibolum,' because the sign of the cross is stamped in the inside of the cup, across the same, the four corners thereof projecting and being impressed with a similar design; as also the horn used at my table, that the elders of the monastery may drink therefrom on the festivals of the Saints, and may, in their benedictions, sometimes remember the soul of Wichtlaf the giver thereof.

"I do also confirm unto the said monastery all their lands, tenements, and possessions, and their cattle, and all other the gifts which my predecessors, the kings of the Mercians, and their nobles, or other faithful Christians, as well as Jews, have given, sold, or pledged to the said monks, or have in any way delivered to them for a lasting possession; and, in especial, the gift of Thorold, formerly sheriff of Lincoln, at Bukenhale, that is to say, two carucates and a half of land, as also twenty-six acres of meadow land, and fifty acres of woodland, [and seventy acres], at Brusche.[28] Also, the gift of Geolph, the son of Malte, at Halington, that is to say, four bovates of land at Juland, and ten bovates of land rented to tenants, and thirty-three acres of meadow land at Gernthorp. Also, the gift of Fregist, the knight, that is to say, the whole of the vill of Langtoft, and in the fields of the said vill six carucates of arable land, the same being in length fifteen quarentenes,[29] and nine quarentenes in breadth; as also one hundred acres of meadow land, and a wood and marsh two leagues in length, and two leagues in breadth; besides the church of the said vill, and forty acres of the same fee[29*] in the fields of Depyng. Also, the gift of Algar, the knight, [the son of Northlang], that is to say, Northland in Baston, consisting of four carucates of arable land, containing eight quarentenes in length, and eight quarentenes in breadth, as also forty-five acres of meadow land, and a marsh containing sixteen quarentenes in length, and eight quarentenes in breadth; likewise the church of the said vill, and one mill, and one half of another mill, with several piscary in the river from the mill situate towards the west, as far as the end of the said marsh, towards the east. Likewise, the gift of the same Algar, the knight, at Repyngale, that is to say, three carucates of arable land and forty acres of meadow land. Likewise, the gift of Norman, the former sheriff, at Sutton, near Bosworth, that is to say, two carucates of land, and one windmill. Likewise, the gift of the same Norman, at Stapilton; that is to say, the manor, and two carucates of land. Likewise, the gift of the same person at Badby, that is to say, four hides of land, together with the appurtenances. Likewise, the gift of the lord, earl Algar, at Holbecke[30] and at Cappelade, that is to say, four carucates, and six bovates and eighteen acres of meadow land, and a marsh. [Likewise, the gift of the same person in his vill of Spaldelyng, that is to say, three carucates of land] Likewise, the gift of the same person, in his vill of Pyncebek, that is to say, one carucate of land. Likewise, the gift of the same person, in his vill of Algarkirk, that is to say, eleven bovates of land; and in the parish of Sutterton, three carucates of land, and one bovate and twenty-six acres of meadow land, and four salt-pits, together with the church of the said vill. Likewise, the gift of the knight Oswy, at Drayton, that is to say, eight hides of land, and four virgates, and the church of the said vill. Likewise, the gift of Asketel, my cook, at Glapthorn, that is to say, three virgates of land. Likewise, the gift of Wulget, my [former] butler, at Peiekyrke, that is to say, three virgates of land. Likewise, the gift of [Edulph] my courier, one bovate of land at Laythorp. Likewise, the gift of Siward, the sheriff, three bovates of land, one dwelling house, and three cottages at Kirkeby. Likewise, at Staunden, the gift of the countess Sigburga, being five hides of land. Likewise, the gift at Adyngton, of Wulnoth, my sewer, that is to say, two hides of land, and several piscary,[31] together with the advowson of the church of the said vill; as also, in the other Adyngton, one virgate of land, the gift of the same person. The said lands and tenements I do give, grant, and confirm unto the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, and the monks there serving God, as a peaceable and permanent possession, to hold of me and each of my heirs, kings of the Mercians, my successors, as a pure and perpetual alms-gift, freely, quietly, and exempted from all secular burdens, exactions, and taxes whatever, under what name soever the same may be imposed. And if any enemy, at the instigation of the devil, shall at any time hereafter attempt to lay claim to any of the lands or tenements aforesaid, which have been so long and under so many kings held in peace, and confirmed by their authority, I do by this present deed, profess and promise that I and my successors, kings of the Mercians, will be defenders of the said monastery henceforth in all time to come.

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[26] Or, perhaps, "treasury." In the original, "secretarium."

[27] These veils were made of embroidery, and were hung as a screen at the entrance to the king's private chamber.

[28] Probably so called from the brushwood there growing.

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[29] A quarentene of land consisted of forty perches.

[29*] The mention of fees or feuds is one of the suspicious circumstances pointed out by Hickes.

[30] Now Holbeach.

"This my charter I have confirmed with the sign of the holy cross, in favour of the lord abbat Siward, my father, and the most holy virgin, Etheldritha, a recluse there for the love of Christ, my kinswoman in the flesh, but (what is still more) my most dearly beloved sister in Christ; and which I had formerly promised in presence of my lords, Egbert, king of Wessex, and Ethelwulph, his son, before the bishops and nobles of highest rank throughout all England, in the city of London, on the occasion when we had all met together for the purpose of devising measures against the Danish pirates, who were then repeatedly harassing the coasts of England. + I, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have advised the same. + I, Embald, archbishop of York, have signed the same. + I, Osmond, bishop of London, have approved of the same. + I, Helmstan, bishop of Winchester, have given my assent hereto. + I, Herewin, bishop of Lichfield, have consented hereto. + I, Cedda, bishop of Hereford, have sanctioned the same. + I, Adelstan, bishop of Sherburn, have promoted the same. + I, Humbricht, bishop of Elmham, have given my approbation hereto. + I, Wilred, bishop of Dunwich, have assented hereto. + I, Herfred, bishop of Worcester, have countenanced the same. + I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have favoured the same. + I, Hedda, abbat of Medeshamsted, have ratified the same. + I, Ambert, abbat of Repton, have assisted hereat. + I, Kynewin, abbat of Bardeney, have been present hereat. + I, Egbert, king of Wessex, have granted the same. + I, Ethelwulph, son of the king of Wessex, have allowed of the same. + I, duke Wulbard, have taken part herein. + I, duke Athelm, have heard the same. + I, duke Herenbricht, have agreed hereto. + I, Swithun, priest of king Egbert, have attended hereat. + I, Bosa, the secretary of king Wichtlaf, have with my hand written this deed. + I, Wichtlaf, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, king of the Mercians, do, for the honour of holy Mother Church, and for the promotion of Divine worship, in the year from the Incarnation of the same our Saviour, 833, upon the festival of Saint Augustin, the confessor, teacher, and Apostle of our nation, make this slight offering, and I would offer still more, and would even promise my body after my death to so holy a monastery, were it not that before my burial I had promised the same to [the monastery of] Repton. But still, my spirit shall remain with you always."

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[31] It is doubtful whether "piscaria" here means the fishpond itself, or the right of fishing in it.

The said king Wichtlaf persevered with the greatest constancy, even unto his death, in the affection he had conceived for the monastery of Croyland, so much so, that at least once in each year of his life, he visited the shrine of Saint Guthlac with great contrition, and offered there some jewel of great value and costliness. When he first heard of the death of the most holy virgin Etheldritha, he was struck with such violent grief, that for a long time he took to his bed, and all his attendants were fearful that he was in danger of his life.

At length, however, by the favour of the grace of God, he recovered in some degree, and going to her tomb, (she had been buried at the head of the holy man Tatwin, the former guide and steersman of the holy father Guthlac to the said island), there suffered a kind of trance; on recovering from which he shed as many tears over the tomb, as if by a sudden misfortune he had just lost his wife and his son, or his whole family; until Siward, the lord [abbat], whom he always most affectionately revered as his father, rebuking him somewhat severely, led him away, with reluctance, and offering considerable resistance. from the tomb to his chamber. Not long after this, his son Wymund dying, after a continued attack of dysentery, he buried him on the right hand side of that virgin. His wife Celfreda, also, dying soon after, within the space of one year, he had her buried with royal obsequies, and amid inextinguishable tears, on the left hand side of the same virgin. He himself departed this life in the thirteenth year of his reign, and, in conformity with his former vow, was buried in the monastery of Repton.

He was succeeded on the throne by his brother, Bertulph, who in like manner reigned thirteen years, being a tributary of Ethelwulph, king of Wessex: but neither after the example, nor with the affection of his brother, king Wichtlaf, did he caress the Saints of God or the monastery of Croyland. For Berfert, his son, on the holy vigil of Pentecost, with the sanction of his father, Bertulph, cruelly and impiously slew his kinsman, the holy Wistan, son of Wimund, the son of king Wichtlaf, and of Alfleda, the daughter of Ceolwulph, the former king. So violent was the ambitious desire for rule by which he was actuated! The body of this most guileless martyr was at the time carried to Repton, and interred near his grandfather, Wichtlaf, but was in after years, through the devoutness of the faithful, transferred to Evesham

As for his father, Bertulph, he was a plunderer of the monasteries; and, when passing through Croyland, he most impiously stripped it of all the jewels which his brother, Wichtlaf, as well as other kings of the Mercians, had given with a bounteous hand, in great numbers, for the decoration of the holy church, together with all the money that he could find in the monastery. Leading his soldiers thence, he engaged in battle with the Danes, who were committing ravages in the

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[32] In Norfolk.

neighbourhood of London, but was routed by the pagans, and put to flight.

By way, however, of making some small amends for the money of which he had plundered it, he granted a charter conferring very important privileges on Croyland, relative to its lands and liberties, to the following effect:[33]

"Bertulph, king of the Mercians, to the venerable father Siward, abbat of Croyland, and to all his brethren, the monks of the said monastery, both present and to come, health everlasting in the Lord. I do most heartily return due thanks unto you all, for the money with which, in my greatest need, when I was lately passing by, you did, with most kindly and most liberal feelings, refresh and encourage me to withstand the violent attacks of the Pagans. At which time you made serious complaints to me as to injuries and losses most maliciously inflicted upon you by certain of your enemies; and stated that they wickedly lie in wait upon the outer banks of your rivers, and watch if any of the fugitives who have become your servants, should, while fishing, land upon the said banks; and in like manner repeatedly watch the boundaries of your marshes, if by chance any sheep or oxen, or other animals, your property, straying to a distance, your said servants should happen, for the purpose of recalling them, to go beyond the said bounds; in which case, on finding your said servants beyond your island, it is their custom to subject them to the public laws, and condemn them as violators of their right of impunity; of which the consequence was, that either your said servants frequently fell into the hands of the said persons, and were put to death, or else that you failed to reap the full benefit of their labours. Wherefore, your complaints to the said effect being openly laid before me by the brother Askil, your fellow monk, in presence of the prelates and nobles of my whole kingdom of Mercia, at Bemingdon,[34] lately assembled, and all most affectionately sympathising with you, upon the said injuries so done to you: for the purpose of promoting the honour of God, and of giving relief to holy Mother Church, it did please me, all taking into consideration and praising the extent of your devout and holy zeal, to insure the peace and quiet of your holy monastery, and as an alms-deed for the good of my soul, to declare and extend the privileges granted to you by the lord king Wichtlaf, my brother and predecessor, as to exemption from punishment, and when so declared and extended, by my charter to confirm the same.

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[33] Hickes, in his Thesaurus of Northern Literature (pref. p 28), looks upon this charter as fictitious.

[34] Either Bennington, in Hertfordshire, or perhaps, more probably, Benson, in Oxfordshire.

"Wherefore I commanded Radbot, the sheriff of Lincoln, and the rest of my servants in that district appointed, to make circuit of and describe the boundaries of your island of Croyland and your marshes, and faithfully and distinctly to report to me and my council thereon, wherever during last Easter we might happen to be: and they, fulfilling my commands, have, in the following terms, made a full report, and have described to me and my council, who were then keeping our holy Easter at Kyngesbury, the circuit of the marsh lands of your island. Your isle of Croyland, (with which, in former times, your founder, the renowned Ethelbald, king of Mercia, endowed your monastery, and which grant the other kings of Mercia, his successors, have, by their charter, confirmed), is bounded on the eastern side from Aswyktofthirne as far as Tedwarthar, by the river Schepishee, the said river having the said island on its western side, and the marsh of Cappelade on its eastern side. From Tedwarthar as far as Namanslandhirne the river Southee bounds it, having the said island on its northern side, and the wood of Ancarig on the south. From Namanslandhirne as far as the bridge of Croyland the river Nene bounds it, having the said island on its eastern side, and your marsh of Alderlound on the west. From the bridge of Croyland as far as Wodelademouth the river Welland bounds it, having the said island on its eastern side, and your marsh called Goggislound on the west. From Wodelademouth as far as the common Drain of Asendyk the aforesaid river Welland bounds it, having the said island on its south side and the marsh of Spaldelyng on the north; and from the aforesaid Drain as far as Aswyktoft the aforesaid river Asendyk bounds it, having on its south side the said island, and on the north the marshes of Spaldelyng, Weston, and Multon. The limits also and boundaries of your marsh lands that lie opposite to your isle of Croyland on the west side thereof, which have been described by my said servants, have been reported to me as follows:—They extend from Namanslandhirne as far as Fynset, thence as far as Groynes, thence to Folwardstakyng, thence towards the north as far as the Welland, where the Southlake enters that river; thence, crossing the river Welland, they proceed to Aspath, and thence take a northerly direction to Werwerlake. Thence they run through Harynholt, as far as Mengerlake; thence to Oggot or Dedmanslake, and so through Apynholt and Wodelade, in an easterly direction, as far as Wodelademouth, which is the boundary of your island on that side towards the north, in the same way that Namanslandhirne is the boundary of your island on the south. And further, common right of pasture for all your cattle extends beyond the aforesaid boundaries of your marshes, towards the south, as far as the lands of the monks [of the church] of Medeshamsted; towards the west, as far as the lands of the monks of the church of Saint Pega, in the southern marshes of the Welland; and in the northern marshes [thereof] it extends westward as far as the buildings of Depyng; and towards the north as far as the buildings of Spaldelyng; the same to be enjoyed at all seasons of the year, in the same way that from the foundation of your monastery you have hitherto peaceably enjoyed all the privileges before-mentioned. Also, as to such of your servants as from the number of the fugitives you shall make fishermen or shepherds in your service, I do, with the general assent of the council of the whole of my kingdom, grant unto your holy monastery, beyond the outer banks of the five rivers[35] that enclose your island, twenty feet in width from the water itself, in whatever place they shall land, for the purpose of drawing their nets, or of doing anything whatsoever that is necessary to be done on dry land. In like manner, wherever common right of feeding your cattle in the said marshes extends, there also shall extend free range for your fugitives. And if it shall chance to happen that the said cattle are driven into the neighbouring fields, by means of tempest, or any other misfortune, or through robbery, then, all my nobles and prelates consenting thereto, I do grant unto your said fugitives, that, like other free men, they shall be at liberty to follow your cattle aforesaid, and to seek for and bring them back in the best manner they may; and that throughout the whole road they shall enjoy my protection and perfect impunity, just as though they were in their own church: and no one is to presume to molest them, under penalty of mutilation of the most useful limb, or in any way to impede them therein.

[35] "Agrorum" here is clearly a mistake for "aquarum."

"Moreover, in behalf [of the soul] of the before-named Wichtlaf, the late king, my brother and predecessor, and as a ransom for my own sins, I do, by the common advice, and with the gratuitous assent of all the nobles of my kingdom, grant unto God and to his most blessed confessor Saint Guthlac, and to your most holy monastery of Croyland, that throughout my whole kingdom of Mercia, you, the present abbat, monks, and lay brothers of your holy monastery, as well as those who shall succeed you hereafter there to serve God, shall be at liberty to appoint any of the said fugitives to act as their servants on their journies, and to take them as such, whatever may be the business on which they are so engaged; and that in the presence of the said abbat, monks, and lay brothers, they shall everywhere throughout my kingdom remain as safe and unmolested as if they were in their own church of Croyland, and shall be entirely free and exempt from all peril whatsoever, under penalty of mutilation of his most useful limb, if any person shall attempt in any way rashly to violate this my privilege. But if any such fugitive shall be found beyond the aforesaid twenty feet on the further banks of your rivers, or beyond the vills, which claim common of pasture with you in your western marshes, on both sides of the river Welland, or shall be found in any other place, yourselves being absent and he unprovided with letters of protection on the journey from your abbat, then, in such case he shall, according to his demerits, be subject to lawful punishment.

"Having thus declared the boundaries of your island, as also of your marshes, and having, in honour of God, extended the privileges of the lord Wichtlaf, and the other kings of Mercia, my predecessors, munificently granted unto you, it has pleased me and the whole of my council, unanimously, by the authority of the royal charter, to confirm you in possession of all places your property. I do therefore confirm unto you, and to [all] your successors, as well those under your habit now professing, as those who shall after you profess, the rule of Saint Benedict, your principal church of Croyland, in which the venerable remains of the most holy confessor of Christ, and your patron, the blessed Guthlac, there in the body interred, happily await the last resurrection, as also the whole island thereto adjoining, in such manner as it has been above sufficiently described by its boundaries set forth by the care of my servants, the same to be set apart as a several foundation for your abbey, and an especial site for your monastery, and to be held for ever as your own sole and entire possession; together with the two marshes lying on the western side thereof, that is to say, Alderlound on the south side of the river Welland, and Goggislound on the northern side of the same river, by their boundaries in like manner herein-before set forth. This is the inheritance of the Lord, the endowment of the Church of Christ, the soil of Saint Mary and Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, the most holy sanctuary of Saint Guthlac and his monks, a monastery most free from all worldly servitude, a special almsgift of the most illustrious kings, the sole place of refuge for every one in all tribulations, a perpetual abode of the Saints, a possession for religious men, especially set apart by the common council of the kingdom; and, by reason of the frequent miracles of the most holy confessor, an ever-fruitful mother 'of camphire in the vineyards of Engedi,'[36] and, by reason of the privileges granted by the kings, a 'Bosor in the wilderness,'[37] a city of grace and safety to all who repent. If any person shall violate this holy shrine, or shall in any way molest the same, my right hand shall take vengeance upon him, and the same will my heirs and successors do to the end of time, who after me shall wield the sceptre of this kingdom of Mercia.

"I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery of Croyland, the gift of Fregist, formerly knight of king Kenulph, being the church of Langtoft, and in the fields of the said vill six carucates of land, the same being fifteen quarentenes in length, and nine quarentenes in breadth; as also one hundred acres of meadow land, and a wood and marsh two leagues in length and two leagues in breadth, besides forty acres of the same fee in the fields of Depyng. I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of Algar the knight, the son of Northlang, being the church of Tetford together with the chapel of Saint John the Evangelist at Baston; as also in the same parish four carucates of land, containing in length eight quarentenes, and eight quarentenes in breadth; likewise one mill, and one half of another mill, and several piscary in the river, as the same bounds your meadows towards the east Likewise, the gift of the same Algar at Repyngale, that is to say, three carucates of land and sixty acres of meadow land. I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery of Croyland, the gift of earl Algar, the father of the younger Algar now living, being the church of Cappelade together with the chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the same vill, and, in the fields of Holbeck, as also of Cappelade, four carucates of arable land, and six bovates and eighteen acres of meadow land, and a marsh of two thousand[38] acres, and another marsh of three thousand[38] acres; likewise, the gift of the said earl Algar the elder, being the wooden chapel of Saint Mary, near Spaldelyng, which in English has the name of Stokkym, and is situate on the eastern side of the river of that vill; as also, in the fields of Pynchbek and of Spaldelyng, four carucates of land, and several piscary in the aforesaid river from the bridge which leads from the burial-ground of the aforesaid chapel of Saint Mary, to the burial-ground of the stone chapel of Saint Nicholas, which in English is called Stonyn, and is situate on the western bank, in the manor of the aforesaid earl Algar, who gave the said right of fishery from the aforesaid bridge as far as the Drain of Asendyk, unto God and Saint Guthlac of Croyland, for the solemn celebration of the anniversary of his father each year in your monastery. I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of the said earl Algar the elder, being the church of Sutterton, and, in the fields of Algarkyrk and of Sutterton, three carucates of arable land, and twelve bovates and twenty-six acres of meadow land, and four salt-pits. Also, the gift of the knight Oswy at Drayton, being eight hides and four virgates of land. I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery the gift of Asketel, being three virgates of land at Glapthorne. Also, the gift of Wulget, being three virgates of land at Peiekyrk. Also, one bovate of land, the gift of Edulph, at Laythorpe. Also, the gift of the sheriff Siward at Kyrkeby, being three bovates of land, one dwelling-house, and three cottages. Also, the gift of the countess Sigburga, being five hides of land at Staundon. Also, the gift of Wulnoth at Adyngton, being two hides of land, together with the advowson of the church of the said vill; and in the other Adyngton, one virgate of land, the gift of the same I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of Thorold, sheriff of Lincoln, being two carucates and a half of land in Bukenhale, and twenty-six acres of meadow land, and fifty acres of wood-land, [and seventy acres] at Brusche. I do also confirm unto God and to Saint Guthlac and your holy monastery, the gift of Geolph, the son of Malte, at Halyngton, being four bovates of land at Juland, and ten bovates rented to tenants, and thirty-three acres of meadow land at Gernthorpe belonging to the same fee. All the aforesaid churches, chapels, lands, tenements, pastures, fisheries, manors, dwelling-houses, mills, meres, and marshes, I do grant unto yourselves and your successors for ever, free and absolved from all secular services and worldly burdens; and do, by this my present charter, confirm the same as my royal alms-gift for the soul of the lord Wichtlaf the late king, my brother and predecessor, and for the souls of all my ancestors, kinsmen, and friends. I do also exempt the same from all debts due to the king and every other lord and man, of what dignity, excellence, or honour, soever he may be, that so they shall from this time forward be able to demand nothing whatsoever from the monks, clerks, laymen, servants, or tenants of your holy monastery of Croyland, except your prayers and your spiritual benefits; to the end that may always, in all our necessities, deserve the favour of the holy Guthlac, the most blessed confessor of Christ, who, in the body, rests among you.

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[36] Cant i. 14.

[37] Probably in allusion to Jer. ix. 2.

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[38] The word "thousand" ought probably to be omitted.

"Wherefore, with the unanimous consent of the whole council here at Kyngesbury, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Christ, 851, on the sixth day of Easter week, on the business of the kingdom assembled, I have steadfastly and immutably confirmed this my royal charter with the sign of the holy cross. + I, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, being whole and healed both in mind and body, have with my hand signed the same. + I, Swithulph, bishop of London, having in myself experienced the grace of God, and of His most holy confessor Guthlac, have, with humble duteousness, at the command of my lord the king, dictated this deed, and have, among the other lord bishops, in my proper order, subscribed the same. + I, Swithun, bishop of Winchester, joyous and rejoicing so oft as the Lord most holy gladdens His city, our Holy Mother Church, with miracles, have set my signature to this charter of the king. + I, Elstan, bishop of Sherburn, the duteous and everlasting debtor of Saint Guthlac, rejoicing with our Holy Church at its privileges, have made this sign. + I, Orkenwald, bishop of Lichfield, pleased and delighted at all the prosperous successes of the Holy Church, have, with willing mind, approved hereof. + I, Rethun, bishop of Leicester, the son and servant of Saint Guthlac during my whole life, have, with pleasure, promoted the same. + I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have, by this deed, ardently desired to promote the honour of God. + I, Wulfard, abbat of Evesham, have approved hereof. + I, Living, abbat of Winchelcombe, have commanded the same. + I, Hedda, abbat of Medeshamsted, have diligently promoted the same. + I, duke Enulph, have consented hereto. + I, duke Osric, have counselled the same. + I, earl Serlo, have given my sanction hereto. + I, earl Elhere, have assented hereto. + I, earl Huda, have given my consent hereto. + I, Oslac, butler of king Ethelwulph, and envoy from my said lord and his sons, have in their name and in that of all the people of Wessex, especially commended this deed of my lord the king Bertulph. + I, Bertulph, king of the Mercians, in presence of all the prelates and nobles of my kingdom, do pray to the Divine Majesty, that, through the intercession of His most holy confessor Saint Guthlac and all his Saints, He will pardon me and all my people our sins; and that, as openly by His miracles He has deigned to shew unto us His mercies, so He will also deign in every contest to give us the victory over the Pagans, His enemies, and, after the frail career of this present life, in the company of His Saints, glory everlasting.—Amen."

At this council, in honour of His most holy confessor Guthlac, the Lord wrought a most remarkable miracle, by means of which the devout desires of the whole land to make the pilgrimage to Croyland, which were now more lukewarm than usual, at once became reinvigorated, and were daily revived on all the roads from every province. For it so happened, that this year a certain disease afflicted the whole of England; it was a kind of paralysis, by which the nerves of men, women, and children, were attacked, through the sudden and excessive cold of a very inclement winter, against which no coverings of cloth were proof; the arms and hands especially of men became useless, and were totally withered up, the attacks of the disease being preceded by an intolerable pain, which, like a most unerring forerunner, first took possession of the afflicted limb. It so happened that at this council many of both high and low degree were suffering from the malady. When the affairs of the kingdom were about to be discussed, Ceolnoth, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, who was afflicted with the said disease, openly gave it as his opinion that holy matters ought first to be treated of, and that then, Christ bestowing His grace thereon, their worldly affairs might be crowned with a prosperous result.

To this proposal all assented, and enquiries were made for Siward, the lord abbat [of Croyland]; as, for many years past, he had been, in consequence of his extreme eloquence and his holy piety, a sort of Divine interpreter, as it were, at the councils and synods, and had proved a most graceful expounder and promoter of innumerable matters relative to the interests of the whole of the clergy. In consequence, however, of his great age, he was not present at this council, but, by a most humble letter of apology, sent by the hands of brother Askill, his fellow-monk, had excused his absence on the ground of his infirmities and advanced years.

On this, king Bertulph, recalling to mind the complaints of the church of Croyland, laid before the council at full length the injuries which had been repeatedly inflicted on Siward, the lord abbat, and his monastery of Croyland, by the infatuated frenzy of their adversaries; and ordered it to be determined, with the universal sanction of the council, what remedy should be applied. While this matter was being publicly discussed, and the petition of Siward, the lord abbat, which had been presented hereupon by brother Askill before-named, had passed from hand to hand among all the prelates and nobles in the council, and each was now proposing some different plan, Ceolnoth, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, with a loud voice, exclaimed that he was whole and healed of his malady, through the merits of the most blessed Guthlac, the most holy confessor of Christ, whose affairs were at that moment being treated of. In the same manner, many others, men of the highest rank, bishops as well as nobles, who were present at the same council, exclaimed, that they too had been afflicted with the same disease, but that now, through the grace of God, and the merits of the most holy Guthlac, they experienced no pain whatever, in consequence of the said malady, in any of their limbs.

Upon this, all, at once, with the most stringent vows, made it a matter of conscience, as soon as they possibly could, on devout pilgrimage to visit the most sacred tomb of the most holy Guthlac. Accordingly, our lord the king, Bertulph, commanded the bishop of London (who was at this time looked upon as the most able writer and the most elegant composer, and who, besides, had been attacked by the malady, and now, with the greatest joyousness, asserted that he was healed thereof), to take in hand the matter of the privileges of Croyland, and determined to do all honor to Saint Guthlac, his physician, by granting his charter, in such manner as his council should determine—which was accordingly done. For this reason it is, that in the signatures to the royal charter, Ceolnoth, the archbishop of Canterbury, confesses that he is "whole and healed;" Saint Swithun, the bishop of Winchester, "rejoices at the miracles of the Lord;" Elstan, bishop of Sherburn, and Orkenwald, bishop of Lichfield, express their delight "at the successes of the Church;" and Rethun, bishop of Leicester, promises that he will be the "servant of Saint Guthlac so long as he lives." All the nobles, likewise, present at the council, with the most ardent zeal, seconded the royal favour towards Saint Guthlac in all respects.

Accordingly, innumerable multitudes of the sick, from throughout the whole land, flocked daily to the most holy tomb of Saint Guthlac; and these, with becoming devotion, imploring the Divine grace, through the merits of the most holy confessor, the Lord so plentifully opened unto them all the fountains of His healthful mercies, that sometimes, in one day, more than a hundred persons so paralyzed were healed. Hence, the abbat Siward was beyond measure enriched, and became a very great man: so much so, that he, who, like the blessed Job, had been proved by the utmost poverty, and had been despoiled of all the treasures of his monastery, even to the utmost farthing, because he was far from cursing his days, nor yet spake any foolishness against the Lord, but always maintained his long-suffering unimpaired, began, by the bounty of God, to abound in all good things: and thus, for the treasures and wealth, both in lands and tenements, which he had lost in former times, it was afterwards returned unto him twofold, and his old age became much more fruitful, and twofold more prosperous, than his youth.

This fact also added to the prosperity enjoyed by him in his old age—that, shortly after his return from Rome, where, in company with his youngest son, Alfred, he had, with great devoutness, visited the thresholds of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and the most holy pope Leo; Ethelwulph, the renowned king of the West Saxons, with the free consent of all his prelates and chief men, who, under him, presided over the various provinces throughout the whole of England, then for the first time endowed the whole Church of England with the tenths of all lands, and other goods or chattels, by his royal charter, to the following effect:—

"In the name of our Lord, who reigneth for everlasting. Whereas, in our days, we do perceive that evil times are impending, the flames of warfare, the plunder of our treasures, most cruel depredations by enemies who lay waste far and wide, and by barbarous and pagan nations, with multiplied tribulations to afflict us even unto death for our sins; I, Ethelwulph, king of the West Saxons, together with the council of my bishops and nobles, securing thereby healthful advice and one uniform remedy, do consent that, by all ranks who have heretofore possessed any hereditary portion of land, there shall always be given the tenth part thereof, be it ever so small, for a dwelling[38] for the servants and handmaids of God, in the service of God, or else for poor and afflicted laymen; as also the tenth part of all goods And for the purpose of lastingly preserving the liberties of the Holy Church, I have thought proper to grant that it shall be free and exempt from all secular services, and from king's tribute, both great and small, as also the taxes which we call 'witeredden,' and shall be absolved from all other matters, for the forgiveness of my soul and the remission of my sins; and that it shall be devoted to the service of God alone, exempt from military service, the building of bridges, and castle-ward, to the end that the clergy may the more diligently offer prayers for us unto God without ceasing, the more we do in any degree lighten their services. This was done at Winchester, in the church of Saint Peter, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 855, being the third year of the indiction, on the nones of November, before the great altar there, and in honor of the glorious Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, and Saint Michael the Archangel, and Saint Peter the Prince of the Apostles, as also our blessed father Gregory the Pope; all the archbishops and bishops of the whole of England being present and subscribing thereto, as also Beorred, king of Mercia, and Edmund, king of the East Angles, and an infinite multitude of abbats, abbesses, dukes, earls, and nobles throughout the whole land, and of others of the faithful, all of whom have approved of this royal charter, and the dignitaries have subscribed their names thereto."

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[38] This copy of the charter is evidently in a most corrupt state, and differs very considerably from that given by Roger of Wendover.

King Ethelwulph, for the more ample confirmation thereof, offered the above-written charter upon the altar of Saint Peter the Apostle; and the bishops, putting faith in God, received the same, and afterwards transmitted it to all the churches, in order to be published in their respective dioceses.

Bertulph, king of the Mercians, having departed this life, after a reign of thirteen years, Beorred succeeded him on the throne. In his time, the before-named venerable father, the lord Siward, being full of days and enfeebled, ended his life, after having most ably discharged the pastoral duties for a period of sixty-two years. He was succeeded in the office of abbat of the monastery of Croyland by the lord Theodore. In his time, the Danes, collecting booty in every direction throughout the land, especially ravaged Northumbria and Mercia.

Ethelwulph, king of Wessex, dying just at this time, his sons, Ethelbald and Ethelbert, succeeded him, and divided their father's kingdom between them. Ethelbald, ascending his father's bed, a thing before unheard-of among heathens even, married his own step-mother, Judith, who was the daughter of a former king of France, and had been taken to wife by his father Ethelwulph; to the extreme astonishment of all his countrymen, who abhorred a crime of this nature. After having lived for two years in this vile and filthy course, he departed this life, and his portion of the kingdom was wholly united to that of his brother Ethelbert.

He, proving himself a most valiant youth and an unconquerable triumpher over the Danes, ably maintained the defence of the kingdom for a period of five years; after which, Ethelred, the third brother, ascended the throne. In his time, the kingdom was most dreadfully harassed by wars, the Pagans making inroads on every side. They invaded the territory of Northumbria, gained possession of York, and, after ravaging East Anglia, invaded Mercia, and, in the year of our Lord, 866, wintered at Nottingham. On this, Beorred, having assembled a large army, and being strengthened by the forces of Ethelred, king of Wessex, and his brother Alfred, whose sister he had married, forced the Pagans to leave Nottingham and return to York.

In this expedition earl Algar the younger signalized himself by his exploits and military prowess, and through his valiant deeds gained the especial esteem of king Beorred and the two brothers of Wessex. He was also most warmly attached to the monastery of Croyland, and lived on terms of the strictest intimacy with abbat Theodore, as he had formerly done with abbat Siward, proving himself a most strenuous supporter of that church in all its negociations and necessities. Having a few years previously to this bestowed his manor of Spalding upon abbat Theodore, for the good of the soul of his father, earl Algar the elder, he obtained a confirmation thereof to the said abbat Theodore, as also of all the lands and tenements at that time to the monastery of Croyland belonging, to the following effect:—

[39] "Beorred, by the bounty and grace of God, king of the Mercians, to all the provinces, and the people thereof throughout the whole of Mercia dwelling, and professing the catholic faith, health everlasting in our Lord Jesus Christ. Whereas, our sins so requiring it, we perceive the hand of the Lord extended over us and threatening our necks with a rod of iron, I deem it to be necessary and healthful for us, by the pious prayers of Holy Mother Church, and the free bestowal of alms, to appease the anger of the Lord, and with becoming devotion in our necessities, to implore His favouring help. For this reason, and at the prayer of the most valiant earl Algar, deservedly held most dear by me, I have, with ready devoutness, by my royal charter, granted unto Theodore, abbat of Croyland, confirmation of the gift of the said earl Algar, as also of the gifts of others of the faithful, both past and present, to his said holy monastery, as an alms-gift for my own soul, and for the remission of my offences. I do therefore confirm

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[39] This charter is looked upon by Hickes as spurious.

unto God and to his most holy confessor, Guthlac, at Croyland, and to all the monks there in the service of God, as also to all those who shall so serve hereafter in all time to come, the whole of their island to the said monastery adjoining, as the same is by metes and boundaries described in the charters of its founder Ethelbald, the former renowned king of the Mercians, and of the other kings, my predecessors; to be set apart as a site for their abbey, together with the two marshes lying opposite to the said island on the west, and on both sides of the river Welland, that is to say, Alderlound on the south side, and Goggislound on the north, with the same boundaries to the same which from the beginning they have had. I do also confirm unto the said monastery of Croyland, the gift of the before-named renowned earl Algar, most dearly beloved by me, the same being his manor, situate on the south side of the river at Spaldelyng, together with four carucates of arable land, and twenty-four dwelling-houses, and eighty cottages in the said vill of Spaldelyng; as also the gift of earl Algar the elder, his father, the same being the wooden chapel of Saint Mary, situate on the same side of the river at Spaldelyng, together with four carucates of land adjoining, on either side of the river, in the fields of Pinchebek and of Spaldelyng: also, being the gift of the same earl Algar, the church of Cappelade, with four carucates of land, and six bovates and eighteen acres of meadow land, and two acres of mere near the sea-shore, and three acres of marsh land near the river Schepishee, which bounds the abbey of Croyland on the east thereof; also, being the gift of the same earl Algar, the church of Sutterton with the chapel of Saltency, and three carucates of arable land, and twelve bovates and twenty-six acres of meadow land, in the fields of Algarkyrke and of Sutherton, as also four salt-pits in the latter vill. In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, the gift of the knight Oswy, being eight hides of land and four virgates at Drayton, as also the church of the said vill In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery of Croyland, the gift of Morcard, my knight, being the whole of his lands at Depyng, together with two hundred dwelling-houses, and four hundred cottages, and two churches, the same being all that he owned in the said vill and in its fields, from the river Welland toward the south as far as the fields of Langetoft on the north thereof, and from the fields of Talington on the west thereof, to Aspath in the marshes, on the east thereof. In like manner, I do confirm to the aforesaid monastery, the gift of Algar the knight, the son of Northlang, at Baston, and at Tetford, the lands and tenements which the said Algar possessed, together with the church and chapel of Saint John in the said vill; as also the gift of the said Algar at Repyngale, being three carucates of arable land, and sixty acres of meadow land. In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery, the gift of Norman, the former sheriff, at Sutton, near Bosworth, being two carucates of land and one windmill; as also the gift of the said Norman at Stapilton, the same being his manor, and two carucates of land; also, the gift of the said Norman, at Badby, being four hides of land, with the manor, and thirty [three] acres of meadow land. In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery, the gift of Thorold, the former sheriff of Lincoln, at Bukenhale, the same being two carucates and a half of land, and twenty-six acres of meadow land, and fifty acres of wood-land at Brusche. In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery, the gift of Geolph, the son of Malte, at Halyngton, the same being four bovates of land at Juland, and ten bovates rented out, and thirty acres of meadow land of the same fee at Gernthorpe. In like manner, I do confirm unto the aforesaid monastery, the gift of Asketel, at Glapthorne, being three virgates of land; as also three virgates of land, the gift of Wulget, at Peickyrk; also, three bovates of land, one dwelling-house, and three cottages, the gift of Siward, at Kirkeby; also, one bovate of land, the gift of Edulph, at Laythorp; also, two hides of land, and piscary, the gift of Wulnoth, at Adyngton, together with the advowson of the church of the said vill; and at the other Adyngton, one virgate of land; as also, five hides of land, the gift of the countess Sigburga, at Staundon; and one hide and a half at Thirming, the gift of Grymketel.

"All the before-named island, marshes, meres, churches, chapels, manors, dwelling houses, cottages, woods, lands, and meadows I do grant, appoint, and confirm unto God and Saint Guthlac, free, discharged, and acquitted of and from all worldly burdens and secular services, for the souls of the givers of the things aforesaid, as also for the benefit of my own soul and the souls of all my ancestors and my heirs, as a perpetual alms. to be held by the abbat Theodore and his monks, serving the Lord in the monastery of Croyland. This my royal charter I have confirmed with the sanction of the holy cross, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 868, at Snothryngham,[40] in presence of my brethren and friends, and all my people there assembled, to besiege the Pagans. + I, Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have set my signature hereto. + I, Elstan, bishop of London, have confirmed the same. + I, Edmund, bishop of Sherburn, have approved of the same. + I, Alcwin, bishop of Winchester, have commended the same + I, Kynebert, bishop of Lichfield, have signed the same. + I, Ethelbert, bishop of Hereford, have made my cross + I, Wulfsy, abbat of Evesham, have sanctioned the same. + I, Hedda, abbat of Medeshamsted, have given my consent hereto. + I, Tivin, abbat of Saint Alban's, have counselled the same. + I, Ethelred, king of Wessex, have given my assent hereto. + I, Alfred, brother of the king of Wessex, have consented hereto. + I, Edmund, king of East Anglia, have promoted the same. + I, duke Adelred, have favoured the same. + I, duke Osbert, have allowed of the same. + I, earl Algar, devoutly entreating the same, have obtained it by the favour of my lord the king. + I, earl Wulkelm, have assisted thereat. + I, earl Adelwulph, have granted the same. + I, earl Turgot, have consented hereto + I, earl Alemund, have considered the same. + I, earl Diga, have taken part herein. + I, earl Lefwin, have witnessed the same. + I, earl Burkard, have set my writing hereto. + I, earl Ascer, have been present hereat. + I, earl Thurstan, have established the same. + I, earl Reynard, have counselled the same. + I, earl Tilbrand, have subscribed hereto. + I, Beorred. king of the Mercians, do, with the sincere feelings of my mind, and with all my heart, return especial thanks unto all my troops; but in especial to the ecclesiastics, bishops, abbats, and others of lower rank and dignity; who, although king Ethelwulph, of most pious memory, my father, by his most sacred charter, formerly made you free from all military service, and entirely exempt from the performance of all secular duties, still, being most benignly moved with a most deserved compassion for the oppressions of the Christian people and the destruction of the churches and monasteries, have come together promptly and spontaneously to join the army of the Lord against these most wicked Pagans; that so, like martyrs, the worship of Christ might be promoted by your holy blood, and the superstitious cruelties of the barbarians be put to flight."

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[40] The Saxon name for Nottingham.

In addition to this, we are informed by the chroniclers, that during the aforesaid siege, the Pagans, putting their trust in the protection of the walls which were fortified in the strongest manner, and in the strength of the castle, and so declining to come forth to engage, the Christians found themselves unable to effect an entrance through the walls; and accordingly peace was made between the Christians and the Pagans, and the latter, leaving the castle, returned with great booty to Northumbria. [At the same time, king Ethelred and his brother Alfred returned with their troops into Wessex.]

In the following year, however, the army of the Pagans, after having made some stay at York, at the close of the winter passed over by ship into Lindesey, and, landing at Humberstan, ravaged the whole country. At this time the most famous and ancient monastery of Bardeney was destroyed by them, and all the monks were massacred in the church without mercy. Having employed themselves throughout the whole of this summer in reducing the land to ashes, and ravaging it with fire and sword, about the feast of Saint Michael they entered Kesteven, spreading fire, slaughter, and devastation in every quarter.

At length, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 870, and in the month of September, the most valiant earl Algar and two knights, his seneschals, called Wibert and Leofric, (from whose names the aged men and rustics have since given appellations to the vills where they lived, retaining their names, and calling the one of them "Wiberton," which means the "vill of Wibert," and the other "Lefrinkton," that is to say, "the vill of Leofric,") collected together all the youths of Hoyland. With these there was a band of two hundred men from the monastery of Croyland, very stout warriors, which was mostly composed of fugitives, commanded by brother Toley, then a monk in that monastery, who had been, before he adopted the habit, most renowned throughout all Mercia for his military skill, but had lately, through the desire of a heavenly country, given up secular for spiritual warfare at Croyland. They also collected together with them about three hundred brave and active men from Depyng, Langtoft, and Baston, and with them Morcard, lord of Brunne,[41] and his retainers, who were very valiant and numerous. They were also met by the sheriff of Lincoln, Osgot by name, a veteran and a most stout warrior, at the head of a band of five hundred Lincoln men.

All these meeting together in Kesteven, joined battle with the Pagans on the feast of Saint Mauricius the Martyr, and the Lord granting them the victory, the Christians slew three kings, together with a vast multitude, and smiting the barbarians, pursued them as far as the gates of their camp. Here they made a very stout resistance, and night putting an end to the combat, this most invincible earl called off his men.

During the night, there arrived in the camp of the Pagans all the other kings of their country, who, dividing the district between themselves, had gone forth for the purpose of ravaging it. These, whose names were Gogroun,[42] Baseg, Oskitel, Halfden, and Hamond, with as many earls, namely, Frena, Unguar, Ubba, and the two Sidrocs, the elder and the younger, now arrived, together with all their forces, and a very great booty, as well as a numerous multitude of women and children. On hearing of their arrival, the greater part of the Christians, being smitten with fear, fled by night; and there remained with the before-named earl and his chieftains, out of eight hundred men, hardly as many as two hundred. With these, early in the morning, after hearing Divine service, and receiving the holy viaticum,[43] they marched forth to the field of battle, fully prepared to die for the faith of Christ and in defence of their country.

The most valiant earl, finding that his army was in a very unprotected state on the flanks, again placed brother Toley, with his five hundred[44] men, who were the stoutest of all, on the right wing, assigning to him as well a most valiant troop, consisting of the illustrious knight, Morcard, of Brunne, together with all those who followed his standard. On the left wing he placed the renowned sheriff Osgot, with his five hundred[44] men, giving him an active troop, consisting of the knight, Harding of Rehale, with all the men of Stamford, as they were all young men and excellent soldiers. He himself, with his seneschals, took up his position in the centre, for the purpose of assisting either wing, according as he might see it standing in need thereof.

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[41] Bourne.

[42] More generally called "Guthrum."

[43] The Sacrament.

[44] This must refer to the numbers under their command on the previous day; as we have just read that by desertions during the night they were reduced to less than two hundred in number.

As for the Danes, being greatly enraged at the loss of their men, early in the morning they buried their three kings at a vill which was formerly called Laundon, but which is now, in consequence of the burial there of the three Danish kings, called Trekyngham; after which, four kings and eight earls marched forth to battle, while two kings and four earls kept guard over the camp and their prisoners. Upon this, the Christians, in consequence of the smallness of their numbers, formed themselves into one solid mass, and by linking their bucklers together, presented a most formidable bulwark against the discharge of the archers, and a most dense rampart of lances against the violent charges of the horse; and thus, most excellently marshalled by their leaders, they maintained an immoveable position throughout the whole day.

After they had thus remained unconquered until night-fall, and the archers of the enemy had wasted their arrows by discharging them to no effect, the horsemen, being wearied with their unceasing labour, began to flag, on which, the barbarians, by a concerted plan pretending flight, made a show of leaving the field. The Christians, seeing this, contrary to the wishes of their leaders, who strongly dissuaded them, broke their ranks, and dispersed in pursuit of the Pagans over the plain; and without any order, and no longer subject to the commands of their chiefs, divided themselves into small parties. Upon this, the barbarians faced about and rushed on them, just like lions upon a few poor sheep. The most valiant earl Algar, and the most illustrious knights before-named, with brother Toley, now drew up their men in a mass upon a piece of ground in the plain, a little more elevated than the rest of the surface, and for a long time withstood the assaults of the barbarians.

At length, however, after the said valiant and ever-to-be-renowned earl Algar, and the before-named six most stalwart chieftains, had witnessed the fall of all the bravest men of their band, they rushed in a body over a large heap of the carcases of the Christians, and there having avenged the shedding of their blood, to the best of their ability, upon all who approached, fell, pierced with innumerable wounds, upon the corpses of their brethren. A few young men of Sutton and Gedeney, throwing away their arms, with difficulty escaped into an adjoining wood, and the next night arrived at the monastery of Croyland; where, while abbat Theodore and his brethren were performing the matin vigils, crying aloud and weeping, with tearful accents they related at the door of the church the slaughter of the Christians and of brother Toley, as well as the destruction of the whole of their band.

All were in a state of distraction upon receiving these tidings. The abbat, in the first place, retained with himself the more aged monks, and a few children, thinking that their defenceless state might possibly move the barbarians to pity, but failing to bear in mind the words of the poet:—

> "In men who follow camps no faith or pity lives."

All those who were stouter and of more youthful age, he then ordered to fly to the adjoining fens, and there await the termination of the warfare; he also bade them take with them the sacred relics of the monastery, these being the most holy body of Saint Guthlac and his scourge and Psalter, as well as their most valuable jewels and muniments, that is to say, the charters of foundation given by king Ethelbald, and the confirmation thereof by the other kings, as also some of the gifts presented by king Wichtlaf.

Accordingly, obeying his commands with the greatest sadness of heart, they loaded a boat with the aforesaid relics, and the muniments of the kings; after which they threw the table of the great altar, covered with plates of gold, which king Wichtlaf had formerly presented, and ten chalices, together with basons for washing, pots, patens, and other vessels of brass, into the well of the convent. All these, except the table, sank; the end of which, in consequence of its length, always made its appearance, projecting above the surface of the water; upon which, they drew it out, and, as they perceived the fires of the vills in Kesteven approaching nearer and nearer, fearing every moment that the Pagans would arrive, left it behind with the abbat and the aged men beforementioned; and then, embarking in their boat, they reached the wood of Ancarig, which was adjacent to their island on the south side thereof; and remained there with brother Toret, an anchorite, and others of the brethren residing there, for the space of four days; they themselves being thirty in number, of whom ten were priests, and the rest of lower rank.

After this, abbat Theodore, taking with him two of the aged monks, concealed the said table outside of the church, on the northern side thereof; but where it was so concealed has never been ascertained up to the present day. Then, putting on their sacred vestments, the abbat and all the others assembled in the choir, and there performed the regular Hours of the holy office; after which, commencing it, they went through the whole of the Psalter[45] of David. The lord abbat himself then celebrated high mass, being assisted therein by brother Elfget, the deacon, brother Savin, the sub-deacon, and the brothers Egelred and Wulric, youths who acted as taper-bearers.

The mass being now finished, just as the abbat and his assistants before-named had partaken of the mystery of the holy Communion, the Pagans bursting into the church, the venerable abbat was slain upon the holy altar, as a true martyr and sacrifice of Christ, by the hand of the most blood-thirsty king Osketul. His assistants, standing around him, were all beheaded by the barbarians; while the old men and children, on attempting to fly from the choir, were seized and examined with the most cruel torments, that they might disclose where the treasures of the church were concealed, and afterwards put to death; the lord Asker, the prior, in the vestry, the lord Lethwyn, the sub-prior, in the refectory. Brother Turgar, a child ten years of age, remarkable for the beauty of his face and person, who followed the latter into the refectory, on seeing the old man put to death, most urgently entreated that he, too, might be put to death, and killed together with him.

The younger earl Sidroc, however, being moved with compassion for the child, stripped him of his cowl, and throwing over him a long Danish tunic without sleeves, ordered him everywhere to keep close to him; and in this way, out of all, both old and young, who were left in the monastery, he was the only one saved; for, through the favour and protection of the said earl, during the whole period of his stay, he went in and out among the Danes, as though he had been one of them. All the monks being thus slain by the executioners, and none of the treasures of the monastery found, the Danes, with ploughshares and mattocks, broke open all the shrines of the Saints, who reposed in marble altar-tombs around the sepulchre of the holy father Guthlac to the right and left. These were as follow:—on the right hand side was the tomb of Saint Cissa, the priest and anchorite, and the tomb of Saint Bettelm, the man of God, and formerly servant of Saint Guthlac; [also the tomb of Siward, the lord abbat of pious memory. On the left hand side was the tomb of the most holy father Saint Egbert, formerly the secretary and confessor of Saint Guthlac;] likewise the tomb of Saint Tatwin, the former guide and steersman of Saint Guthlac to Croyland; the tomb of the most holy virgin Etheldritha; and the tombs of Celfreda, the former queen, and of Wymund, the son, of king Wichtlaf.

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[45] He perhaps means the seven penitential psalms of David.

The barbarians having broke open these, on not finding the hoped-for treasures, were extremely indignant, and in a shocking manner, after piling all the bodies of the Saints in one heap, set fire thereto, on the third day after their arrival, and dreadfully burned the same, together with the church and all the buildings of the monastery; it being the seventh day before the calends of September.

At last, on the fourth day, with innumerable herds of cattle and beasts of burden, they passed on in the direction of Medeshamsted, where, meeting with the first resistance at the monastery, and finding the gates barred, they attacked the walls with archers and engines on every side. The Pagans effecting an entrance on the second assault, Tulba, the brother of earl Hulba, received a severe blow from a stone, and fell in the breach; on which, being carried by the hands of his attendants to the tent of his brother Hulba, his life was even despaired of. At this, Hulba was inflamed with rage beyond measure, and being greatly exasperated against the monks, with his own hand slew all he found wearing the garb of the monastic order, while his companions slaughtered the rest. Not a person in the whole monastery was saved. Both the venerable father Hedda, the lord abbat, as well as all his monks and fellow-townsmen, were slain. On this occasion, brother Turgar was advised by his master, Sidroc, to use the greatest care never to meet the earl Hulba in any place.

All the altars were undermined, all the monuments broken to pieces; a large library of holy books was burned, an immense number of charters of the monastery torn to pieces; the precious relics of the holy virgins Kyneburga, Kyneswita, and Tibba, were trodden under foot, the walls utterly overthrown, and the church itself, with all its out-buildings, burned to the ground, the flames continuing to burn incessantly for the next fifteen days

On the fourth day after this, having collected an endless booty throughout the whole of the country, the army assembled together, and moved on towards Huntingdon. In crossing the rivers, the two earls Sidroc always moved the last of all, for the purpose of protecting the rear of the army The whole of their forces having crossed the river Nene in safety, they, being the last to pass over, by a sudden mishap, lost two chariots laden with immense treasures and various articles of furniture, which fell over the left-hand side of the stone bridge into a very deep part of the river, together with the beasts of burden, which were drowned before they could be rescued.

While all the retainers of the younger Sidroc were busily engaged in dragging out the said chariots, and anxiously intent upon putting all the booty contained therein into other waggons and vehicles, brother Turgar made his escape into a neighbouring wood, and after walking all night, at daybreak arrived at Croyland. Here he found his brethren the monks already returned from Ancarig, and using the most vigorous exertions to extinguish the flames that still had the mastery in many parts of the ruins of the monastery. On seeing him return safe and sound, they were comforted in some degree; but on hearing from him how their abbat, as well as the rest of their elders and brethren, had been slaughtered, and where their bodies lay, and how that all the sepulchres of the Saints had been broken to pieces, and all their records and holy volumes burned, together with the bodies of the Saints, they were all of them smitten with intolerable grief, and gave way to prolonged tears and lamentations

At length, after having given full vent to their tears, they returned to their task of extinguishing the conflagration. Upon lifting off the ruinous remains of the roof of the church, near the great altar they discovered the body of the venerable father, their abbat, Theodore, deprived of the head, stripped of all the clothes, and half burnt, as well as bruised and crushed into the earth by the fall of the timbers The body was thus found. on the eighth day after his murder, among the dead embers, at some little distance from the spot where he had been slaughtered; together with those of the other ministrants, who had met their deaths at the same time, with the exception of Wulric, the taper-bearer; their bodies being in a similar manner crushed down into the earth by the weight of the timbers.

These were found, however, at different times. The bodies of some of the brethren were discovered more than half a year after the day on which they had been martyred, and in different places from those in which they had been slain. Thus, for instance, the lord[48] Paulinus and the lord Herbert, who were very aged and extremely decrepit, through length of years, having had their hands cut off in the choir and having been tortured to death in the same spot, were sought there with the greatest care, but their bodies were at length discovered in the chapter-house; while the lord Grimketul and the lord Agamund, both of whom were a hundred years old, and who had been pierced by the swords of the enemy in the cloisters, were found in the parlour.[49] As for the rest, both children as well as aged men, after they had been long sought for in all directions, brother Turgar giving a full description how each one had met his end, they were all found at last, amid mournful lamentations and tears innumerable, with the sole exception of Wulric.

On this occasion, the lord Briestan, the former chaunter of the monastery, a most skilful musician as well as a most elegant poet, and the principal man among the survivors, wrote those strains upon the ashes of the monastery of Croyland, copies of which are to be found in many places, and which begin as follows:—

> "O noble church, so late of convents queen,
> O'er all exalted, hallowed friend of God!" &c.

The whole monastery being now, after long and incessant labour, cleared of its ruins, and cleansed from the ashes and other unclean impurities, so far as the occasion would permit, they next discussed among themselves the choice of a pastor. Accordingly, they proceeded to the election, and at length, by the consent of all, the venerable father Godric, though very reluctant and making great opposition thereto, was elected abbat. On this, the venerable old man, Toret, prior of Ancarig,[50] as also his sub-prior, the lord Tisa, both of them most holy and most devout anchorites, came to him, and entreated him that he would take with him some of the brethren, and deign to go to Medeshamsted, and bestow the kind offices of Christian burial upon the bodies of their abbat and other brethren, which were still lying unburied, a prey to birds and wild beasts.

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[48] "Dominus" is here used merely as a term of respect, much the same as the "master" of later centuries. It was especially applied to priests, and appears under the corrupted form of "Dan," in the works of Chaucer and Lydgate.

[49] "Locutorium." This apartment in monasteries was so called from the inmates meeting there to converse with one another, or with strangers; silence being by rule imposed in the other parts of the building.

Accordingly, the venerable abbat Godric hearkened to their entreaties, and with many of the brethren, among whom was brother Turgar, proceeded to Medeshamsted, where they were met by all the brethren from Ancarig. With much toil, all the bodies of the monks of the said monastery, eighty-four in number, were collected in the middle of the cemetery of the monastery, opposite to what had formerly been the eastern side of the church, and were there buried upon the feast of Saint Cecilia the Virgin, in a single grave of very great extent, which had been formed for that purpose. Godric then placed over the body of the abbat, as he lay at rest in the midst of his sons, a pyramid of stone, three feet in height, three in length, and one in breadth, on which was sculptured the effigy of the abbat, surrounded by his monks. This spot, in memory of the destroyed monastery, he ordered to be thenceforth called Medeshamsted; and he visited it once each year, during the remainder of his life, and, pitching his tent opposite the stone, celebrated masses, with unceasing devoutness, for two days together, for the souls of the persons there interred. The royal highway ran through the middle of the cemetery, having the said stone on the right hand as you go up towards Hoyland[51] from the stone bridge before-mentioned, and on the left, a cross of stone, in a similar manner sculptured with the image of our Saviour, which the said abbat Godric placed there on the same occasion. This was so erected by him, that travellers, as they passed by, bearing in mind that most holy monastery, might offer up their prayers to the Lord for the souls of the faithful who lay at rest in the cemetery, and might at least, out of a feeling of reverence for Christ, abstain from perpetrating offences and robberies within the ruins of the walls of the monastery.

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[50] This is the Saxon name of the Isle of Thorney. It is said to have been so called from three anchorites who took up their abode there—Thorncred, Thortred, and Bosa.

[51] Now Holland.

In the meantime, the Pagans, ravaging the provinces as far as Grantebrige,[52] committed to the flames the most famous [monastery] of nuns, situate in the Isle of Ely; having first cruelly murdered all the females as well as men that were to be found within the walls thereof, and then plundered it of the property and immense wealth that had been brought thither from all the [adjacent] country, in consequence of the security supposed to be afforded by the spot.

Then passing into East Anglia, they engaged the most valiant earl Wulketul, who met them with an armed force: and after a stout resistance on his part, slew him and all his troops. The most holy Edmund, also, the king of that part, was taken prisoner by them; after which, binding him to a stake as a mark for their arrows, these most blood-thirsty barbarians attacked him with their darts and arrows, and after piercing him through and through with the most shocking cruelty, decapitated him; thus conferring upon him martyrdom in the defence of his country. In this manner the whole of East Anglia was gained by them; and taking possession thereof, they remained there throughout the whole winter.

In the following year they proceeded onward to Wessex; but being met by king Ethelred and his brother Alfred, they had several severe engagements, attended with varying fortunes. In these, however, after having slain some of their kings, namely, Baseg and Orguil, and many of their earls, (among whom were the elder and the younger Sidroc, earl Frena, earl Osbern, earl Harold, and earl Funge), together with a vast multitude of the Pagans, the Christians at last came off victorious.

In the meantime, Beorred, king of the Mercians, was busily engaged with the Britons, who, by their frequent irruptions, disquieted the western borders of his kingdom of Mercia; but, on hearing that the Danes were visiting the eastern districts with dreadful havoc, he marched to London. Levying a very considerable force, he passed through the eastern parts of his kingdom, and reduced the whole of the Isle of Ely to subjection; he then proceeded into the country of the Girvii,[53] and took possession of the whole of the lands belonging to the monastery of Medeshamsted, that is to say, all those lying between Stamford, Huntingdon, and Wysebeck,[54] which had lately belonged to the said monastery. The more remote lands belonging thereto, that lay scattered throughout the country, he assigned to the stipendiaries of his army. This he did also as to the monastery of Saint Pega, at Peykirk, of which he retained a portion, and gave the rest to his soldiers. He also did the same as to the lands of the monastery of Saint Guthlac, at Croyland; some of which he distributed among his stipendiary troops, while he himself took the others.

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[52] Cambridge.

Although the venerable father [abbat] Godric exerted himself to the utmost, and repeatedly waited on the king and his thanes, and frequently showed to them the charters of the donors, and the confirmations thereof by the kings, together with his own deed of confirmation, he received nothing in return but empty words, and at last quite despaired of all success in his endeavours. Accordingly, perceiving that the times were evil, and that the wicked disposition of the king was prompted by extreme avarice; he determined for the present to pass by these donations on part of the king in silence, and thenceforth to hold his peace and take no notice of them until better times should arise; being much pleased, and exulting that the royal favour had granted to him the whole of the island in his vicinity, free and absolved from all the royal exactions, in much more special terms than had fallen to the lot of many other monasteries.

Consequently, the following possessions were at this period withdrawn from the said monastery of Croyland, and up to the present day have not been returned to it: the manor of Spaldyng, which had been given to earl Ethelwulph, with all its appurtenances; the manor of Depyng, which had been given to Langfer, the knight, and king's pannier,[55] with all its appurtenances: the manor of Croxton, which had been given to Fernod, the knight, and king's standard bearer, with all its appurtenances; the manor of Kyrketon[56] and Kymerby in Lindesey, which had been given to earl Turgot, with all its appurtenances. As for Bukenhale and Halyngton, which were then appropriated by the royal treasury, they were afterwards, through the exertions of Turketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, and the bounty of the most pious king Edred, the restorer thereof, given back to the said monastery. In like manner, all the other lands which had formerly belonged to Croyland, and of which king Beorred had taken possession for his treasury, that is to say, Cappelade, Sutterton, Langtoft, Baston, Repyngale, Kyrkeby, Drayton, Thirming, Glapthorn, Adyngton, Staundon, and Badby, were, by the favour of the renowned king Edred, and the exertions of abbat Turketul, restored to Croyland.

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[53] The Girvii here mentioned were probably the inhabitants of part of Northamptonshire and Huntingdonshire. The name is thought to have been derived from the British "Gyrwys," "drivers of cattle." "Gyrva" is the Saxon for marsh lands, and may possibly have given rise to the name.

[54] Wisbeach.

After this, king Beorred passed with his army into Lindesey, and added to his treasury the very extensive lands that had hitherto belonged to the monastery of Bardeney: while those that were more distant, and lay divided in various districts, he bestowed upon his troops.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 872, king Ethelred, after being greatly harassed by numerous battles against the Danes, though he had always remained unconquered, departed this life at Wimborne, and was buried [there]. He was succeeded on the throne by Alfred, his last surviving brother, and the youngest son of king Ethelwulph. Having formerly accompanied his father to Rome, he was here anointed by pope Leo, and adopted as his son. On being now raised to the sovereignty, he had a most toilsome, though glorious reign of twenty-eight years. For, during nine years together, he was continually fighting with the Danes, and was repeatedly deceived by their treacherous treaties, though he more than once took a most ample revenge on his deceivers.

At last, however, he was reduced to such straits, that, with the greatest difficulty retaining the three districts of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset, in their allegiance to him, he took refuge in a certain island in Somerset, called Ethelingey, where he built a castle, which, in remembrance of his stay there, he afterwards, for the exaltation of the Holy Church, changed into a monastery of monks.

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[55] "Panetarius," a "baker," or "server out of bread" In the latter sense, the word "pannier" is still used in the inns of court.

[56] Now Kyrton.

Here, on one occasion, after sending the whole of his retainers to fish in the adjoining marshes, being left alone, and either intent upon reading some holy subject or the exploits of illustrious men, or else, according to his usual custom, poring over the annals of his ancestors, he heard a poor man knocking at the door, and begging him, for the mercy of God, to give him some food: upon which, calling his mother,[57] who then happened to be staying with him and was close at hand, he bade her go to the pantry, and, for the love of Christ, fetch something for the poor Christian. Doing as she was requested, she found but a single loaf in the pantry; on which, she told him, that less than that would not suffice for his retainers, who were shortly about to return from fishing. The king hearing this, (so great a scarcity was there, forsooth, of bread in the royal store!) returned most devout thanks to God, and immediately ordered one half to be given to the poor Christian, and added. "Blessed is God in His gifts: He is all-powerful infinitely to increase the half of this loaf, if such is the will of Him, who was able with five loaves and two fishes to satisfy five thousand men."

Upon this, he dismissed the poor man; and, whether through weariness arising from his anxieties, or whether from being long intent upon his reading, fell asleep for a short time; whereupon, in a vision, he saw the apparition of Saint Cuthbert, the bishop, as though sent from God, and heard him speak in the following terms; "Pious king Alfred, the Lord hath been moved with compassion at the miseries of the English, who have long and bitterly lamented their sins. Even this very day, under the form of a poor man, hath He made trial of thy long-suffering; and having most graciously received of thy generosity when so greatly in want of bread, He hath through me made promise unto thee, that thou who now art a wretched exile, shalt before long be the conqueror of thine enemies, and shalt exult on the throne of thy kingdom. And this shall be the sign unto thee, that although the winter's ice just now throws the greatest difficulties in the way of the fisherman's art, still, thy retainers, sent forth to fish in the marshes, shall satisfy all their desires, and shall, by the Divine guidance, about the third hour of the day, bring unto thy palace a wonderful supply of fish." So saying, the Saint disappeared; on which, the king awoke, and relating his vision to his mother, upon enquiry, found, by her answers, that she had fallen asleep in her chair at the same hour, and had seen the same vision, the same holy bishop making his appearance to her in a similar manner. While they were conversing, the fishermen returned from the marshes, and brought in a quantity of fish, so vast, that it was thought it would have proved sufficient for a large army.

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[57] Judith, his step-mother, and widow of his brother Ethelbald.

Not long after this, the king, pretending to be a minstrel, took his harp, and entered the tents of the Danes; and thus getting admission to the most secret places, learned all the plans of the enemy, and, after satisfying all his wishes, returned safe and unrecognized to Ethelingey. Then, assembling his army, he suddenly attacked the enemy, and routed them with incredible slaughter. King Godroun, whom we call Gurmound, with a great multitude of the nobles and common people, was taken prisoner; on which, he received baptism, and was raised from the holy font by the king, who, as a mark of his bounty, bestowed upon him East Anglia, that is to say, Norfolk, as a residence for him and his followers. The rest who refused to be baptized, abjured England, and repaired by ship to France.

In the meantime, while king Alfred was still staying at Ethelingey, the Pagans, in the year of our Lord, 874, returned to Mercia, and wintered at Repton, where they levelled to the ground that most famous monastery, the sacred mausoleum of all the kings of the Mercians. On this, king Beorred, after a reign of twenty-two years, seeing the whole territory of England laid waste with slaughter and rapine, in every corner thereof, either despairing of victory, or else, wearied by such a labyrinth of difficulties, left the kingdom, and repaired to Rome; where he died a few days after his arrival, and was buried in the school of the English there The wife soon followed the husband, as she died on her way to Rome, and was buried at Ticinum.[58]

He was succeeded on the throne of the Mercians by one of the servants of king Beorred, Ceolwulph by name, who was

[58] Or Pavia.

elected by the Danes, an Englishman by birth, but a barbarian in impiety. He had sworn fealty to the Danes, and that he would faithfully pay the tribute imposed by them, and would, under penalty of forfeiture of his life, without any difficulty on his part, deliver up to them the kingdom, whensoever they should demand restitution thereof. Accordingly, making a circuit of the land, the few rustics that were left behind he stripped[59] of their money, swallowed up the merchants, oppressed the widows and orphans, and inflicted on all the religious innumerable torments, on the pretext that they were acquainted with the concealment of hidden treasures.

Hence it was, that, among the numerous misdeeds of which he was guilty, he imposed upon the venerable Godric, the abbat of Croyland, and his wretched brethren, a tax of one thousand pounds, and nearly reduced the monastery of Croyland to a state of utter destitution. For, from this time forward, in consequence of the extreme poverty of the place, no one was willing to embrace the monastic life there.

Accordingly, the abbat Godric, being unable to support those of his people who had made profession, dispersed many of the monks among their kinsmen and other friends of the monastery throughout the whole country; while some few, remaining with him, dragged on their existence amid the greatest poverty. On this occasion, all the chalices of the monastery, with the exception of three, and the whole of the silver vessels, except the crucibolum of king Wichtlaf, with the rest of the jewels, which were of great value, were either coined into money or else sold for money; though these were hardly able to satisfy the insatiate maw of the kingling Ceolwulph. At length, however, he was deposed by his masters the Danes, who herein acted with the greatest justice; and being stripped stark naked, with nothing to cover his shame, he ended his life by a wretched death

At this time also, king Alfred prevailing against the Danes, the kingdom of the Mercians was joined to his kingdom of Wessex, and has remained so united up to the present day. Thus ended the kingdom of the Mercians, which had lasted from the first year of Penda, its first king, until the last moments of this wretched deputy kingling Ceolwulph, a period of about two hundred and thirty years.

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[59] "Excoriavit" This seems a more probable meaning of the word here, than "flayed them alive."

All the Danes being now either subjugated or expelled, king Alfred repaired his cities and castles, constructed towers and fortifications in the most suitable places, and, changing the entire face of the country very much for the better, rendered it insuperable by the barbarians, through its walled cities, and its other well-fortified places. Prescribing also for himself a life regulated by rule, each day, beginning early in the morning, he devoted eight hours to the worship of God; [another eight hours he devoted to the affairs of the kingdom; while the last eight hours of the natural day, he bestowed on the care of his body.] For he kept in his chapel a wax taper continually burning before the relics of the Saints, which was divided into equal proportions, the same being three periods of eight hours each. He also appointed a servant, whose duty it was, as each of these portions was consumed and finished, in a loud voice, acting in place of a clock, to warn the king of the portion about to succeed. A wax taper being thus consumed each day, a fresh one was lighted early in the morning; and this was repeated every day. Full of devoutness, and prostrate at the feet of the Saints, he held Saint Neot, and Saint Werfred, bishop of Worcester, who, by the king's command, had translated the books of the Dialogues of pope Gregory into the Saxon tongue, in the greatest veneration.

Of holy books and sacred reading he was so assiduous a student, that he always carried with him in his bosom the Psalter of David, or else some other edifying work. Sending for the most learned men from foreign lands, after retaining them some time with him in his palace for the purpose of studying the Holy Scriptures, he would afterwards promote them to various prelacies and dignities. Hence it was, that, having invited from France Saint Grimbald, who was extremely well skilled in the musical art, and most profoundly versed in the Holy Scriptures, he appointed him abbat of his new monastery, which he had built at Winchester. In like manner, he invited over John, surnamed the Scot, a philosopher of most subtle genius, from old Saxony, and made him prelate of his monastery at Ethelingey. Both these most learned doctors were of the rank of priests, and most holy monks by profession.[60] He also summoned Athelstan and Werwulph from

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[60] Or had taken the threefold vow, of obedience to God, chastity, and poverty.

Mercia to his court, both of them most learned priests; as also Plegmund, afterwards promoted to be archbishop of Canterbury, and Asker,[61] abbat of Bangor, and afterwards bishop of Sherburn, most celebrated doctors of those times, whom he added to the number of his retainers. Enjoying for some time in his palace the acquaintanceship and learned discourse of all these men, he arrived at a profound knowledge of all the liberal arts.

He was also most skilful and sagacious in the management of the affairs of his kingdom. For, following the example of the Danes, and under colour of being persons of that nation, some of the natives even had begun to disturb the peace of the country by acts of robbery and rapine; on which, the king, feeling desirous to restrain and put an end to excesses of this nature, was the first who changed the districts and provinces throughout all England into counties. These counties again he divided into centuries, that is to say into "hundreds;" and into "tenths,"[62] or, in other words, into "trithings;" so that every lawful and native-born person was a member of some century and trithing; and if any one was suspected of robbery, he was either condemned by his century or decury, or else bailed,[63] and thus either received his merited punishment or escaped it. The prefects of provinces, who before had the name of "*Vice-domini*," he divided into two classes, that is to say into judges, whom we now call "justiciaries," and into "*Vice-comites*" [Shire-reeves], who still retain that name. Through the exertions and industry of these persons, in a short time peace flourished throughout the whole land to such a degree, that if a traveller in the evening left any sum of money, however large, in the fields and the public highways, whether he returned next morning, or whether a month after, he was sure to find it safe and untouched.

In the division of his own household he used the same plan as David and Solomon. For, dividing his household into three companies, he appointed a chief over each; and each chief, with his company, had the keeping of the palace in the king's service for the space of one month. Then, after the completion of his month, going to his own lands with his company, for the space of two months he attended to his own business; while, in the meantime, in succession to him, a second chief served for one month, and then a third chief for another month in the royal palace. By this means, each company in succession had leisure for the space of two months to attend to its own affairs.

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[61] More generally called "Asser." He is supposed to have been the author of a Life of king Alfred, which is still extant.

[62] Called by some of the chroniclers "tementale," or "tenementale."

[63] "Invadiatum." This was said of a person who, having been accused of some crime not fully proved, was "sub debitâ fidejussione," and was obliged to find persons to act as his sureties.

Being endowed with this prudence of character, and thus profoundly skilled in literature, when, thirteen years after, the Danes had been expelled from France by the emperor Arnulph, and were again inundating England, he conquered them in every engagement, with much greater ease than he had formerly done. For, in consequence of their wars with the Franks, they were considerably weakened, and were less active in their inroads, while he, on the other hand, both in troops and in strength was far better prepared, and showed more skill in effectually resisting them. In addition to this, the country was strengthened by means of walled cities and fortified towers, and thus manifested a considerable improvement from its former state. Accordingly, the Danes being easily repulsed and quickly overpowered, they took refuge among their countrymen in Northumbria and Norfolk.

King Alfred, who was always intent upon the bounteous bestowal of alms and other good deeds, departed this life in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, and was buried at Winchester. He was succeeded on the throne by his son Edward, afterwards called "the Elder," because several of the same name reigned after him, and he was the first of that name; his father's inferior in literary merit, but greatly his superior in the glory of his reign. For he took into his own hands the province of Mercia from duke Ethelred, to whom his father had previously entrusted it, together with the hand of his daughter, and in war subdued Norfolk, Northumbria, Scotland, and Wales; and, expelling the Pagans from all the walled cities and castles, introduced Christians in their room.

In this he was greatly assisted by his sister Ethelfleda, the relict of Ethelred, the former duke of London, a heroine endowed with the greatest wisdom, and deserving to be preferred to the Amazons of ancient times. For, when in labour with her only child, suffering considerable pain, in her indignation she took so great an aversion to all carnal intercourse, that from that time forward she never returned to her husband's bed, but maintained the strictest chastity. From her being continually occupied in building cities, fortifying castles, and leading armies, you might have supposed that she had changed her very sex. King Edward died in the twenty-third year of his reign, and was interred with his father at Winchester.

He was succeeded by Athelstan, his eldest son; against whom the Danes of Northumbria and Norfolk entered into a confederacy, which was joined by Constantine, king of the Scots, and many others; on which, he levied an army and led it into Northumbria On his way, he was met by many pilgrims returning homeward from Beverley; informed by whose statements relative to the miracles of Saint John, with great devoutness he paid a visit to that Saint He also offered his poniard upon the holy altar, and made a promise that, on his return, if the Lord should grant him the victory over his enemies, he would redeem the said poniard at a suitable price; which he accordingly did. For, the Lord granting him the victory, the king redeemed his poniard by granting the immunities which that place at present enjoys, and enriched it immensely, to the honor of God, with numerous other presents. In the battle that was fought on this occasion, there fell Constantine, king of the Scots, and five other kings, twelve earls, and an infinite number of the lower classes, on the side of the barbarians

This war being brought to a prosperous conclusion, there was no one who dared after this in any way to offend the king. Being now intent on bestowing his sisters in marriage, he laboured to improve the condition, and promote the interests of all the monasteries of England, old as well as new, by bestowing on them some special gift or other. Thus, sending for Godric to court, the abbat of Croyland, (who was still surviving, though weighed down with extreme old age,) together with the rest of his brethren, who were then reduced from twenty-eight to seven in number, he proposed to restore the monastery of Croyland. Being prevented, however, by a premature death, he left it to his brother to carry out his intentions relative thereto, for he departed this life in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was buried at Malmesbury.

His brother Edmund, a youth eighteen years of age, succeeded him, and reigned six years and a half. In the same year, Godric, abbat of Croyland, died, and within a month after his decease, two aged men followed him, that is to say, brother Sweyn and brother Osgot; on which there remained only five old men, brother Clarenbald, brother Swartting, brother Turgar, brother Brune, and brother Aio. The two last, seeing that king Athelstan, their patron, and Godric their abbat, had departed this life, and quite despairing of any relief for their monastery, and of keeping up the succession of spiritual sons, abandoned the society of their brethren, and took their departure, the first to the monastery of Winchester, the second to that of Malmesbury: and were received into those respective convents, where they remained some years.

But the holy trinity of the three brethren who remained at Croyland always put its trust in the Lord, that some day, mindful of His mercies, He would send them a saviour, who would restore to its former state a place so holy, and which contained the sacred relics of its most holy confessor, Guthlac; and so render this most holy monastery fruitful with spiritual offspring, and again, at His good will, assemble together their brethren thus dispersed. At this time, king Edmund bestowed upon Saint Dunstan, who was then his priest, the monastery of Glastonbury, which was in a ruinous state, and occupied by a few clerks only, with all the appurtenances thereof, for the purpose of being rebuilt, the order of monks being invited to return, which had been previously established there. Going to Fleury, Dunstan became a monk there, and after he had fully learned the regular observances, bade adieu to the brethren, and returned to Glastonbury, where, being made abbat, and receiving other brethren of his order, in a short time he assembled a most holy community. Just when the most illustrious youth, king Edmund, was purposing to place Croyland in the hands of some influential man, who was a lover of holy religion, for the purpose of raising the same out of the ashes of its desolation, by a sudden misfortune he was slain—oh grievous mishap!—by a certain robber,[64] at Puckle-Chyrche, and his body was buried at Glastonbury.

He was succeeded on the throne by his brother Edred, the third son of king Edward, who reigned nine years. In the second year of his reign, the Northumbrians, electing a certain Hircius as their king, gave symptoms of rebellion; and Wulstan, the archbishop of York, being known to sympathize with their rebellious designs, the renowned king Edred sent thither his chancellor, Turketul by name (a man of the greatest prudence, and an observer of all probity and justice—one, too, who was nearly akin to himself by blood, being the son of Ethelward, his late uncle, and the holder of a very rich prebend in the said church of York), and urgently, and in friendly terms, entreated him to maintain his fidelity to him, and to think of the preservation of the kingdom.

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[64] Named Leolf.

Accordingly, the venerable chancellor set out on this royal business, attended by a large retinue of horsemen. He was a person of most noble birth, and descended of the blood royal, very wealthy in estates and most ample possessions, and, besides, the lord of sixty manors. The Divine grace directing his steps, he proceeded, on the road to York, by the monastery of Croyland. It being his intention to pass on, the three venerable men before-named, belonging to the said monastery, went forth to meet him, and after many entreaties, as the day was now drawing to a close, prevailed upon him to enter. They then conducted him to prayers in their little oratory, which they had constructed in a corner of the ruined church; and showing him the relics of the most holy confessor, Guthlac, related to him the whole story of their ruin and desolate condition. Being moved to compassion by an intense feeling of piety, he listened most devoutly to the whole of their narrative.

After this, the old men, receiving their noble guest in their poor retreat with the greatest [humility and] attentiveness, offered all the provisions they had, their two mites,[65] but accompanied with the most liberal spirit, to his servants and cooks, in order to make ready their master's repast; though the supply was anything but suitable for that purpose, and greatly insufficient for the wants of such a vast retinue. They felt anxious, to the best of their ability, and, indeed, beyond their ability, to make their holy guest pleased and delighted, and to induce him to entertain such kindliness of feeling towards them as to deign to be an intercessor in their behalves with their lord the king;

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[65] Alluding to the offering of the poor widow. St. Mark xii. 42, and St. Luke xxi. 2.

and so cause the rebuilding of their church to be carried out, which had been for some time intended by his brother, the renowned king Athelstan, if his life had been prolonged, or else procure the bestowal of some other favour, by way of an alms-deed, for the good of his own soul.

The venerable chancellor greatly commiserated the misfortunes of so noble a monastery, and appreciated to his inmost vitals the courtesy of the old men; he also gave his assent to their entreaties, and agreed to intercede for them, while at the same time he promised to give them some assistance [on his return] from his own private purse.

Accordingly, on his departure, early in the morning, he commanded his servants to leave provisions sufficient for the old men until his return, and ordered them to give one hundred shillings for the purchase of other necessaries; and at length, on bidding them adieu with many tears, commended himself to their prayers. From that day [and thenceforward] his heart became attached to these old men, and to the monastery of Croyland, with an affection so ardent and so inseparable, that every day, during the remainder of his journey, whoever met him, whether on the road or whether at the inns, he would enlarge upon the courtesy of the old men of Croyland, extol their sanctity, proclaim his affection for them, and deplore their calamity. From him, on this occasion, it first took its rise, that Croyland received the surname of "Curteys."[66]

The venerable Turketul, having now arrived at York, carried out the orders of the king, his master, with great care and prudence, with regard to the archbishop and all the people of the city; after which he returned by way of Croyland, and, being guided by the Holy Spirit, again turned aside to take up his abode, himself and his retinue, with the same old men. Being received with extreme gladness, he again consoled them with promises of support, and reminding them that the hand of the Lord was always powerful and ready to aid His people, promised them that they would receive the Divine assistance before long. Then giving twenty pounds of silver to the old men, he set out early in the morning, on his return to the king, his master.

After he had fully informed the king on the answer given by the archbishop of York and the people of that city, having first invoked the aid of the Holy Spirit, he very adroitly turned the conversation to the subject of repairing the ruins of the monastery of Croyland. When his chancellor and especial adviser had made an end of discoursing on this subject to the king, the latter at once gratuitously gave his consent thereto; but stated that he should defer carrying out his intentions, until, by the aid of the Divine grace, he had brought to a prosperous issue a very fierce war in which he was then engaged; for that then he should have leisure to bestow his attention on matters of that nature, and to promote the good of the Church of Christ, everywhere throughout his kingdom, to the utmost of his ability.

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[66] "The courteous." It still retains this title in several proverbial sayings. See Notes and Queries, vol. vi. p. 281, 350.

To this the chancellor made answer:—"My lord, those most valiant kings, your predecessors and my masters, your two brothers, wrought many good works in their days to the honor of God and the exaltation of Holy Mother Church: and in return for such good works, the Lord God, who is a most just judge, both gave them the victory over all their enemies, and caused them to abound in all good things. So likewise will you, if you believe me, by your meritorious works, most worthy of their reward, lay God under an obligation to you; and thus, protected by the prayers of the Saints, and aided by the favour of the heavenly powers, you will go forth to your battles with a more easy conscience when it shall please you so to do."

To this, and more to the like purpose, the venerable chancellor having, in friendly conversation with the king, frequently given utterance, he at length prevailed upon the king, his master, and induced him to say, using the words of the Gospel: "'Set a watch upon them,' and take under your care the old men and that place, as you know how to do: for my hand shall be with you always, if in any way you stand in need of my assistance." This answer he received as though an oracle from God and proceeding from the shrine of the Holy Spirit, and understanding in no other sense these God-like[67] words, he shortly after publicly promised that he would become a monk there, and requested, with feelings of the greatest devoutness, that the royal favour might be accorded to his design The king, on hearing of this, wondered at it beyond measure, and tried every way to dissuade him therefrom, especially as he was now verging on old age, and, having been reared in affluence, had not been previously practically acquainted with the austerities of a religious life; besides, when the most urgent interests of the kingdom were at stake, and every thing depended upon himself and his aid and counsel, he ought, with good reason, to hesitate before he perilled the welfare of the kingdom.

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[67] This seems to be the meaning of "theoricus" here, though it is somewhat doubtful.

To this the chancellor replied, "My lord king, [hitherto] I have fought for my masters, your brothers and yourself, as God, who knoweth all things, is my witness, to the very best of my ability: henceforth, at least in my old age, let your clemency permit me to serve the Lord God, for the well-being of your soul As for my advice, and all the endeavours of which my humble means will allow, so long as life shall still exist in this poor body of mine, the same shall ever be afforded, without hesitation, for the promotion of your interests; but may your highness deign to know this of a certain truth, that from this time forward, my hand shall touch no warlike weapon." The most pious king, on hearing this, was deeply affected, and, perceiving that every day his holy aspirations waxed stronger in the Lord, dreaded to quench the Holy Spirit, (for he was a king of the purest conscience, to a degree beyond all his predecessors): but one day he called him aside into his secret chamber, where, falling at the feet of his servant, with many tears he supplicated and entreated him to take compassion on him, and not forsake him in the day of his tribulation On this, the chancellor, seeing his master, the king of all England, on the ground at his feet, threw himself upon the ground, and, with sighs and sobs innumerable, implored him to take pity on him; and at last, after adjuring him from his heart, by Saint Paul (for whom the king always entertained special veneration), prevailed upon him, and obtained the object of his desire. Accordingly, both arose from the ground, and fixed upon a day on which to go to Croyland, and respectively fulfil their holy vows, in the safest and most becoming manner they could possibly devise.

In the course of a few days after this, the king consenting thereto, the venerable chancellor Turketul caused proclamation to be made throughout the midst of London by the voice of a herald, that if he was indebted to any person, he was ready, at a certain place and day named, to pay the same in full; and if he had done an injury to any man, he promised that he would, like another Zacchæus, make threefold satisfaction, and would fully make good the loss he had so occasioned, in such manner as was demanded by the exigencies of law and justice. Accordingly, the whole of his creditors and debtors being satisfied, he transferred his sixty manors to his lord the king, always reserving the tenth manor for the service of Christ his Master. Thus he reserved those six manors out of the sixty which he possessed, which were nearest to Croyland, namely, Wendlingburgh, Elmyngton, Worthorp, Cotenham, Hokyngton and Beby; the rest he gave to the king.

Having come with the king to Croyland on the vigil of the Assumption of Saint Mary, he shortly after sent messengers to Winchester and Malmesbury in the king's name, for the two brethren, Brune and Aio. Hearing that the Lord had looked down from heaven upon Croyland, with feelings of joy and gladness they returned to their monastery, and arriving there on the vigil of Saint Bartholomew, their patron, were received by their brethren with great manifestations of joy. For they were both of them most learned men, and distinguished for their probity and piety of character. On the following day, namely, on the feast of the holy Apostle, the venerable Turketul laid aside the secular habit, and assumed the monastic garb amid the five old men before-named; and, after being presented by the king with the pastoral staff, received the benediction in due ecclesiastical form from Ceolwulph, bishop of Dorchester, his diocesan, who was then present.

On the same day, at the king's desire, and by the advice of those learned in the law, in order that for the future they might stand on a stronger foundation against the violence of the wicked, the venerable abbat Turketul, and his five aged monks before-named, spontaneously and entirely resigned into the hands of their lord the king the whole of their monastery, together with all the lands, tenements, goods and chattels to it belonging. The king, receiving the whole thereof into his possession, on the next day hired carpenters and masons, and appointed a certain clerk of his household, Egelric by name, a near relation of his, and a kinsman of the lord abbat, Turketul, as superintendent of the workmen, and the whole place; while in the most generous manner he gave directions that the expenses should be paid out of his treasury, and that the wood and stone should be procured from out of the neighbouring woods and quarries, which then belonged to his royal manor of Castre.[68] He giving his most diligent attention to the work with the most unconquerable resolution, in a short time the church was built, and the cloisters, together with the other requisite buildings, erected; and for his diligence, he was deemed deserving of thanks from the king, and of blessings from God.

Immediately after the king had appointed workmen for each of the works, and had set his faithful clerk before-named over the said workmen, the day now approaching for holding the council which he had appointed to be held at London on the public affairs of the kingdom, he took with him the venerable abbat Turketul, together with the two old men his monks, Turgar and Aio, and on the feast of Saint Augustin, the bishop and excellent doctor, returned to London.

On the feast of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, when all the nobles of the kingdom had been summoned by the royal edict, both archbishops as well as bishops and abbats, as also the other men of rank and dignitaries throughout the kingdom, and they had assembled in London for the purpose of treating of the public affairs of the whole kingdom; after all the business was concluded, in presence of all, king Edred sent for Turketul, the lord abbat, and his monks, and gave the monastery of Croyland by his charter, in terms suggested by the said abbat Turketul, his former chancellor and most confidential adviser, which were to the following effect:[69]

"Peace in the name of the supreme Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, Amen. I, Edred, an earthly king, under the imperial power of the eternal King and everlasting Prince, and holding the temporal government of Great Britain, to all Christians, both present as well as to come, the blessing of salvation through Him who is the Author of our salvation. Be it known unto all of you, that, at the devout suggestion, and at the repeated entreaties by Turketul, the beloved clerk and my kinsman, to me made, upon the repair, restoration, and liberties of the holy church and monastery of Croyland, in which lie interred the relics of the holy confessor and anchorite, Saint Guthlac, I felt no slight sorrow and compassion, both for the spoiling of Holy Mother Church, as also for the diminution of the spiritual benefits which, manifold in number, had oftentimes been bestowed in works of mercy for the good of the souls of my ancestors. At the same time, I called to mind that a convent of Black Monks, of the order of Saint Benedict, had been, in former times, there founded by a noble king of the Mercians, Ethelbald by name, the son of Alwy, amply enriched, and abundantly provided with royal privileges; the same being fully proved to my satisfaction by inspection of the charters of the said Ethelbald, made for the security of the said monks. But after the lapse of many ages, the same had been laid waste by the army of the Pagans, and had been burnt with fire and utterly consumed, together with all the decorations and many of the archives thereof. Wherefore, the before-named Turketul, who, conformably with the prophetic words of the Psalmist,[70] 'has hated the congregation of evil-doers, and has loved the habitation of the house of the Lord,' being stimulated with pious desires, is endeavouring with the utmost zeal to repair and rebuild the same. This man is so inflamed with ardour for the Divine love, that both in heart and in body he continually strives to devote himself to the welfare of the sheep-fold of Christ Wherefore, the five aged monks who lay concealed in the said island, of whom two have recently returned from being dispersed in other parts, being informed thereon by the judgment of the said Turketul and others learned in the law, and greatly fearing the losses and various expenses which might at future times unexpectedly arise, have first entirely and spontaneously resigned the whole abbey, together with all its possessions which have been obtained and recovered by the care of the said Turketul, or which have been by my favour acquired, together with six manors of his hereditary possessions, into my [royal] hands, that by means of my fresh bestowal thereof they might hereafter enjoy a more assured and more free possession thereof. But inasmuch as a contract, made in words only, may easily escape the memory, and so become matter of litigation, unless at the same time protection is afforded by a writing which shall lastingly bear witness to

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[68] Probably Castor.

[69] This charter is regarded by Hickes, in his Thesaurus Ling. Sept. Pref. p. xxviii. as spurious.

[70] Psalm xxvi. 5. 8.

the transaction, for this reason it is that I do by my gratuitous consent and assent appoint the said Turketul so often named, who has now assumed the monastic habit and joined the monks aforesaid, to be abbat of the said monastery; and both the abbey, as also all the possessions so recovered and surrendered to me, I do, of my royal gift, convey, give, and confirm henceforth for ever, as a pure alms-gift, unto the said monks and all their successors in the same place, under the same rule and habit serving God; and do determine to set forth the several particulars thereof in manner following, that is to say:

"In the first place, the whole island of Croyland, as the glebe of the church and as the several site of the said monastery, the same being distinguished by the following boundaries, namely; from the triangular[71] bridge of Croyland along the river Welland in the direction of Spaldelyng, as far as Asendyk, where the Asendyk falls into the river Welland, on the northern side of the stone cross there erected by Turketul before-named. Thence in an easterly direction by the Asendyk, as far as Aswyktoft; and thence by the Shepishee on the eastern side of the said island, as far as Tedwarthar; and thence from the entrance of the Southee, as far as Namanlandhirne, where the said Turketul has ordered a stone cross to be erected, distant from Southee six perches: by which river a division is made of the two counties of Lincoln and Grantebrige;[72] the said cross being distant from the river Nene, which lies to the west thereof, five perches; and thence along the said river Nene, as the same runs to the above-mentioned bridge of Croyland; with several piscary, both in all the waters surrounding the said island, as also in the lakes and marshes situate within the said site: together with the marshes and plantations of alders thereto adjoining, on the west, and opposite to the said island, to the county of Lincoln entirely annexed and belonging, and by the following boundaries set forth, that is to say; from Namanlandhirne by the river Nene towards the west, as far as the boundary there set, where a stone cross is erected near the bank of the river; thence as far as Greynes, and thence to Folwardstakyng; thence as far as Southlake, where the Southlake falls into the river Welland; and thence, crossing that river, and beginning from Kenulphston near the bank, opposite to Southlake, where the first abbat after the foundation of the said monastery, Kenulph by name, erected a stone cross as a boundary between Croyland and Depyng; in a northerly direction, near Aspath, as far as Werwarlake; thence to Harynholt, and thence onwards past Mengerlake and Lurtlake, where are the boundaries that divide Hoyland and Kesteven: thence as far as Oggot, and thence to Apynholt, otherwise known by the name of Wodelade, where the Wodelade falls into the river Welland; together with all the appurtenances and all the advantages that may arise or be derived within the boundaries aforesaid, both above ground as well as beneath; and with common of pasture [at all times of the year, for all kinds of animals, for the use of themselves, and all their men or tenants with them living within the boundaries aforesaid, such common of pasture being] in the marshes adjoining, on either side of the river Welland, that is to say, on the one side, from the said river as far as the lands of Medeshamsted, and on the other side from the said river as far as the buildings at Spaldelmg, together with several piscary in the said river Welland from Kenulphston as far as the bridge of Croyland, [and in the river Nene from the boundary called Fynset, as far as the bridge of Croyland,] and thence in the same river and in the river Welland united, as far as the Asendyk. The said monks also shall be at liberty to enclose for themselves and their men or tenants severally out of the said marshes adjoining on the west crofts or meadows in the neighbourhood of the bridge, as much as they shall think fit. Wherefore I do will that the said monks shall hold these estates of my gift and confirmation, free and absolved from all secular demands or burdens, as also all liberties and free customs, together with all the rights, which are called Soch, Sach, Tol and Tem, Infangthef, Weif, and Stray, and the things thereto lawfully belonging, as my own pure and perpetual alms-gift.

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[71] The bridge was so called from affording a passage over three streams rising to a point in the centre.

[72] Cambridge.

"Moreover, I do deliver, give, and confirm unto the said monks the following possessions to the said convent belonging, and the gift in former times of the nobles of my kingdom, that is to say; in Lincolnshire—in Spaldelyng, three carucates of land; in Pyncebek, one carucate of land; in Cappelade, three carucates of [arable] land, six bovates of [arable] land, and twelve acres of meadow land, together with the church of the said vill; in Algare, twelve bovates of land; in Donnesdyk, two carucates of [arable] land, and twenty acres of meadow land; in Drayton, one carucate of [arable] land, and six acres of meadow land and four salt pits; in Burtoft, one bovate of land, with Soch and Sach, and the church of Sutterton; in Bokenhale, two carucates and a half of [arable] land, twenty-six acres of meadow land, fifty acres of wood land, and seventy acres at Brusche; ten bovates of land at Halyngton, with four bovates at Juland, and thirty-two acres of meadow land to the same fee belonging at Gernthorp; six carucates of arable land at Langtoft (the same being fifteen quarentenes in length, and nine quarentenes in breadth), and one hundred acres of meadow land, and a wood and marsh, two leagues in length, and two leagues in breadth, as also the church of the said vill, and forty acres of the same fee in the fields of Depyng; in Baston, at Tetford four carucates of arable land, and forty-five acres of meadow land, together with the church of the said vill, and marsh land, sixteen quarentenes in length, and eight quarentenes in breadth, together with one water-mill and one-half of a mill: in Repyngale, three carucates of arable land, and sixty acres of meadow land: in Laythorp, one bovate of land: in Kyrkby, three bovates of land, one dwelling-house and three cottages. In Northamptonshire—in Wendlingburgh, six hides and a half of land, with the church of the said vill, with Sach and Soch, &c.: in Adington, three hides of land, with the advowson of the church of the said vill; in Helmyngton, three hides of land; in Glapthorn, three virgates of land; in Wyrthorp, one hide and a half, together with one water-mill; in Peykirke, two virgates of land; in Badby a manor, and four hides of [arable] land, together with thirty acres of meadow land In Huntingdonshire—in Morberne, five acres of land, together with the advowson of the church of the said vill; and in Thirning, one hide and a half of land. In Leicestershire—in Beby, ten carucates and a half of land, with the church of the said vill; in Sutton, two carucates of land; and in Stapilton, two carucates of land. In Grantebrigeshire—eleven acres of land at Cottenham, with the alternate right of advowson of the said church: in Hokiton, seven hides and a half of land, together with the church of the said vill, in Drayton, eight hides and a half of land, together with the advowson of the church of the said vill. In Hertfordshire—in Staundon, five hides of land.

"I do also will that the said monks shall be free and absolved of and from all scot, geld, sheriff's aids, hydage, suits in courts of shires, wapentakes, hundreds, and trythings, and all other courts whatsoever, and all secular burdens whatever. I do also command that all fugitives, whom the said monks, on the testimony of four or five trustworthy men, can prove, before the sheriff of the county in which such persons shall be found, to be their villeins, shall be brought back to their abbey by the said sheriff, together with all their chattels and effects, all counter-claim or opposition to the contrary notwithstanding. And if the said persons shall have previously thereto done anything to the detriment of their masters, then I do will that the same shall be utterly null and void. And if any one of their villeins, or of those holding of them in villeinage, shall be guilty of any offence, for which he ought to lose his chattels, the said chattels are to be delivered in full unto the said monks, wherever the trial may take place. I do also will that if the sheriff, or any one of his bailiffs, shall be found to be negligent, or to protract their business in contravention of the due course of law and of their liberties, he shall pay a fine to my treasurer to the amount of twenty pounds.

"Also, to the end that nothing may be omitted which it is proper to insert in the present charter, and for the purpose of ensuring the rights and liberties of the said monks, at least with regard to those for whom temporal evils in the present life have more terrors than the punishment of hell, which is to last for ever; I do distinctly command as to all and each of those, of whatsoever grade or condition they may be, who shall in any way endeavour to violate or disturb the authority of this present writing, contrary to the form and effect of my will expressed in the same, or shall by counsel, aid, or favour, attempt to prevent them from peaceably possessing any of the gifts hereby granted to them, or enjoying any of the privileges above-mentioned, that the same persons shall be condemned in the penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds of lawful money, payable to my treasury, or to that of my heirs or successors, so often as they shall dare to make such attempts; as also, that they shall make satisfaction to the said monks for the losses and expenses by the said persons caused to them, the same to be estimated on the oaths of four or five trustworthy men, by whom the truth of the matter may be best ascertained, and to be settled in presence of my judges, or those of my heirs and successors; that so, those who have spontaneously renounced the world, and have submitted to the yoke of the Lord, and become dead to the world, may, without the tumults or disquiet of the world, have free opportunity of fully devoting themselves to holy contemplation.

"The said gifts [exceeding small though they be], moved with duteous feelings towards the said monks, I have established and rendered lasting, to the praise of the Holy Trinity, and as a price of the ransom of my soul, in the year from the Incarnation of [the Everlasting Prince] our Lord Jesus Christ, 948, in presence of the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of my kingdom underwritten. + I, Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, have given to the same my sanction and consent; + I, Wulstan, archbishop of York, have devoutly subscribed hereto; + I, Alfred, bishop of Sherburn, have desired the same; + I, Kynsy, bishop of Lichfield, have consented hereto: + I, Kynewald, bishop of Worcester, have confirmed the same; + I, Ceolwulph, bishop of Dorchester, have wished for the same; + I, Athelwold, abbat of Abingdon, have approved hereof; + I, Dunstan, abbat of Glastonbury, have greatly commended the same; + I, duke Oslac, at the instance of my lord the king, have praised the same; + I, duke Brithnod, have recommended the same; + I, earl Alcin, have favoured the same; + I, earl Aigulf, have signed the same; + I, earl Radbod, have given my consent to the same; + I, sheriff Byngulph, have counselled the same; + I, sheriff Alfer, have heard the same; + I, Farcey, the thane, have been present at the same; + I, Sigey, the thane, have listened to the same; + I, Ethelward, the thane, have beheld the same; + I, Turketul, although an unprofitable servant, looking to the end of my purpose, do, on account of this matter, praise God in all things, and although late in life I have adopted the monastic garb, with a contrite spirit I have submitted myself to the yoke of the rules thereof, that so at least I might be compelled to offer up the dregs of my old age to my Creator; therefore, my soul doth magnify the Lord; and do you, my brethren, together with me, magnify the Lord, that, serving Him in sanctity and justice, the prince of this world being always triumphed over by us, we may so run the race of this present life, as, in that to come, to merit to obtain the reward of victory in the sight of God. Amen."

In order that we may hand down some information to posterity on the actions of this venerable father, our abbat Turketul, it is proper that, at the commencement of our narrative, we should begin at a previous period; to the end that the flourishing youth of such a high-born stripling, being described, according to the trustworthy accounts derived from the chroniclers and the information given to us by our fathers, we may more easily shew, by the evidence of probability, that a holy old age succeeded thereto. In the latter years of king Edward, on the decease of his brother Ethelward, our Turketul, his eldest son, received his inheritance from his father's brother, the before-named king Edward. The king frequently made him the offer of an alliance with damsels of most noble birth, daughters of his dukes and earls; but he, feeling by no means inclined to enter the married state, through his preference of a life of chastity, refused them all, the moment the suggestion was made; on which, this most sagacious monarch concluded from holy beginnings of this nature, that he would become a man distinguished for his virtues, and made it his study to exalt him to ecclesiastical dignities, and at a future time to promote him to the high office of bishop

Accordingly, on many of the bishops departing this life, in order that his sanctity might be made known unto all those who are in the house of the Lord, if placed on a candlestick, the king very frequently made an attempt to promote him to the episcopal rank of bishop in the greatest churches of all England, in preference to all his other clerks. He, however, by various excuses, avoided acceptance of all these honors, as though they had been so many snares of Satan laid for the purpose of entrapping souls; and utterly abhorred the same all the days of his life For, on the decease of Dynewulph, its bishop, the king before-named offered him the bishopric of Winchester; but he, protesting that he was not fitted for so high a dignity, entreated Fridestan, his foster-brother, and prevailed upon him to deign to accept of it; on which Fridestan became bishop of Winchester

At the same period also, at the suggestion of Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, the bishopric of Dorchester was offered him by the king; on his declining which with a similar degree of pertinacity, and presenting his priest Ceolwulph to the king, the said Ceolwulph was made bishop And thus did he always reject the pomps of earthly dignities, thus did he all his days repudiate all transitory honors.

The king, learning at length to what the most holy aspirations of his heart inclined [and tended], and seeing that he cared not for dignities and riches, and was content with his own lands and income only, and sought not those of others, made him his chancellor, to the end, that whatever temporal or spiritual business awaited the king's decision, the same should by his counsel and determination be settled, and when settled, receive his irreversible sentence; a man of such holy integrity and such deep discernment was he considered to be. Whereupon, by his advice, the king did many good works, and, among the rest, on one day gave seven bishops to seven churches, namely, the before-named Fridestan to the bishopric of Winchester; the before-named Ceolwulph to the bishopric of Dorchester; Werstan to the bishopric of Sherburn; Athelstan to that of Cornwall;[75] Athelm to that of Wells; Adulph to that of Crediton; and Bernege to that of the South Saxons, whose see is at * * * *;[76] all these being consecrated on the same day by the before-named archbishop Plegmund.

The renowned king Edward having filled the measure of his days, his son Athelstan succeeded him. Anlaf, the son of Sitric, the former king of Northumbria, having risen in rebellion against him, and a most fierce war being carried on, Constantine, king of the Scots, and Eugenius, king of the Cumbrians, and an infinite multitude of other barbarian kings and earls entered into a strict confederacy with the said Anlaf; upon which, all of these, with the nations subject to them, went forth to engage with king Athelstan at Brunford,[77] in Northumbria When, however, the said king of the English approached with his army, although the barbarian before-named had collected together an infinite multitude of the Danes, Norwegians, Scots, and Picts, either through distrust of conquering, or in accordance with the usual craftiness of his nation, he preferred to resort to stratagem, when protected by the shades of night, rather than engage in open combat.

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[75] Saint Germains.

[76] An omission. Selsey, in Sussex, is the place meant. These appointments were really made in consequence of pope Formosus greatly censuring king Edward and archbishop Plegmund for having kept these sees vacant so many years.

Accordingly, during the night, he made an attack upon the English, and slew a certain bishop, who the evening before had joined the army of king Athelstan. The cries of the dying being heard at a considerable distance, that king, who was encamped more than a mile from the place of attack, was, together with all his army, awoke from slumber while lying in their tents beneath the canopy of heaven; and on learning the particulars, they quickly aroused themselves. The dawn was just breaking, when they arrived at the place of slaughter; the king's troops coming up fresh and prepared for the onset against the barbarians, while they, on the other hand, had been toiling throughout the whole night, and were quite weary and worn out with fatigue King Athelstan, who was in command of all the men of Wessex, charged the troops of Anlaf, while his chancellor, Turketul, who led on the Londoners and all the Mercians, engaged the forces of Constantine. The discharge of light arms being quickly put an end to, the battle was now fought foot to foot, spear to spear, and shield to shield. Numbers of men were slain, and, amid indiscriminate confusion, the bodies of kings and of common men were strewed upon the ground. After they had now fought for a long time with the most determined courage, and neither side would give way, (so vast was the multitude of the Pagans), the chancellor Turketul, taking with him a few of the Londoners, whom he knew to be most distinguished for valour, and a certain captain of the Wiccii, Singin by name, who was remarkable for his undaunted bravery, (being taller in stature than any of the rest, firm and brawny in bone and muscle, and excelling in strength and robustness any one of the London heroes), flew at their head to the charge against the foe, and, penetrating the hostile ranks, struck them down on the right and on the left.

[77] Or Brunenburgh, near the banks of the Humber.

He had now pierced the ranks of the men of Orkney and the Picts, and, bearing around him a whole forest of darts and javelins, which he had received upon his right trusty cuirass, with his followers had penetrated the dense masses of the Cumbrians and Scots. At last, amid torrents of blood, he reached the king himself, and unhorsed him; and when thus thrown to the ground, made redoubled efforts to take him alive. But the Scots, crowding around their king, used every possible exertion to save him; and, whole multitudes pressing on against a few, they all made Turketul their especial object of attack; who, as he was often in the habit of confessing in after-times, was beginning to repent of the rashness of which he had been guilty.

He was now on the very point of being overwhelmed by the Scots, and their king was just about to be snatched from his grasp, when, at that instant, the captain, Singin, pierced him with his sword. Constantine, the king of the Scots, being thus slain, his people retreated, and so left the road open to Turketul and his soldiers. The death of Constantine becoming known throughout the whole army, Anlaf took to flight; on which they all followed his example. On this occasion there fell of the Pagans an unheard-of multitude. Turketul frequently made it his boast, that in this hazardous combat he had been preserved by the Lord, and that he esteemed himself most happy and fortunate, in that he had never slain a man, and had not even wounded any one, though at the same time every one may lawfully fight for his country, and especially against the Pagans.

The news of this victory being quickly spread throughout the whole of Christendom, all the kings of the earth greatly desired to contract friendships with king Athelstan, and in some way or other to enter into solemn treaties of peace with him. Hence it was, that Henry, emperor of the Romans, sent ambassadors, to negociate for one of his sisters in marriage for his son Otho. Hugh, king of France, also sent for another, to be given in marriage to his son; while Louis, prince of Aquitaine, sent a request that a third might be given to him for a wife. Through the envoys of these potentates, there were sent such vast numbers of royal and costly presents, that for many ages before, the like thereto had never been seen or heard of by the English nation. Besides aromatic perfumes, besides costly gems, besides coursers bedecked with horsecloths of gold, most precious vessels of alabaster, and numerous other gifts of the most exquisite beauty; a piece of the Cross of our Lord was sent, most becomingly enclosed in crystal, also a small portion of the crown of thorns which was placed upon the head of Christ, similarly covered with crystal, the sword of Constantine the Great, on the hilt of which, upon thick plates of gold, was fastened a nail, being one of the four by means of which our Redeemer saved us and all His people; as also a standard of the most blessed martyr Mauricius, and a lance of Charlemagne, esteemed among the Franks as of no small value.

With these presents the mighty king Athelstan was exceedingly delighted; and, among the envoys whose duty it was to escort the damsels, with unhesitating confidence he appointed his chancellor, Turketul, first and foremost, as being most distinguished for his wisdom, and one who had shewn himself remarkable for the most scrupulous and unimpeached fidelity in all the transactions in which he had been engaged: another reason, too, being the fact that he was related by blood to the damsels.

Accordingly, in company with the chancellor, the four noble maidens proceeded towards the sea-shore, damsels surpassing Diana in the graces of chastity, and outvying even Helen herself in beauty of person. Into their laps, resplendent [with gems], were poured forth by dukes, and by earls, and other nobles, throughout all the land, full many a jewel, pieces of gold, bracelets, and a thousand necklaces. Sail being set, England is at length left behind, and after the seas have been traversed in a prosperous voyage, Cologne is reached by the river Rhine. The two elder sisters were delivered into the hands of the emperor Henry; the first of whom he gave in marriage to his son Otho, and the second to a nobleman of high rank in his palace Hugh, king of France, received a third sister as the destined wife of his son. The fourth, who was the youngest and the most beautiful of all, was married to Louis, prince of Aquitaine. On the completion of his embassy, the chancellor Turketul, laden with costly gifts, together with his whole retinue enriched with many presents, even down to the lowest page, after enjoying a prosperous voyage, returned to England.

Thus, having triumphed over all his enemies, and his sisters being most becomingly disposed of in marriage, king Athelstan, with the most devout zeal, turned his attention (at the repeated suggestions of his chancellor Turketul to that effect) to the exaltation of the Church of Christ throughout his kingdom. He accordingly restored monasteries, built churches, and made offerings on the holy altars of the most costly decorations. Malmesbury, in especial, (at which place he had with due honor entombed his two kinsmen, Elwin and Athelstan, the sons of his uncle Ethelward, who had been slain by the Danes, at the battle of Bruneford), he favoured and exalted with a singular degree of attention, and magnified and honoured the place beyond all other monasteries with numerous privileges; and at last, when, Atropos prematurely cutting short his thread, he departed this life, he was interred there, and there he now reposes.

He was succeeded on the throne, as already mentioned, by his brother Edmund. In his time, Saint Dunstan, who was then priest of the royal palace, and the most familiar and confidential adviser of the chancellor Turketul, and the receiver of his confessions, was, through the persecution of some who were his enemies, expelled by the king from the palace. Afterwards, through the mediation of the chancellor Turketul, who greatly extolled the sanctity of Dunstan, and used every effort, taking advantage of the favour in which he was held, to soften the king, he was recalled, and presented with the monastery of Glastonbury. On this occasion, the chancellor Turketul gave to Saint Dunstan a chalice, remarkable for its extreme beauty, which has been preserved there down to the present times of the Normans, and is called "Turketul's chalice." King Edmund being slain, after a reign of six years and a half, Edred, the third brother, succeeded him on the throne.

In the second year of this king's reign, the chancellor Turketul, (who already, before his adoption of the monastic life, had in his holy aspirations become a neophyte), having obtained the gracious assent of the king his master, fully in accordance with all his desires, one day hurried with the greatest speed from London to Croyland; where he most devoutly visited the three old men before-named, who were then living in obscurity in the said island, and on disclosing to them his holy purpose, rejoiced them exceedingly, and beyond what can be possibly expressed or conceived.

Being accordingly received into their brotherhood, after he had read over the charters of the foundation of the monastery and its other archives, he was accompanied by the old men before-named, who were carried in a vehicle, and by his own retinue, which still attended the chancellor in considerable numbers, and made the circuit of the whole island of Croyland from corner to corner. The fact also ought not to pass unnoticed, that about this time there was such a great drought throughout all England, that it did not rain upon the land for the space of three years, and by many it was called "the drought of Elijah."[79]

The chancellor Turketul having thus informed himself on the boundaries of Croyland, and all the limits thereof, he caused the stone crosses at the boundaries to be replaced, and to be fixed in the nearest solid ground at a greater distance from the banks of the rivers; lest it might so happen, that in the course of time they should fall into the rivers in consequence of being washed down by the action of the water, in the same way that he had heard that the ancient crosses which had been formerly placed there by Kenulph, the first abbat of the monastery of Croyland, to mark the same boundaries, had fallen down. On the southern bank of the said island, Turketul on this occasion erected a stone cross, which was then distant from Southee six perches; while, in the northern part of the said island, on the same occasion, he placed another cross of stone, the same being then distant from the Asendyk where it falls into the Welland, three perches. He also visited the boundaries of the marshes, both Alderlound on the southern side of the river Welland, as well as Goggisland on the northern side of that river; and having traced their limits, as described by the charters of the monastery, commanded them to be marked out in a similar manner by the erection of stone crosses. After this, saluting the said old men, his brethren, and again giving them twenty pounds of silver towards their support, he returned to the king at London, with the charters and muniments of the monastery.

While there, he one day had a conference with earl Lewin, who was in possession of Spalding, Cappelade, and Sutterton, lands which had formerly belonged to the monastery of Croyland, and, in presence of the said king, gave to the before-named earl forty mancuses of gold; on which, as the agent of the said old men, in their name and title he received possession of the vills before-named. He also at this period made a composition with earl Alpher, and giving him ten mancuses of gold for the same, restored Drayton to Croyland. Staundon likewise and Baddeby he recovered for Croyland, on giving ten mancuses to earl Athelwald. At the same time, also, he obtained the vill of Morburne for Croyland from earl Ailwin, who was a young man of exemplary piety, and distinguished by numerous alms-deeds.

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[79] Alluding to 1 Kings, xviii. 2.

At this time, also, giving him twelve mancuses of gold for the same, he obtained Bokenhale, Halyngton, and Lindesey, from duke Oslac, and restored them to Croyland. Langetoft also and Baston, which at this period belonged to the royal treasury, king Edred gratuitously and spontaneously restored to Croyland. But as for Depyng, Langfer, formerly pannier of king Beorred, to whom the said king had given that manor, having lately died at an extreme old age, without an heir male, it had come into the possession of his two daughters; who, having long remained in a state of celibacy, would not make any composition with Turketul, nor would they for money or entreaties renounce their rights. Accordingly, the venerable father Turketul determined to wait for better times; but, so long as he lived, they lived on, persisting in their course of obstinacy. Kyrketon also, as well as Kymerby and Croxton, duke Osbricht held most tenaciously; and as the charters of the donors had perished, and none of the royal confirmations included those lands, Turketul, after making a fair offer for them a first and a second time, and the same not being accepted, determined to exercise the utmost vigilance in the recovery of other possessions. At this time he also regained Glapthorn, Thirning, Laythorp, Kyrkeby, Peykyrk, both the Adingtons, Repingale, Sutton, and Stapilton.

At last, on the arrival of the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, in the king's presence he became a monk; and being immediately presented by the king with the pastoral staff, and receiving the benediction from the bishop, resigned the whole monastery, with all its possessions, into the king's hands. Upon this, in a general council held at London, in presence of the archbishops, bishops, and nobles of the whole land, the king restored to the said Turketul, the lord abbat, and his monks, the said monastery, together with all its lands, both those belonging to it in former times, as also those newly given and acquired by the said Turketul, and, by his charter as previously set forth, confirmed the same as a perpetual alms-gift, free and absolved from all worldly services whatsoever. Turketul, however, would by no means agree to preserve the former impunity or rather immunity of the place; that he might not appear in any way to afford a refuge to the wicked and impious from the public laws, and might not in any way be forced, contrary to his conscience, to live with or encourage offenders of that description.

He was followed to the monastery by many learned men, ten of whom, together with himself, assumed the monastic garb; while the rest, dreading the rigorousness of a religious life, still retained the secular habit; they continued, however, to dwell with him in the monastery, as they could on no account deny themselves his society. Of these, some [afterwards] arrived at the rank of priest, while others still performed the duties of clerks.[81] All the latter, who were many in number, he required to take up their abode on the eastern side of the monastery, in the cell of Saint Pega, the virgin, and ordered a daily supply of provisions to be given to each of them, just as though he had been one of the monks. He also built there a chapel for them, and ordered them to perform the canonical Hours[82] there, both night and day, at the same time at which the monks performed them. This was done by command of abbat Turketul, in order that, by use, those might become more habituated to monastic observances, who, having been hitherto devoted to secular frivolities, had been led astray from and become unaccustomed to a regular life.

He also ordered all to wear a uniform habit, that is to say, a black cloak, and garments reaching to the ankles, all of a black colour. Beyond the duties of chastity and obedience they knew nothing of the observances of a religious life; in consequence of which regulations, it seldom or never happened that any one of them returned to the vomit of a secular life; being supported by such a bountiful provision, and governed by laws of such limited stringency. The head of these persons abbat Turketul called the "Prior," and after his election by them, confirmed him in his office. Some of them ended their lives there with a most holy death, and were buried in the same place: while others, in process of time, having adopted the monastic profession, and living a most holy life, were afterwards found deserving to be elected even to fill the office of abbat. Such were the two Egelrics, who, being by birth and relationship kinsmen of Turketul in the flesh, but much more akin to him in the spirit, successively filled the office of abbat after him in the most exemplary manner, and ended their lives in the discharge thereof.

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[81] Learned men not in holy orders.,

[82] Services sung at certain hours of the day. They were called "matutina," or "matins," "prima," or "prime," "tertia," "sexta," "nona," "vespera," or "vespers," and "completorium," or "complines."

Towards the close of the life of abbat Turketul, and during the reign of the renowned king Edgar, on the restoration of many of the monasteries throughout the kingdom, and the foundation of several new ones, the monastic order began to flourish with renewed vigour; in consequence of which, as clerks less frequently than usual resorted thither for the purpose of adopting the monastic life, nearly all the elders of Pegeland became monks at Croyland. The result was, that Pegeland was almost left destitute of priests, on which, the few clerks who were left there began with great urgency to press abbat Turketul, that he would be pleased either to place among them some secular priests, or else assign them a monk from his monastery, who might each day perform Divine service for them. For every secular person who repaired thither to adopt the monastic life, of whatever grade or condition he might be, was first appointed to form one of their community, and, after passing a probation at Pegeland, was, at a future period, received or rejected, according to the report which the people of Pegeland gave of him.

Abbat Turketul, however, with the most prudent foresight, granted neither prayer of the people at Pegeland, nor yet did he altogether reject them, but, in memory of Saint Pega the Virgin, granted and ordained that Divine service should for ever be there performed; still, however, he came to the determination that no community whatever of regulars or of seculars should be there established, as it was a thing that might at a future period prove a source of injury or trouble to his monastery. Accordingly, he appointed one priest, and, with the common consent of the whole of his convent, by the charter of his chapter, confirmed the same grant for ever; it being the duty of the said priest, in all future time, to celebrate Divine service for king Ethelbald, the founder of the monastery, king Edred, its restorer, abbat Turketul, and the other benefactors of the place. He was to have the same provision made for him in the refectory as a monk of the convent, every day, after the prior was served; the victuals being of similar quality, both at dinner and at supper, and whether he was at home or abroad, while, for the supply of his other necessities, he was thenceforth to have a moiety of the oblations, dealt out in equal shares, which the faithful of Christ were in the habit of offering in the said chapel to the sacrist.[83] These enactments were made towards the close of the life of abbat Turketul, that is to say, in the time of king Edgar. The first priest placed there by abbat Turketul for the performance of these duties was one named Reynfred, a man imbued with great learning, and remarkable for his probity of life.

Edred being king, as already mentioned, and his clerks being thus established at Pegeland,[84] the venerable abbat Turketul devoted his most diligent attention to the building of his monastery. King Edred, in the meantime, moving his army into Northumbria, laid waste nearly the whole of that province with fire and sword, and, all his adversaries being put to flight, flushed with success, he then returned to London. On a second attempt being made at conspiracy and rebellion, after great preparations, he returned to Northumbria, and placed Wulstan, the archbishop of York, and many of the chief men of that district, in chains; then, ravaging the whole land and reducing everything to ashes, so much so that for a long time afterwards it was a solitude for many miles in extent, he returned with a large number of prisoners to London. His enemies being thus subdued, from this time he laboured in rebuilding churches and monasteries.

For, as we have already mentioned, he restored Croyland, appointing as abbat over it Turketul, who had been his chancellor. He also restored the monastery of Abingdon, appointing as abbat thereof Ethelwold, the former abbat of Glastonbury; who, on afterwards becoming bishop of Winchester, became the founder of many monasteries. At length, in the tenth year of his reign, king Edred, being sick unto death, dispatched a swift messenger to fetch his confessor, the holy Dunstan, at this time abbat of Glastonbury. Whilst Dunstan was hastening to reach the palace with all possible speed, a voice was heard from above, saying, "King Edred has fallen asleep in the Lord." At the same instant, the steed which bore the holy abbat fell to the ground and expired; a beast of burden being powerless and unworthy to hear angelic words. On the spot, the holy abbat, Dunstan, with his monks, chaunted the office for the dead, that is to say, the "*Placebo*" and the "*Dirige*," for the soul of the deceased king; after which, on his arrival at the palace, he found the king dead, as the angel had revealed to him. The king was buried at Winchester, in the episcopal church there.

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[83] In conventual societies, the sacrist or sacristan was next in dignity after the abbat.

[84] The text from this place down to the word "venerable," in the next page, is omitted in Saville's edition.

Edwin,[85] the eldest son of king Edmund, succeeded Edred on the throne—a young man of a most wanton disposition, and by no means fitted by character to be a king. For, at the beginning of his reign, he sent that most holy man, abbat Dunstan, into exile: shortly after which, having, by the judgment of God, been deprived of the greater part of his kingdom, through grief at so great a misfortune he fell sick unto death, and dying, after a reign of two years, left the whole kingdom to his brother Edgar, who was greatly his superior.

King Edgar, on obtaining the sovereignty of the whole kingdom, recalled the holy Dunstan from banishment, and first presented him with the bishopric of the Wiccii,[86] to which he afterwards added London, and at last raised him to the archbishopric of Canterbury.

The venerable[87] father, abbat Turketul, on hearing that Dunstan, who was formerly his most familiar friend, was promoted to the archbishopric of Canterbury, and that his kinsman, Osketul, was likewise made archbishop of York, immediately repaired to London; and it is not easy to express with what joy he was received by them both, seeing that one of them was his foster-child, and a person who remembered former benefits, while the other was akin to him by blood, and connected by the ties of relationship; while both of them, with the most sincere affection, received the warrior who had served so ably in the camp of the Lord.

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[85] More generally called Edwy.

[86] Worcester.

[87] See note 84.

On this occasion, also, it being the eighth year of his reign, he obtained of king Edgar, at the intercession of the before-named archbishops, the royal charter confirming the grant of the monastery of Croyland, to the following effect:—

"Our[88] Lord Jesus Christ reigning over all the heavens and holding the sovereignty over all the realms of the earth, He who raiseth kings, and transferreth kingdoms, and who, by His nod, ruleth all the regions of the world; I, Edgar, by the overflowing munificence of the same our God, possessing the monarchy of the whole of Great Britain, have made a resolution from the very beginning of my reign, to the best of my limited abilities, to recompense the benefits received from Him, and with transitory mammon to provide for myself a tabernacle among the blessed, and by means of the perishable blessings of this world, to earn everlasting bliss. Wherefore, then my spiritual fathers, the priests and prelates, have made most frequent suggestions to me relative to the relief of the churches of Christ and the restoration of monasteries, I have always, God, the searcher of hearts, being witness thereto, anxiously listened to their prayers with an attentive ear. Moreover, on my most holy archbishops Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Osketul, archbishop of York, disclosing to me more at length how that the famous monastery of Croyland had formerly been founded by Ethelbald, the renowned king of the Mercians, and had been enriched by other kings of the Mercians, his successors, with many and great gifts and dignities; and how that it had been amplified besides with immunities and most extensive privileges, and abundantly confirmed in the possession thereof; and how that the said monastery in later times, when the most iniquitous Danes were oppressing the whole land, had been by them burned with fire and laid waste; and how that, afterwards, when this mighty storm was lulled, through the exertions of the venerable father Turketul, the favour of the most pious king, my uncle and predecessor, Edred, co-operating with him, the same was restored, and has risen again, and has been once more built as a habitation for the Saints, and the grant thereof confirmed by the royal charter—on learning the same, I rejoiced with exceeding joy, and, as God is my witness, I exulted to the very inmost recesses of my heart, at the daily growth and continuous increase, in these my days, of the Christian worship throughout all England. Wherefore, I do grant unto the before-named venerable man, the abbat Turketul, in former times a most powerful Patrician of my father and my uncles, and now, through the love of a heavenly kingdom, a most holy pastor and prelate of the servants of Christ, out of my royal forests adjoining and nearest unto his monastery of Croyland, in manner following, that is to say; out of Ancarygwod and Medeshamstedwod, belonging to my royal manors of Estrey and of Castre, trees and timber for the building of his said monastery, as many and as much as he shall think fit to take; nor shall any one of my servants in that district presume in any way to impede him therein. The monastery of Croyland also, together with the whole island thereto adjoining, as also the vill and the two marshes lying on either side of the river Welland, to the west of the said monastery, I do give and confirm, as a perpetual alms-gift, to my before-named father, abbat Turketul, and his monks, and all their successors there in the service of God, with the same limits and boundaries with which the monks of the said monastery have always held the same from the first foundation thereof, and in such manner as the charters and muniments granted by many of the kings, my predecessors, and especially the renowned king Edred, my uncle, sufficiently, from east to west, and from south to north, declare and manifest the same; that is to say, the said island of Croyland, proceeding from the triangular bridge thereof, along the river Welland, in the direction of Spaldelyng, as far as Asendyk, where the Asendyk falls into the river Welland, on the northern side of the stone cross there erected by Turketul before-named; thence in an easterly direction by the Asendyk, as far as Aswyktoft; and thence by the Schepishee, on the eastern side of the said island, to Tedwarthar; and thence from the entrance of the Southee, as far as Namanlandhyrne, where the said Turketul has ordered a stone cross to be erected, distant from Southee six perches; [the said cross being distant from the river] Nene, which lies to the west thereof, five perches; and thence along the said river Nene, as the same runs to the above-mentioned bridge of Croyland; together with several piscary, both in all the waters surrounding the said island as also in the lakes and fens situate within the same; together with the marshes and plantations of alders thereto adjoining on the west, and opposite to the said island, to the county of Lincoln entirely annexed and belonging, and by the following boundaries set forth, that is to say; from Namanlandhyrne by the river Nene towards the west, as far as the boundary[69] there set, where a stone cross is erected near the bank of the river; thence as far as Greynes, and thence to Folwardstakyng; thence as far as Southlake, where the Southlake falls into the river Welland; and thence, crossing that river at Kenulphston, near the bank thereof, opposite to Southlake, where the first abbat of the said monastery, Kenulph by name, erected a stone cross as a boundary between Croyland and Depyng, in a northerly direction near Aspath, as far as Werwarlake; thence to Harynholt, and thence onwards past Mengerlake and Lurtlake; thence past Oggot, as far as Wodelade, where the Wodelade falls into the river Welland; together with all the advantages that may be derived within the boundaries aforesaid, both above ground as well as beneath, and with common of pasture, at all times of the year, for all kinds of animals, for themselves, and for all their men and tenants with them dwelling, within the boundaries aforesaid in the marshes adjoining on either side [of the river Welland, that is to say; on one side], from the said river as far as my lands at Medeshamsted, and on the other side from the said river as far as the buildings at Spaldelyng; together with several piscary in the said river Welland, from Kenulphston as far as the bridge of Croyland, and in the river Nene from the boundary called Fynset, as far as the said bridge of Croyland; and thence in the same river, and in the river Welland united, as far as the Asendyk. I do also grant that the said monks shall be at liberty to enclose for themselves and for their tenants, out of the said marshes adjoining on the west, crofts or meadows, in the neighbourhood of the bridge, for their several use, as much as they shall think fit, in such manner as my uncle, king Edred, by his charter confirmed to them all the same. I do also grant and confirm to the said monastery all the matters aforesaid, free and absolved from all secular burdens, and do will that they shall have all free customs, together with all the rights which are called Sock, Sack, Tol and Tem, Infangthef, Weif and Stray, and the things thereto lawfully belonging.

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[88] This charter is looked upon by Hickes as spurious.

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[69] This being conformable with the charter of king Edred, is perhaps a better reading than "Fineston." "Fynset" was the name of the spot.

"I do also grant and confirm unto the said monks all the lands and tenements, churches and chapels, and all the possessions to the said monastery belonging, which the before-named king Edred, or his nobles, have given to the said convent as a perpetual alms-gift for the remission of their sins, or which have been given or acquired through abbat Turketul, before-named, that is to say; in Croyland, Spaldelyng, Pyncebek, Cappelade, Algare, Donnesdyk, Drayton, Burtoft, Southerton, Bokenhale, Haylington, Gernthorp, Langtoft, Baston, Depyng, Tetford, Repyngale, Laythorp, Kyrkeby, Wendlyngburgh, Adyngton, Elmyngton, Glapthorne, Wyrthorp, Peykyrke, Baddeby, Morburne, Thirming, Beby, Sutton, Stapilton, Cottenham, Hoketon, Drayton, and Staundon. All these tenements, to the honor of God, and for the relief of the Holy Church, and out of love for Saint Guthlac, who in the body lies at rest in the convent of Croyland, I do confirm to my venerable father Turketul, the abbat of Croyland, and to his monks and their successors for ever there serving God. I do also forbid that any one of my servants in the country of the Girvii[90] shall enter within the before-mentioned limits of the marshes of Croyland, or shall in any way interfere therewith: inasmuch as both of the gift of king Edred, my uncle and predecessor, as also of my own confirmation thereof, they are to hold the said marshes and the several site of their monastery, the same being separated from my marsh called Ege, by crosses of stone and other boundaries and lands. Wherefore, as to him, who, in contravention of the purpose of this my deed shall in any of the matters aforesaid presume to disturb or molest the said abbat Turketul, my father, or his monks; besides being visited with my indignation and vengeance, if he does not speedily come to a proper sense of his duty and make fitting reparation for the same, may he be expelled from the congregation of the Saints, and with Dathan and Abiram experience the damnation of hell; but as to him who shall increase my alms-gifts, or shall in any way promote the intent of this my charter, may he obtain everlasting happiness among all the Saints and the elect of God. This my charter was granted in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 966, the archbishops, bishops, abbats, and nobles of my kingdom under-written, being present thereat. + I, Edgar, monarch of the whole of Albion, have confirmed this charter with the sign of the Holy Cross. + I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have with the triumphant emblem of the hallowed Cross corroborated the same. + I, Osketul, archbishop of York, have devoutly approved of the same. + I, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, have heartily promoted the same. + I, Oswald, bishop of the Wiccii, have commended the same. + I, Elfwold, bishop of Devon, have subscribed hereto. + I, Elfstan, abbat of Glastonbury, have advised the same. + I, Etheigar, abbat of the new monastery at Winchester, have given my consent hereto. + I, Wulfsy, abbat of Saint Peter's at Westminster, without London, have subscribed hereto. + I, Merwenna, abbess of Romsey, have made the sign of the Holy Cross. + I, Ordgar, duke of Devon, have signed the same. + I, Elphege, duke of Southampton, have given my approbation hereto. + I, duke Oslac, have been present hereat. + I, duke Brithnod, have witnessed the same. + I, duke Alwin, have consented hereto. + I, duke Alfer, have taken part herein. + I, Ernulph, the thane, have seen the same. + I, Ringulph, the thane, have seen the same. + I, Ethelward, the thane, have heard the same. + I, Veif, the thane, have listened hereto."

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[90] Huntingdonshire, and the northern parts of Northamptonshire.

The venerable abbat, Turketul, having obtained of king Edgar, a deed to the above effect as a protection against the perils of the secular arm, also urgently entreated both the archbishops, Dunstan and Osketul, that he might obtain the shield of spiritual aid against the sons of Belial, (if they should chance, at the instigation of the devil, to arise against his monastery): and, on the same occasion, obtained from them at London, an ecclesiastical censure against all violators of the royal charters above-written, (those, namely, of Edred and Edgar), and against all who should contravene the same, and who should aid and abet therein, in the following words:

"To all who shall come hereafter professing the Christian faith, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, Osketul, archbishop of York, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and Leofwin, bishop of Dorchester, health everlasting in the Lord. Inasmuch as the Egyptians naturally abominate[91] all feeders of sheep, and the sons of darkness with unrelenting fury persecute the sons of light, (for at all times Midian is devising how to injure the people of the Lord;) for the same reason, we, desiring for the future to raise a wall of defence against the wicked and sacrilegious, who are continually attacking Holy Mother Church, and to render all those who have devoted themselves to the service of God, and have in any way served in the camp of the Lord, more secure from persecutors of this nature, and more safe in the house of the Lord; as also out of regard for the most holy devotion which the most pious kings of our time, Edred, the late king, and the renowned king Edgar, now reigning, have, at the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, manifested, in their desire to restore the sacred monasteries of Christ, and everywhere to relieve the Church of God; do, by the Divine authority, confirm and ratify the charters of the said kings most graciously by them granted to the venerable father Turketul, the abbat of Croyland, (who, in his love for a heavenly country, has most resolutely abandoned multiplied riches and great dignities,) for the confirmation to him of his said monastery. And further, all who, laying aside the fear of God, shall attempt to strip the monastery of its said possessions, or shall, contrary to the intention and will of the aforesaid royal charters, disturb the peace of the aforesaid monks, or attempt to disturb the same, by contrivance or by design, by counsel or by favour, under whatever colour the enemy may have sown his devices, and the son of iniquity have laid his plans; we do from that time forward excommunicate the same, do remove their names from the book of life, and, separating them from the companionship of the Saints and driving them afar from the threshold of the gates of heaven, do, unless they shall, by making due satisfaction, speedily correct their errors, irremediably consign them for their demerits to be condemned with the traitor Judas to the flames of hell. Moreover, we do grant and assign, with the consent of Agelnoth, the archdeacon, he allowing the same to be done, the spiritual authority over the whole island of Croyland and the vill thereto adjacent, in such manner as the said monks have, from the foundation of their monastery, hitherto held the same, that is to say; all the authority which belongs to the office of archdeacon in cases of punishment inflicted at the instance of any person[92] or in any way, for all crimes or offences whatsoever by any person there committed or to be committed; unto the aforesaid venerable abbat Turketul and all his successors, the future abbats in the said monastery, and their officers to that duty appointed and substituted in their stead; excommunicating and expelling from before the face of God, and from the glorified sight of His countenance on the day of the great judgment, all those who shall hereafter molest the said father Turketul, or any one of his successors in any way relative hereto, or who shall violate any of the enactments aforesaid or in any way cause the same to be violated; and delivering them unto Satan, for everlasting and world without end, unless they shall quickly come to a proper sense of their duty, and shall with all due penitence make satisfaction unto the aforesaid monastery for their misdeeds. This privilege has been granted and immutably decreed to the honor of God and the relief of Holy Mother Church, and in reverence for the holy confessor Guthlac, in presence of king Edgar, his prelates and nobles, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 966, at London assembled. + I, Edgar, monarch of the whole of Albion, have with the sign of the Holy Cross confirmed the said privilege. + I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have irrevocably fulminated the said denunciation of ecclesiastical censure against the violators of royal charters. + I, Osketul, archbishop of York, imprecating everlasting damnation against the adversaries of Holy Mother Church, have confirmed the said sentence. + I, Leofwin, bishop of Dorchester, have consented hereto. + I, Elfstan, bishop of London, have commended the same [+ I, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, have praised the same.] + I, Oswald, bishop of Worcester, have given my consent hereto. + I, Elfwold, bishop of Devon, have advised the same. + I, Kynsy, bishop of Lichfield, have heard the same. + I, Alfric, bishop of East Anglia, have promoted the same. + I, Godwin, bishop of Rochester, have acquiesced herein. + I, Athelstan, bishop of Cornwall, have given my sanction hereto. + I, Werstan, bishop of Sherburn, have assented hereto. + I, Agelnoth, the archdeacon, have allowed of the same. + I, Elfstan, abbat of Glastonbury, have granted my consent hereto. + I, Ethelgar, abbat of the new monastery at Winchester, have given my consent hereto. + I, Wulfsy, abbat of St. Peter's at Westminster, without London, have subscribed hereto. + I, Osward, abbat of Evesham, have ratified the same. + I, Merwenna, abbess [of Romsey, have made the sign of the Holy Cross. + I, Herleva, abbess of Shaftesbury,] have set my signature hereto. + I, Wulwina, abbess of Wareham, have shared herein. + I, duke Ordgar, have agreed to the same. + I, duke Alwin, have established the same. + I, duke Brithnod, have witnessed the same. + I, duke Oslac, have been present hereat. + I, duke Alfer, have taken part herein. + I, duke Elphege, have heard the same. + I, Frithegist, the thane, have seen the same. + I, Ethelward, the thane, have seen the same. + I, Ethelmund, the thane, have listened to the same. + Done on the octave of Pentecost, in the cathedral church of Saint Paul."

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[91] Alluding to Genesis xlvi. 34, "Every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians."

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[92] This seems to be the meaning of "ad instantiam partis" here.

King Edgar, being most wisely guided by Saint Dunstan and his other holy bishops, everywhere repressed the wicked, boldly subdued the rebellious, loved the just and holy, cherished the meek and humble, restored the ruined churches of God, and, expelling the ditties of the clerks[93] from the convents, for the praise of the Divine name introduced choirs of monks and nuns; and, during his reign, he himself and his bishops, in various parts of England restored more than forty-eight monasteries. In the time of king Edgar, the relics of Saint Swithun, the former bishop of Winchester, were transferred with great honor by the holy Ethelwold, the bishop, from the cemetery to the church: upon the transfer of which, through the merits of Saint Swithun, innumerable sick people were restored to health. This holy bishop, Ethelwold, restored the monastery, formerly called Medeshamsted, which then lay in ruins through the ravages of the Danes, and, after it was rebuilt, called it Burgh; and having appointed as abbat of the said monastery, one of his monks, Adulph by name, obtained, from this most pious king, a charter for the same, relative to the possessions which had been obtained by grant from the treasury for the said place, to the following effect:

"By[94] the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, King for everlasting, who, at His will, meteth out all the kingdoms of the earth, and who guideth the reins of the world, I, Edgar, under the King who ruleth above the stars, presiding over the kingdom of Great Britain, have oftentimes received the petitions of Ethelwold, the venerable bishop, and beloved by God, as to the establishment of churches of which he has proved himself an indefatigable refounder, and more especially as to the restoration and liberties of the ancient monastery which was formerly called Medeshamsted, and which lately, by the aid of God, and at his own instance and ours, has been restored and called Burgh, and which, by reason of its prerogative in claiming the favour of Saint Peter and its ancient nobleness, he pre-eminently esteems. For, recollecting that the same was mightily enriched by its ancient kings Wulpher and Ethelred, and his other successors, and was established with royal privileges on the firmest basis, but has since been destroyed by the foreign armies of the Pagans; he, as a wise architect of God, has with great zeal made it his study to repair the house of God, and, after obtaining and redeeming its possessions in all quarters, has, to the utmost of his ability, with our royal donation amplified the same. Wherefore I, by the grace of Saint Peter, and out of affection for so valued a father, and for the redemption of my soul, do most willingly grant that the said holy and Apostolic convent shall be for ever free from all secular burdens and services, so that no one, whether ecclesiastic or layman, shall ever have any dominion over the same or the abbat thereof; but that, the abbat with the household of Christ subject to him, living in the peace of God and under the patronage of Peter, the keeper of the gates of heaven, who rules the same, and the king in all cases of necessity giving his assistance thereto, it may for ever remain free from all worldly bondage, as also exempt from all episcopal exactions and molestation, by the Apostolic license and the authority of our most reverend archbishop, Dunstan, together with its appendages, that is to say, Dodesthorp, Ege, and Paston[95] The vill also of Undale,[96] together with all the rights in the vills adjacent, which in English are called Cathta hundred,[97] and with right of market and toll, we do give with the same liberties, to the end that neither king, nor earl, nor bishop, (except in the case of the courts Christian of the adjoining parishes,) nor sheriff, nor any person whatsoever, either great or small, shall presume by any superior authority to hold the same, nor yet to transfer the same to any place from the said vill of Undale, where [the said court] lawfully ought to sit. But the abbat of the said convent shall be at full liberty to hold the same entirely at his own option, together with direction of the causes therein and the laws relating thereto, and shall cause [the said court] to sit both when and in what place he shall think fit, without any impediment thereto whatsoever. Moreover, of those lands, which, by our assistance, or of our gift, or of that of my nobles, have by the before-named bishop been added to the said monastery, and which are hereunder set forth, that is to say, Barwe, Wermyngton, Asciton, Keterynges, Castre, Eiglisworth, Walton, Wytherington, Ege, Thorp, and Dodesthorp, as also the sole right of coinage at Stamford, we do make a free and perpetual grant. Also, the said vills, as well as all the rest which belong to the said monastery, together with all their property and possessions, and all their rights which are called Soch and Sach, are for ever to be free from all royal rights and all secular imposts, in things both great and small, in woods, fields, pastures, meadows, marshes, venison, piscaries, markets, and tolls, as to the increase of all things that are provided by the bounty of God. We do also grant the fourth part of the lake, which is called Witlesmere,[98] and which has been obtained by the bishop Ethelwold, together with all the waters, fisheries, lakes, and marshes thereto pertaining, and extending to the boundaries lying around the same; of which, the northern one is the spot where first the Merelade is entered by the river Nene; the eastern one is at Kyngesdelf; the southern one at Aldwines Barwe, which place is in the fens over against the spot that lies mid-way from Ubbemerelade; and the western one, where the river Opbethe is skirted by the land: all which are proved in ancient times to have belonged to the said holy monastery to a much wider and larger extent. We do also appoint that one market shall be held in Burgh, and that no other shall be held between Stamford and Huntingdon; and in addition thereto, we do grant, and do order that there shall be paid, without any gainsaying, the whole of the king's tolls, gathered from Witlesmere, which lies in the hundred of Normanscross and of Witlesmere, where the Merelade joins the waters of the Nene, and along the course of that river to Welmesford, and from Welmesford as far as Stamford, and from Stamford along the course of the river to Croyland, and from Croyland to Must, and from Must to Kyngesdelf, and thence to the aforesaid river of Witlesmere. For, by reason of the various profits both for the bodily and the spiritual requirements, we have appointed the said market to be held there, and resort from every quarter to be had thereto, to the end that both the servants of God may there be more easily aided, being near at hand, and that amid earthly necessaries heavenly assistance may be sought by the Christian people resorting thereto; that so atonement may be made for their divers offences, through the protection of Saint Peter so sought, and through the mysteries of the mass when heard, according to the faith displayed by each. Moreover, on the decease of the abbat, the brethren are to elect a devout successor out of the number of the said congregation, and by the royal favour he shall be ordained as such. We have thought proper, with the approbation of all, to confirm these royal liberties for ever, both in the distant as also in the nearer possessions of the whole abbey, excepting only a moderate sum for the equipment of troops, and the repair of bridges and castles, at the instance of the most devout Ethelwold, the suggester of this contribution, in accordance with the primitive foundation of the said church by the Apostolic See of the church of Rome. Which same, whosoever shall presume in any way to violate, may be, by the sentence of Peter, the supreme ruler, and of the Roman hierarchy, and of all the holy orders, be condemned to hell everlasting; but he who shall support and protect the same, may he receive his reward in the number of the elect of God. The aforesaid privilege was granted in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 970, and in the tenth year of my earthly reign, being signed after my own subscription, by the following trustworthy witnesses, with the mark of the Holy Cross. + I, Edgar, sovereign of all Albion, have confirmed these privileges with the sign of the Holy Cross + I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have corroborated the same, with the triumphant emblem of the hallowed Cross. + I, Oswald, archbishop of the church of York, have subscribed hereto. + I, Ethelwold, the prelate, have signed the same. + I, Elfstan, the bishop, have assented to the same. + I, Adulph, the pontiff, have consented hereto. + I, Aswy, the abbat, have not refused the same. + I, Osgar, the abbat, have approved hereof. + I, Ethelgar, the abbat, have consented hereto. + I, duke Alfer. + I, duke Alwin. + I, duke Brithnod. + I, duke Oslac. + I, Ethelward, the thane + I, Arsnulph, the thane. + I, Alfsy, the thane. + I, Elfward, the thane. + I, Frithegist, the thane. + I, Thured. + I, Veif + I, Olfric. + I, Offord. + I, Wulstan. + I, Ryngulph. + I, Elfstan. + I, Athelfis. + I, Wulfear. + I, Ethelmund. + I, Thureferd. + I, Alfhelm. + I, Frava. + I, Frethegist."

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[93] Secular priests.

[94] The genuineness of this charter is suspected by Hickes.

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[95] Eye and Paston, in Norfolk.

[96] Oundle, in Northamptonshire.

[97] V. r. Eahta-hundred, or the eight hundreds.

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[98] Whittlesea Mere, in Cambridgeshire.

At this period also, having expelled the clerks[99] from the monastery at Malmesbury, whom his brother Edwin, after ejecting the monks, had iniquitously intruded therein, he recalled the monks, and, appointing Elfric abbat over them, a man at that time most celebrated for his attention to ecclesiastical duties, presented him his charter to the following effect:—

"I, Edgar, sovereign of the whole of Albion, as also of all the sea or island kings dwelling around the same, have been, through the bounty of the grace of God, by the multiplied subjection to my rule, exalted to a degree which no one of my ancestors has reached; wherefore, being mindful of so great an honor, I have oftentimes carefully considered what in especial under my rule I ought to present to the Lord, the King of kings. Accordingly, a spirit of piety, sent from above to cherish my feelings of zealous devotion, has suddenly suggested to my watchful zeal, to restore all the holy monasteries in my kingdom; which, pulled down visibly to the very timbers thereof, as though through the ravages of mice and the rottenness of the wood, have become, a thing of still greater importance, almost empty within, and deserted by the worship of God. For, expelling the illiterate clerks, who were subjected to no rules of religious discipline, in many places I have appointed pastors of a more holy grade, that is to say, persons wearing the monastic habit; and, for the purpose of repairing the ruins of the churches, I have, by means of donations from my treasury, supplied them with abundant means for the payment of their expenses. One of these, by name Efric, a man most experienced in the performance of all ecclesiastical duties, I have appointed to be head of that most famous convent, which, giving it a twofold name, the English call 'Maldemesburgh:' to which, for the welfare of my soul, and in honor of our Saviour and His mother Mary, ever a Virgin, as also of the Apostles, Peter and Paul, and of Aldelm, the glorious bishop, I have, of my munificent liberality, restored the parcel of land, [underwritten], together with the meadows and forests thereto belonging. The same, having been lent by the aforesaid clerks, had been unjustly taken possession of by the contentious Edelnoth; but, his superstitious cavils and his subtle discussions having been heard by my own wise men, and his faulty quibblings having in my presence been detected by them, the same have been restored by me for the use of the said monastery. In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 974, and of the king's consecration, the first. + I, Edgar, sovereign of the whole of Albion and the neighbouring kings, have with the sign of the Holy Cross confirmed this charter. + I, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, have with the triumphant emblem of the hallowed Cross corroborated this holy gift. + I, Oswald, archbishop of York, have subscribed hereto. + I, Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, have signed the same. + I, Leofwin, bishop of Dorchester, have consented hereto. + I, Elfstan, bishop of London, have sanctioned the same. + I, Turketul, abbat of Croyland, have set my signature hereto. + I, Ethelgar, abbat of the new monastery at Winchester, have approved hereof. + I, Adulph, abbat of Burgh, have praised the same. + I, duke Alfer, have been present hereat. + I, duke Athelwin, have taken part herein. + I, duke Brithnod, have beheld the same. + And others."

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[99] Secular priests.

I have here inserted the charter of a monastery situate at such a distance, to the end that I might shew with what fervency of the Holy Spirit [the heart of the renowned] king Edgar was inflamed, for restoring ruined churches and monasteries that had been levelled with the ground; as also, because among those who set their signature to the royal charter, after the bishops, the signature of our abbat Turketul occupies the first place.

Accordingly, the grant of his monastery being thus confirmed, and the same being fully supported and rendered entirely valid, by means of both the pontifical as well as the royal authority, the venerable father Turketul, now stricken in years, and full of days, did not, after this, again mingle with the world; but, each day, while living among the elders of the monastery, eagerly made it his object by his enquiries to gather information relative to the state and observances of the former monastery. For, using all due vigilance, he made the most urgent requests of Aio, who was well versed in legal matters, and extremely well acquainted with the muniments of the ancient monastery, as well as of Turgar, who from his childhood had beheld with his eyes both monasteries, the former and the new one, having been witness of the destruction of the one and of the building of the other; while, at the same time, he applied to the other aged monks, and requested them to state whatever in their younger days they had heard from their seniors. He also appointed brother Swetman, [the best scribe of the time], to receive all their information, and, with all due diligence and with truthful pen to commit the same to writing, in order, that, with due care, there might be handed down to posterity, both all the memorable facts contained in the muniments of the ancient monastery, as also the regular observances of the same.

Upon this occasion, the seniors produced this history, containing the memoirs of our house most worthy of notice, together with a few incidents relative to the kingdom of the Mercians and the West Saxons, from the time of our first foundation by king Ethelbald, until the fourteenth year of the reign of the renowned king Edgar.

At the same time also, our venerable father, abbat Turketul. on fully hearing and examining, and completely understanding the ancient observances of the ancient monastery, enacted and decreed that the following rules should in all future time be inviolably observed by all in his monastery of Croyland.

Dividing the convent into three grades, he enacted that each grade should recognize and observe its own proper position, in manner following:—"The young men, from the first year of their entering the monastery, until the twenty-fourth, are, in their proper order, to perform all the duties imposed upon them in attending upon the choir, the cloisters, and the refectory; in singing, reading, and serving, and carrying out all the regular observances in conformity with the teaching of their master; the which duties, whosoever shall, both for himself as well as his companions, make it his study diligently and duteously to perform, the more will he be considered deserving to obtain the favour of all of his superiors. But if any person, and may such never prove the case, puffed up with pride, elated with his knowledge of any art, putting trust in the vast extent of his literary acquirements, or led astray through friendship for his relations or any other person, shall become a tale-bearer or a contentious traducer, or shall in any way shew himself in the monastery to be a despiser of his elders; then, like an Alecto coming from the depths of hell, let him be carefully avoided by all, and let him obtain of his superiors no favour in the chapter, no indulgence in the refectory, nor any solace in the infirmary, to the end that he may learn to correct his errors; but let him, like a bull that tosses with his horns, be shut up at home, lest, from being a lion's whelp, he may turn out to be a lion that cannot be tamed; and so, at the beginning, let due chastisement be awarded him at the discretion of his superiors. But as to those who shall shew themselves affable and agreeable, chaste and peace-makers, meek and modest, attentive and obedient, the same, being worthy of all favour, are frequently to be allowed the enjoyment of comforts

"Moreover, those who shall have passed twenty-four years from their adoption of the monastic life, shall, during the next sixteen years, occupy the middle rank. These are to be released from the duties of the lesser chantries reading the Epistle and the Gospel, and other minor employments; they shall, however, in their regular order, as the time comes round, perform the other duties of the choir, the cloister, and the refectory, but shall have frequent assistance from the juniors therein; taking care, however, that, for the benefit of inculcating a lesson of obedience, they perform these duties themselves once or twice a week at least, while on the other days they are assisted by the juniors.

"As upon these are to devolve all the weighty cares of business, and prudence and foresight are to distinguish their counsels, as the management of the whole place is especially to be confided to them; it is proper that, according to the manner in which they perform their duties, (besides the remuneration from God, which monks are in especial to look for,) they should experience the countenance of their superiors towards them, either as rigid or affable, benign or austere, and that, together with their burden, they should receive due honor, and favour or censure in proportion to their merits.

"In the third rank are to be placed those who have attained their fortieth year since admission, and who, up to the fiftieth year, are in their proper order to be called 'seniors.' These are to be excused from all duties of the choir, the cloisters, and the refectory, except the performance of those masses which are sung from notes; in which masses the juniors of the first rank, and those of mid rank in the second class, are daily, with all duteousness, to offer to take upon themselves their burdens. And further, after the completion of their forty-second year, they shall be excused from all out-door duties, such as those of steward, proctor, cellarer, almoner, cook, master of the workmen, and pittancer;[1] unless the abbat shall, in case of any urgent necessity, think proper to assign any of the offices aforesaid to any one of the seniors. These persons, as being veteran soldiers, who have borne the heat and the burden of the day in the service of God, and have for the good of their monastery expended their flesh and blood, are deserving of all honor, and are to suffer want of nothing whatever. In respect to this class, this is in especial to be attended to, that they have by the most becoming means proved themselves worthy of the favour of this dispensation, and that, from their first entrance into the monastery up to that age, they have been convicted of no offence for which they have been deemed deserving to sustain such punishment as is awarded to any grave fault.

"Each one, when he has attained fifty years from the time of his admission, is in his due order to be called a 'Sempect,' and is, at the nomination of the prior, to have a fit and proper room in the infirmary, and to have a lay clerk or servant especially devoted to his service; who is to receive at the expense of the abbat a supply of victuals [for himself] in the same measure and amount as would have been supplied to the servant of an esquire in the abbat's hall. To each Sempect, the prior shall every day assign one younger brother to sit with him[2] at table, both for the sake of instruction for the youth, as also by way of company for the aged man; and to these, victuals shall be supplied from the kitchen of the sick, as though they were on the sick list.[3] The Sempect shall, at his own will and inclination, [sitting and walking], coming in and going out, be at liberty to enter and depart from either choir, cloister, refectory, or dormitory, or the other outbuildings of the monastery, either in his frock or without it, just how and when he shall please. Nothing relative to the affairs of the monastery that is disagreeable shall be mentioned in his presence. No person shall presume in any way to offend him, but with the greatest peace and tranquillity of mind he shall await his end."

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[1] "Pitantiarius."—He was the person whose duty it was to serve out their pittances of food to the monks.

[He also at the same time decreed and enacted, that whoever should thereafter chance to be prior of Croyland], should have liberty and power, in the chapter held each day, to enjoin penances upon the monks, and, when enjoined, to diminish or increase the same, according as he should see the countenance of the penitent bearing signs of compunction and contrition, or otherwise "All licenses, also, in the refectory, and all the comforts of the infirmary, are to be left to his discretion and determination; and just as hitherto it has been customary to make provision both as to victuals as well as other necessaries, whether he is at home or whether abroad, in the same way provision shall always be made for the future. Unless he shall have been found guilty of some offence, having first been, as our holy rules enjoin, thrice admonished to amend his life, he who shall once hold the office of prior of Croyland, shall always remain prior thereof to the day of his death; and because, in the midst of the brethren, their ruler ought to be held in honor, except the 'inclination,'[4] all honor and respect shall be shown to him. To the præcentor of the lists,[5] and to his appointments in the choir, both the abbat and prior, as well as all the rest of the community, are to pay all humble obedience."

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[2] Hence the name given to the old men, from the Greek *συμπαικτὴς*, a "partner," or "companion"

[3] *i. e.* Victuals of a more delicate kind

[4] "Inclinatio," a peculiar kind of bow, which was made to the abbat alone.

[5] It was the duty of the "Præcentor tabularum" to make out the lists of the persons whose place it was, during the week, to perform the public duties of the monastery. These lists were hung up in the chapter-house, or some other public place, for the view of the inmates. He also kept time during the chaunting, with an instrument made of bone, called "tabula."

To the office of sacrist, also, he then, by way of augmentation of his portion, assigned the duties of archdeacon over the whole district of Croyland, so long as, without any respect for persons, he should, with the fear of God, reasonably and canonically fulfil his duties. He also, on this occasion, gave to the office of sacrist a golden chalice, and two water vessels of silver gilt, skilfully wrought with embossed workmanship in the form of two angels; as also two silver basons, of wonderful workmanship and size, most exquisitely engraved with representations of armed soldiers thereon. All these vessels, Henry, emperor of Germany, had formerly presented to him, and, up to the present time, he had always preserved the same in his own chapel.

He also, at the same time, assigned to the office of chamberlain of the monks his manor of Beby, together with the church of the said vill, imprecating a curse from God on such persons as should, to the injury of the convent, withdraw the said manor and church from the fulfilment of the said purpose, or procure the same to be done.

These most holy statutes, after being publicly proclaimed in his chapter, and assented to with the acclamations of all, and received with the greatest obedience, our father, abbat Turketul, caused to be written out, and commanded them to be placed at the end of the rules of Saint Benedict; in order that all, whenever they wished, might be enabled to read his laws, and that it might not befall any one through ignorance to contravene the same.

The aforesaid history of the former monastery having been accordingly published by the five Sempects before-mentioned, and the said enactments of the venerable abbat Turketul being, after lengthened consideration, digested and reduced into writing; the before-named father, being now broken down by old age, and, in especial, weakened by many wounds, as also by the immense labours which in his earlier years he had undergone, was in daily expectation of the closing hour of death, and so, like a good workman about to receive from his Lord his penny in the evening for the faithful performance of his duties, with most ardent longing he sighed for the end of his toils, and the approach of the evening of eternal reward, At the same time, he frequently and most fervently [celebrated the service of the mass], watched with prayers and devotion, gave himself up to holy meditations and sorrowing, relieved all the poor in their respective distresses, gave victuals to all beggars and needy persons, and applied himself to other works of brotherly love as well: while each day he held in loathing the present life, and, without ceasing, longed for that to come. He also made it his care to neglect no part of the regular observances, while, at the same time, he always declared that he was an unprofitable servant, and, with all earnestness of spirit, desired the mercy of Christ; and did, with indefatigable devoutness, as though with an urgent hand, day by day, knock at the gates of Paradise, and by every Christian title lay claim to admission to the kingdom of heaven.

The infants, also, and sons of the nobles, who were sent to be trained as monks, and who repaired to the secular clerks at Pegeland for the purpose of being instructed in literature, he visited once at least each day, that they might not chance to be treated with negligence in any respect, and thus bestowed his attention upon the studies and labours of each. On these occasions, a servant attending him with the same, he rewarded those who distinguished themselves above the rest by their industry, with figs, raisins, nuts, almonds, or, more frequently, with apples and pears, or other little presents, in order that, not so much by [harsh] words or blows, as by frequent encouragement and rewards, he might induce all to show due diligence in the prosecution of their studies.

As for the Sempects of the monastery, who had through the Word of Life begotten him for the service of God, he always held them in the highest veneration, cheering them every day with familiar conversation, and showing them kind attentions by sending them some especial present from his own table. On one occasion, the lord Clarenbald, the chief of the Sempects (who was a man of very advanced age, and greatly the senior of all the rest in the length of time which had elapsed since he had entered the monastic order, having now completed the hundred and sixty-eighth[7] year of his age), fell ill and lay on his bed, awaiting the casting off of the flesh, which was now close at hand, and about to receive at the hands of the Lord his reward for having undergone such lengthened labours

[7] Another reading has the "one hundred and forty-eighth."

in His holy service; upon which, the venerable father, abbat Turketul, himself performing the duties of a servant, would not leave him either day or night, but lay down by his side, chaunted the daily service in the ears of the sick man, and, with his own hands, performed all the requisite duties, just like the most active youth; and after he had received the last unction and had departed, he interred him, performing the solemn service at his obsequies, in the middle of the choir.

In the following year died the lord Swarting, after the completion of the hundred and forty-second year of his age. The venerable abbat Turketul watched him in his illness with an equal degree of attention, and, after his death, committed him to the tomb, by the side of the lord Clarenbald, honoring him with similar respectful obsequies. In like manner, with similar attentions, he buried the lord Brune and the lord Aio, who, with Swarting, all died in the same year, it being the fourteenth year of the reign of the renowned king Edgar—the two former being interred together. At length, in the following year, last of all, died the lord Turgar, a venerable old man, after having completed the hundred and fifteenth year of his age. These five aged Sempects had seen both monasteries—the old one, which had been destroyed by the Danes, and the new one, which had been lately restored.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 975, being the sixteenth and last year of the reign of king Edgar, after celebrating with much devoutness the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, our venerable father, the lord abbat Turketul, caught a fever from the effects of the intense heat of the Dog-star in that year—a thing not in accordance with his usual robust health; and, after having struggled against it most stoutly for three days, on the fourth he took to his bed; upon which, he summoned the whole convent, both the monks, forty-seven in number, and the four lay brethren, to his chamber, and bade the lord Egelric, at this time his steward, in the presence of all, to show how the house was provided with treasures as well as jewels, and to answer to the community, after his death, for the whole thereof, according to the list of them [then shown].

The treasures belonging to the monastery that were produced on this occasion, amounted to a sum of nearly ten thousand pounds. The relics were very numerous and extremely precious, being the same which, on various occasions, Henry, emperor of Germany, Hugh, king of the Franks, Louis, prince of Aquitaine, and many other dukes and earls, nobles and prelates, desiring to gain the good will and friendship of the kings of England, had bestowed on him while he filled the office of king's chancellor. Among these he set especial value on the thumb of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, so much so, that he always carried it about him, and in all times of danger, tempest, and lightning, crossed himself therewith: the duke of Beneventum had given it to the emperor, on the occasion when he had first girded him, in his youth, with the military belt; and the emperor, in his turn, had presented it to the chancellor. There was also some of the hair of Saint Mary, the Mother of God, which the king of France had given to him, enclosed in a box of gold; a bone, likewise, of Saint Leodegar, the bishop and martyr, given to him by the prince of Aquitaine; as well as many other relics, of which some have been purloined, while some are still preserved in these, the Norman times.

There were also many vessels of gold and silver, the whole of which he had given for the use of the monastery, into the charge of the steward and proctor thereof. For the two Egelrics were, one of them the steward, the other the proctor, of the monastery; being his kinsmen according to the flesh, and his brethren according to God, men most religious and most devout. The steward was most skilful in the management of worldly matters, while the proctor was a scholar, imbued with a most profound knowledge of all branches of literature. These, and the prior Amfrid, as long as he lived, were the principal advisers of the abbat; and he did nothing, great or small, without first taking their advice.

His fever increasing day by day, and he being now reduced to the last extremity, after partaking of the holy mysteries of Christ, he embraced with both arms the cross, which the attendants had brought from the church before the convent, for him to kiss. With what sighs, with what tears, with what sobs, and how repeatedly, he kissed it, cannot, in a few words, be described: words so full of devotion did he utter upon each of the wounds of Christ, as to move all the brethren who stood around to shed most abundant tears, and the remembrance of his devoutness did not fade from the memories of many of them all the days of their lives.

The day before his death he delivered a short discourse to his brethren, who were present, on the observance of their monastic vows, on brotherly love, on precaution against negligence in things temporal as well as spiritual, and on diligently taking care of our fire—whether it was that he thereby meant brotherly love, or whether he alluded to the destruction of the place by fire, against which he wished proper precautions to be taken; for frequently [and fervently], moved as it were with a spirit of prophecy, he spoke these words of warning: "Take ye especial care of your fires,"[7]—and, at length, dismissing them, he commended himself to the prayers of all. Last thing of all, he bade them farewell, and [inwardly] supplicated God in behalf of them all. When the vital powers had now quite failed, and his languor had increased more and more, on the fifth day before the nones of July, being the day of the translation of Saint Benedict, his father and patron, after performing the regular offices of the day, at the completing service[8] he also completed his days, and departed this life, quitting the labours of the abbacy for the bosom of his father Abraham. He was buried in his church, which he had erected from the foundation, near the great altar, on the right-hand side thereof, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and the twenty-seventh of his monastic life, being interred by his neighbours, the fathers, Adulph, abbat of Burgh, and Godman, abbat of Thorney.

He was succeeded in the office of abbat, all concurring in the election, by Egelric the elder, his kinsman, who had, under him, been steward of the whole monastery, a most religious man, and one remarkably well-skilled in the careful management of temporal concerns, and of singular experience and admirable prudence in bringing all secular matters to a prosperous issue. For, as he was related by blood to Alfer, duke of the Mercians, and distinguished by his intimate acquaintanceship, he suffered no molestation whatever under king Edward, who succeeded his father, Edgar, on the throne, although many monasteries were most grievously afflicted; nor was he in the slightest degree harassed by him.

In the discharge of his duties, as steward of the whole monastery, in the latter years of the lord abbat Turketul, he did many good services. For it was he who urged and induced the lord abbat Turketul to go to London, and obtain the charter of king Edgar, and the ecclesiastical censure against the violation thereof, from Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Osketul, archbishop of York, together with the grant and confirmation of spiritual rights over the whole parish of Croyland; by which means provision was made for ensuring the peace and quiet of the whole monastery, and the entire community was most effectually protected against violence, both spiritual as well as temporal. Hearing, also, that the holy Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, was most strongly urging king Edgar to restore the monastery of Medeshamsted, which was in the vicinity [of Croyland], to its former state; as the adjoining forests were still remaining in the king's hands, and the proceeds applied to the purposes of the treasury, he made use of the license granted by the royal charter, and had trees and timber carried from the said woods, in cars and carriages, carts and waggons, and every kind of vehicle, to the monastery of Croyland. With this, some very handsome buildings were afterwards erected in the monastery of Croyland, and many very fine pieces of timber were preserved there for the emergencies of the monastery at a future period.

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[7] "Ignem vestrum optime custodite"

[8] The service of the "completorium," or "complins," the last of the day.

For, with this timber, while Turketul, the lord abbat, was still alive, the roof of the church was finished; and its tower was stoutly supported and compactly held together with beams of remarkable length. After the death, also, of the lord abbat Turketul, he erected out of the same timber a great number of buildings of exceeding beauty, such as the infirmary of the monks, of very becoming proportions both in length and breadth, and wonderfully constructed of beams and planks fitted in joints with carpenters' work. He erected the chapel, also, of similar workmanship, together with a bath-room and other requisite out-buildings. These were all made of planed planks (because the foundation, being weak, was not able to bear an erection of stone), and covered with lead. He then built a hall for guests, and two very fine chambers of similar workmanship: he also made a new brew-house and a new bakehouse, all of the very finest workmanship, in timber He also erected a large granary of similar construction, in the upper part of which all kinds of corn were stowed, while in the lower part malt was kept He also built a large stable, in the upper part of which there were chambers for all the servants of the abbey; while, in the lower part, there were stalls for the abbat's horses at one end, and stalls for the use of the guests at the other. By these three buildings, that is to say, the stable, granary, and bake-house, the whole western side of the court-yard of the abbey, looking towards the vill, was bounded; while the southern side was bounded by the hall for the guests, and its chambers The eastern side consisted of the shoemakers' workshop, the hall of the professed brethren, as also the kitchen, hall, chamber, and chapel of the abbat, which bounded the cloisters of the monks on the west; while the northern side of the abbey was protected by a large gate, close to which, on the eastern side, was the almonry for the poor. All these places, except [the hall] for the abbat, and his chamber and chapel, adjoining to the cloisters, and the before-mentioned almonry for the poor, which the lord Turketul had built of stone, were of wood, of similar workmanship, and covered with lead.

In years of drought, also, he put their marshes into a state of cultivation, in four places, that is to say, at the four corners thereof, and for three or four years had fruit a hundred-fold for all the seed sown. The cultivated lands of Tedwarthar proved the most fruitful of all, and the monastery was enriched beyond measure in consequence; and so great was the abundance of corn, that it was able to relieve the whole of the adjacent country therewith; while, from the resort thither of countless multitudes of needy people, the vill became very greatly increased

He also had two large bells made, which he called Bartholomew and Bettelm; also two of middle size, which he called Turketul and Tatwin; and two small ones, to which he gave the names of Pega and Bega. The lord abbat Turketul had previously had one very large bell made, called Guthlac, and when it was rung with the bells before-named, an exquisite harmony was produced thereby; nor was there such a peal of bells in those days in all England.

After having spent ten years in the most strenuous discharge of his pastoral duties, abbat Egelric departed this life on the second day before the nones of August, and was buried in the chapter house, almost at the same time at which the holy Athelwold, the bishop of Winchester, departed unto the Lord, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 984.

He was succeeded in the office of abbat by his relative, the other Egelric, called Egelric the younger, a man more devoted to books and holy literature than skilled in the management of temporal affairs; but, during all his time, most devoutly and most zealously did he watch the interests of the monastery. In his fourth year, the holy Dunstan, the archbishop, departed unto the Lord. This abbat Egelric gave to the common library of the monks of the house several large volumes, containing the original works of divers learned men, forty in number; while the smaller volumes, consisting of various tracts and histories, exceeded three hundred in number. He also presented to the office of sacrist numerous vestments; for instance, for every altar in the church two chasubles, that is to say, one for use on the Lord's day, the other on principal festivals. He also presented to the choir four-and-twenty copes, that is to say, six white ones, six red, six green, and six black. He also gave two large pedals,[9] embroidered with lions, to be placed before the great altar on principal festivals, and two smaller ones, covered with flowers, for the feasts of the Apostles. He also presented many palls for the purpose of being suspended on the walls by the altars of the Saints on feast days, many of which were of silk, while some were embroidered with birds in gold, some interwoven, and some plain. He also had six chalices made, and presented them to the different altars and chapels He also had made for the choir six responsories, and four antiphonars, with eight missals for the different altars He also furnished the various offices of the monastery with certain vessels of brass that were requisite. He also supplied the whole convent, entirely at his own expense, for one whole year with tunics, for another whole year with hoods, and for a third year with frocks, in addition to those articles of dress which the lord Turketul had granted to the convent, to be received each year from the church and manor of Beby. After he had most ably governed the monastery for a period of eight years, he departed this life on the fifth day before the nones of March, in the year of our Lord, 992; in the same year, and at the same time of the year, at which the holy Oswald, archbishop of York, departed unto the Lord: who, a few years before, assisted by earl Alwin, and Leofwin, bishop of Dorchester, had founded the monastery of Ramsey.

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[9] Carpets for the feet, made of tapestry work.

Abbat Egelric being buried in the chapter-house, near the other Egelric, he was succeeded in the office of abbat by the lord Osketul, who, in the time of the lord Turketul and the two abbats Egelric, had long been prior, in succession to prior Amfrid—a simple and upright man, very kind and affectionate to all, well-skilled in literature, and of very noble descent. So much did he devote himself to alms-giving to the needy, that he was called the "Father of the poor;" and so great was his authority with the multitude, that whatever he said was to be, was thought to be a prophecy; while so highly was he honored by the chief men of the land, that he was revered by them as a father.

The renowned king [Edgar], who was the flower and grace of all his predecessors, the sovereign of the western regions of the world, and the glory and rose among kings, departed this life in the year of our Lord, 975, being the sixteenth year of his reign over the whole of England, and the thirty-second of his age, and was buried at Glastonbury. He was succeeded on the throne by [Edward] his first-born son, an innocent and most religious youth, and one who, in character, greatly took after his father. A tyrannical faction, especially supported by the favour and influence of the queen, abused his holy simplicity and innocence to such an extent, that, in Mercia, the monks of some of the monasteries were expelled, and clerks were introduced there, who immediately distributed the manors belonging to the monasteries among the dukes of the land; in order that, being thus obligated to take their side, they might defend them against the monks.

On this occasion, the monks being expelled from the monastery of Evesham, the clerks were introduced, and the tyrants of the land were bribed with the lands of the church; whom the queen, taking part with the clerks with all the wickedness of a step-mother, favoured, for the purpose of casting odium upon the king. The king, however, and the holy bishops, persisted in supporting the monks; but the tyrants, supported by the favour and influence of the queen, triumphed over them. Hence arose great tumults in every corner of England. At length, after a reign of four years, he was slain at Corvesgate,[10] by the counsel and sanction of his said step-mother, and was buried at Wareham, but afterwards, through the care of duke Alfer, transferred to Shaftesbury.

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[10] Corfe Castle.

He was succeeded by his brother Ethelred, who was the son, however, of his step-mother, the before-named Alfleda, being then a boy ten years old. Then, of a truth, might the proverbial saying have been quoted—"Woe unto thee, O land, when thy king is a child!"[11] He was crowned at Kingston, by Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, and Oswald, archbishop of York.

After the ceremony of coronation was performed, he was thus addressed by the holy Dunstan: "Because thou hast ascended thy throne through the death of thy brother, whom thy mother slew, therefore, hear the word of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, 'The sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall rage against thee all the days of thy life, and shall slay those of thy seed and thy race, until thy kingdom shall be transferred to another kingdom, whose customs and whose language thy race knoweth not: nor shall the sin of thy mother be atoned for, except with prolonged vengeance, and a vast effusion of blood; as also the sins of those most guilty men who have aided her wicked designs, so as to lay hands upon the Lord's anointed, to the shedding of the innocent blood.'"

The same holy man had also given utterance to another prophecy as to the same child. While he was baptizing the infant, it bewrayed the font, on which Dunstan exclaimed, "By Saint Mary, this child will turn out but a worthless man!" He is said to have uttered a third prophecy after he had been crowned king, and while he was with his army besieging Rochester. For, a misunderstanding having arisen between him and the bishop of that city, he had come with his army and laid siege to it. On this, the holy Dunstan, the archbishop, entreated the king to break up the siege, and not provoke the anger of Saint Andrew the Apostle, who was the especial patron of the said church. He, however, caring but little for his entreaties, persevered with the siege; on perceiving which, the holy man sent him one hundred pounds. The king, on receiving the money, recalled his army, and withdrew from the siege; upon which, the holy man, surprised at the cupidity thus displayed, by a messenger sent him back this answer: "Inasmuch as thou hast preferred money before God, silver before the Apostle, and cupidity before me, thy servant, the evils shall speedily come upon thee, of which the Lord hath spoken: but, while I am alive, they shall not come to pass; for so the Lord hath spoken." However, directly after the death of the holy man, the said prophecies began, day after day, to be fulfilled, and innumerable evils to afflict the whole land.

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[11] Eccl. x. 16.

For, in the first place, the Danish pirates began with frequent assaults to harass our shores on every side of the land; and next, their unconquerable armies, coming over in mighty fleets, began lawlessly to attack both cities and castles. At the same time, also, a dreadful famine severely afflicted and distressed the natives, after which, a disease, which bears the name of "dysentery," began to rage both among beasts of burden and men; while a pestilence, attending close upon the other afflictions, struck down many thousands, both of the rich and the poor. All their enemies, too, from the very first,[12] were always victorious over the English, and in every contest proved the conquerors. Accordingly, in the time of Osketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, while the Danes were thus molesting the whole territory, the natives of the vills and villages took refuge in the cities and castles; while many of them fled to the marshes and out-of-the-way spots near the lakes, and, to the best of their ability, took precautions against the incursions and depredations of the Danes.

Accordingly, it so happened, that a certain great lady, Lefwina by name, the lady of a vill, which bears the name of Elnophesbyry, and sister by parentage to Osketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, came to Wittlesey, at that time her vill, and brought with her certain holy relics, the most holy remains of Saint Neot the confessor, from Elnophesbyry, because they lay at that place without becoming honor, and were exposed to the ravages of the Danes; these she brought with her in a shrine formed for the purpose. Sending a speedy message to her brother, the lord abbat Osketul, with suppliant prayers she entreated him, that he would be pleased to come to Wittlesey with a suitable retinue of his brethren, and with all due reverence convey the said relics of Saint Neot the confessor with him to his monastery. Overjoyed and exulting, he took with him some of his brethren and proceeded to Wittlesey; whence with all due honors and the melodious singing of psalms, he transferred the said holy relics to Croyland, and there, with becoming devoutness, placed them near the altar of Saint Mary, the mother of God.

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[12] This seems to be the meaning of "in capite," but it is doubtful.

At this period, all the monastaries of the land began to be subjected by king Ethelred and his chieftains and thanes to most grievous exactions, and to be harassed beyond measure by the collection from them of immense sums of money, in order to satisfy the tribute paid to the Danes. After plundering the treasuries and carrying away the sacred chalices as well as the other valuables of the monasteries, even the very shrines of the Saints were ordered to be spoiled by the collectors Accordingly, the venerable father Osketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, paid at different times four hundred marks for the said tribute; but at last, after having filled the pastoral office with zeal and sanctity for a period of twelve years, through the relief afforded by a holy death, he finally escaped the royal exactions and all the fears of this world, by putting off the flesh: this happened on the twelfth day before the calends of November, in the year of our Lord, 1005.

He was succeeded in the office of abbat by the venerable father, abbat Godric, who was elected and made abbat in the days of straights, tribulation and misery, just as in former times the abbat Godric, who bore a similar name, had presided over the said monastery in the time of its desolation and ruin. He most laboriously ruled the said monastery for fourteen years, during the reign of the before-named king Ethelred. In the time of this abbat, the Danes having obtained the mastery of nearly the whole land, intolerable taxes were imposed by king Ethelred, and his dukes, Edric, Alfric, Godwin, and many others, for the purpose of paying the tribute to the Danes; while other most grievous exactions were made for the purpose of replacing the expenses incurred by those nobles; added to which, on the part of Anlaph, and Sweyn, and their armies, depredations, spoliations, and destruction went on without ceasing. Many a monastery was often drained of every penny, while still the exactors refused to believe that they had extorted the very utmost farthing; for so it was, that in those days, the more the religious were oppressed, the more they were supposed to have, the greater abundance they were supposed to possess.

Hence it was, that the venerable father, abbat Godric, in his first year paid to king Ethelred two hundred marks;

while, in a similar manner, for their expenses, his dukes extorted two hundred marks; besides smaller exactions which, the king's thanes continually rushing in, were daily incurred. A second, third, and fourth year the same thing again took place. In his third year also, two hundred pounds were exacted towards building gallies at all the ports, and supplying the naval armament with provisions and other necessaries Again, in his fourth year, Turkill, the Danish earl, having made a descent with a very strong fleet, he sent for one hundred pounds, and payment thereof was levied by means of the most cruel exactions. The Danes, making incursions throughout the provinces, stripping the inhabitants of all that was moveable, and burning all that could not be carried away, pillaged Drayton, Cottenham, and Hoketon, manors belonging to Croyland, and ravaged them, together with the whole county of Cambridge, with flames. These, however, were but the precursors of evils.

For, whereas, every year before, four hundred marks had been paid through the exactions of the king and to defray the expenses of his dukes, king Sweyn now came with a new fleet, and a most fierce army, and laid waste every quarter. Rushing onward from Lindesey, he burned the villages, embowelled the peasants, and with various torments put to death all the religious; after which, he committed Baston and Langtoft to the flames. This was the year of our Lord, 1013. At this period, the monastery of Saint Pega, and its manors adjoining, that is to say, Glinton, Northumburtham, Makesey, Etton, Badyngton, and Bernake, were all at the same time committed to the flames, and all the retainers slaughtered or carried away captive. The abbat, however, together with all the convent, escaped by night, and, coming in a boat to Croyland, were thus saved.

In a similar manner, the monastery of Burgh, and the adjoining vills, with its manors of Ege, Thorpe, Walton, Wytheryngton, Paston, Dodisthorp, and Castre, after being first stripped of everything, were committed to the flames; but the abbat, with the greater part of his convent, taking with them the sacred relics of the holy virgins, Kyneburga, Kineswitha, and Tilba, went to Thorney. The prior, however, with some of the brethren, taking with him the arm of Saint Oswald, the king, made his escape to the island of Ely; while the subprior, with ten of the brethren, repaired to Croyland.

It happened, fortunately, that this year the inundations had increased to an unusual degree in consequence of the frequent showers, and consequently rendered the neighbouring fens, as also the marsh-lands adjoining thereto, impassable. Accordingly, all the population repaired thither, and infinite multitudes flocked to the spot; the choir and the cloisters were filled with monks, the rest of the church with priests and clerks, and the whole abbey with laymen; while the cemetery was filled night and day with women and children under tents. The stoutest among them, as well as the young men, kept watch among the sedge and the alder-beds upon the mouths of the rivers; and every day, not to speak of other expenses, one hundred monks sat down to table. Besides all this, king Sweyn by messenger imposed a fine of one thousand marks on the monastery of Croyland, and, under pain of burning the whole monastery, appointed a certain day for the payment thereof at Lincoln; while, within three months after payment of the said sum, these most wicked extortioners, by the most terrible threats, again exacted a thousand marks for the purpose of finding provisions for their army.

The cruel martyrdom of Saint Elphege, the archbishop of Canterbury, is now well known and published everywhere. Because he refused to pay an excessive sum of money which had been imposed on him as the payment of his ransom, the Danes with brutal fury slaughtered him, inflicting the most dreadful torments All bewailed these cruel times, and thought that happy were they, who, in whatever way, had departed this life; abbat Godric, in especial, on whom devolved the charge of so vast a multitude, and whom king Ethelred believed to be in possession of heaps of silver. On the other hand, Sweyn, the Dane, and the whole of his army were always uttering multiplied threats and devising stratagems against him, as being the chief of all those who had made their escape from out of their hands.

At last, in consequence of the expenses within and the exactions without, the entire treasury of the lord abbat Turketul was exhausted, and the granaries of the two Egelrics levelled with the ground; while at the same time, the king's collectors were daily making their assaults for money, and declaring that he, as being a traitor to his country, and a supporter of the Danes, ought at once to be brought before the king in fetters as he deserved, and to be given up to punishment for his misdeeds. Being consequently stricken with internal grief of heart at so many terrible threats, the venerable father, abbat Godric, summoned the whole of his convent, and informing them that the money of the monastery was exhausted, begged and entreated them to advise him thereupon, and determine what ought to be done against such a wicked age.

At length, after a prolonged deliberation, this resolution was agreed to by them all, that they ought to hire the services of one of the thanes or servants of Edric, duke of the Mercians, and, when money failed, grant him their lands and tenements for the term of his life, and so lay him under the obligation of being their protector against imminent dangers. For, next to the king, this Edric was the most powerful person in the country, and on most intimate terms both with king Ethelred and with Sweyn, king of the Danes, and afterwards with Cnute, his son. Accordingly, one of the most influential of the servants of the said duke Edric was hired, a person whose name was Norman, a man of most illustrious family, being the son of earl Leofwin, and the brother of Leofric, the noble earl of Leicester; the manor of Baddeby being granted to him at his request, for a term of one hundred years. On receiving the said manor, to hold the same of Saint Guthlac, at the annual rent of one peppercorn, to be paid yearly at the feast of Saint Bartholomew, he faithfully promised, and bound himself by deed made to that effect, to be the guardian and protector of the monastery against all adversaries.

This availed the monastery for some time, that is to say, all the days of his life. But in the first year of king Cnute, on the perfidious duke Edric alleging it as a ground for deserts on his part that he had betrayed Ethelred, and had similarly betrayed Edmund, being thus convicted of treason by his own lips, he received the traitor's reward of being hanged, and then thrown into the river Thames. Many of his dependants being also put to death with him in a similar manner, first and foremost among them, Norman was slain; the whole of whose lands, as the king greatly loved earl Leofric, his brother, he granted to him, in order that he might thereby make some small compensation for the death of his brother. Through this grant, Baddebey came into the hands of the said earl Leofric; and at last, the confessor of the said earl, the prior of the monastery of Evesham, Avicius by name, counselling and repeatedly advising him thereto, it was assigned to the monastery of Evesham for the remainder of the term granted to his brother, and is still retained by it, though the term has expired.[13] For this earl Leofric was a very devout man, and remarkable for his numerous alms-deeds, and a founder and enricher of many monasteries. Among these, at the suggestion of his wife, Godiva by name, both the most beauteous [in person] of all the women of her time, as well as the most holy in heart, he enriched the monastery of Coventry to an immense extent with numerous and most costly gifts.

King Ethelred, after having most wretchedly sat upon the kingly throne for a period of thirty-seven years, falling sick at London, died there, while besieged by the Danes, and was buried in the church of Saint Paul. He was succeeded on the throne, upon the election of the Londoners and West Saxons, by his eldest son, Edmund, who, for his valour, was called "Ironside." Most bravely fighting against Cnute, who had succeeded on the wonderful and shocking death of his father, Sweyn, at Gaynesburgh,[14] he at last made an equal division of the kingdom with the said Cnute. But just when these two most valiant youths had begun to reign together on the most peaceful terms, Edmund was slain through the treachery of the before-named perfidious duke Edric, and by the consent of all, Cnute was crowned king of the whole of England. In the same year, also, the before-named betrayer of the kings, Edric, the perfidious duke of the Mercians, perished by a deserved end; being hanged, as we have already stated, and thrown into the Thames to be devoured by the fishes. The before-named Norman, together with some others of his dependants, was also put to death. This was in the year of our Lord, 1017.

King Cnute beginning to rule, profound peace was everywhere proclaimed, and flourished once more throughout all the provinces of England; upon which, the venerable father Godric, abbat of Croyland, sent to their homes all the monks belonging to other places who had been staying at his monastery. On this occasion, the abbat of the church of Saint Pega, on returning to his monastery with his monks, and beholding everything destroyed and burned to the ground, fell to the earth the very instant that he entered, and being carried by his brethren to a small house adjoining to his vill, died five days after, and was buried in his church. Abbat Baldoc being thus dead, Wulgat succeeded him, a man of remarkable prudence in worldly matters, and extremely religious in spiritual ones. He afterwards most strenuously pleaded his cause against Leofric, the abbat of Burgh; but the court of the king giving too much favour to the more powerful person, and pronouncing judgment against the poor one, he at length lost the site of his monastery. So plentiful was the money of the abbat Leofric, so great the influence of the earl Godwin. But more of this hereafter.

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[13] This must be an interpolation, if Ingulph wrote this history, as he died A.D. 1108, before the hundred years had expired.

[14] Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire.

In the second year of king Cnute, when the storms of battles had ceased, and the serenity of peace had begun to shed its prosperity upon the times, the venerable father, abbat Godric, having amid many labours sailed over the great sea of this life, entered the haven of eternal rest; and, after having most laboriously governed the monastery for fourteen years, departed this life on the fourteenth day before the calends of February, and was buried in the chapter-house, over against the lord Osketul.

He was succeeded in the office of abbat by the venerable father, the lord Brichtmer, who was a kinsman of the lord abbat Osketul, and under his predecessor, abbat Godric, proctor of the monastery; and had very frequently, with wondrous favour, escaped in safety many perils from both king Ethelred and the forces of the Danes. In the fourth year of this abbat, there came a young man of most remarkable devoutness and of very high birth, one of the kindred of Leofric, the earl of Leicester before-mentioned, Wulfsy by name, who, in his love for a solitary life, became a recluse among us, and for many years lived a most holy life.

The venerable father Brichtmer, on seeing that king Cnute was established in his rule over England, and that he treated the whole of the English in the most courteous and most friendly manner, while he also, with especial devoutness, showed his affection for the Holy Church, and with filial duteousness honored the same; seeing also that he bestowed benefits on the monasteries and many places of the Saints, and indeed promoted some of the monasteries to the highest honor; he resolved at once to take the opportunity and wait upon the king, and, (as he feared the power of certain of his adversaries, who during the time of the war had greatly increased,) obtain the confirmation of his monastery from the said king; a thing which he accordingly did. For repairing to the royal court and finding favour with the king, he obtained the said confirmation; in attestation of which, he was presented with a most beautiful chalice by the king, in these words:—

"Cnute, king of the whole of England, Denmark, and Norway, and of great part of Sweden, to all provinces, nations, and peoples subject to my power, both small and great, greeting. Whereas my forefathers and kinsmen have oftentimes oppressed the land of England with harsh extortions and with direful depredations, and (I confess it) have therein shed innocent blood; it has been my study from the beginning of my reign, and ever will be henceforth, to make satisfaction as well to heaven as to this world for these my sins, and those of my kinsmen, and with all becoming devoutness to improve the state of the whole of Mother Church, and of each monastery under my governance existing, whensoever the same shall in any way stand in need of my protection; and so, by means of these and other good works, to render all the Saints of God propitious to me in my necessities, and favourable and considerate to my prayers. Wherefore I do, as an earnest of this my determination to make due satisfaction, offer unto Saint Guthlac of Croyland, and the other Saints of the same place, one chalice, part of my substance, and do confirm unto Brithmer, the abbat, and his monks, the whole of their monastery at Croyland, together with the island lying around the same, and the two marshes thereto adjoining; that is to say, Alderlound and Goggislound, with the same limits and boundaries by which, in the charter of the late renowned king Edred, its restorer, the said island and the said two marshes are fully described I do also confirm all churches and chapels, lands and tenements, liberties and privileges, in the charter of the said king contained, with the whole of which the said king Edred endowed and enriched the said monastery of Croyland in honor of God and of Saint Guthlac, His confessor, who in the body there reposes, and by his charter confirmed the same. And further, let no one of my subjects from henceforth dare to molest the said monks, or in any way to disturb them in any of the matters aforesaid: and if any person shall presume so to do, or shall attempt to take possession of the same, he shall either feel the edge of my sword, or shall suffer the punishment of the sword which is the due of the sacrilegious, receiving sentence without forgiveness or ransom, in accordance with the circumstances and extent of the injury done to the said monks. I, king Canute, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1032, have at London confirmed this my charter with the sign of the Holy Cross. + I, Egelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, have confirmed the same with the sign of the most Holy Cross. + I, Alfric, archbishop of York, have ratified this charter of the king. + I, Lefsy, bishop of Worcester, have signed the same. + I, Elfward, bishop of London, have applauded the same. + I, Brichtmer, bishop of Lichfield, have established the same. + I, Brichtege, abbat of Pershore, have taken part herein. + I, Wulnoth, abbat of Westminster, have signed the same. + I, Oswy, abbat of Thorney, have approved hereof. + I, earl Godwin, have consented hereto. + I, earl Leofric, have attended hereat. + I, Edwin, brother of [earl] Leofric, have been present hereat. + I, Harold, son of earl Godwin, have taken part herein. + I, Algar, son of [earl] Leofric, have assisted hereat. + I, Turkill, the king's thane, have heard the same. + I, Alfget, the king's thane, have beheld the same [+]."

In the fourteenth year of his reign, king Cnute repaired to Rome, and was honorably received by pope John [the Fifteenth, and by the emperor Conrad, who then was there, and many other kings] and princes of the whole of Christendom, who were then assembled at Rome at the festival of Easter on a visit, together with our lord the pope. On his return to England through Denmark, during his journey he directed a letter to the archbishop and all the people of England, informing them beforehand of his prosperous journey. It was sent by the hand of the abbat of Tavistock, Living by name, and was to the following effect:

"Cnute, king of the whole of Denmark, England, and Norway, and of part of Sweden, to Egelnoth, the metropolitan, and Alfric, archbishop of York, and all the bishops and primates, with the whole nation of the English, nobles as well as commons, greeting. I do hereby notify unto you, that I have lately proceeded to Rome to pray for the pardon of my sins, and for the well-being of the kingdoms and peoples which are subject to my rule. To undertake this journey I had long since made a vow to God; but, in consequence of business and the affairs of my kingdom offering an impediment thereto, I had not hitherto been able to undertake the same. Wherefore I do now most humbly return thanks to Almighty God, for that He hath granted that I should consider it to be greatly to my advantage during my life to visit the beloved Apostles Peter and Paul, and every holy place, the existence of which within the city of Rome or without I was able to learn. Be it also known unto you, that a great assemblage of the nobles among the faithful was held there at the solemn festival of Easter, together with our lord the pope and the emperor Conrad; that is to say, all the princes of the nations from Mount Garganus[15] unto the neighbouring sea; all of whom have received me with every mark of respect, and have honored me with precious gifts and various presents, both vessels of gold and silver, as well as palls and vestments of most costly price. I accordingly discoursed with his lordship the emperor, and his lordship the pope, and the princes who were there present, as to the necessities of the whole of my people, English as well as Danes, to the end that more just laws and more sure protection might be afforded them in their journies to Rome; and that they might not be delayed on the road by so many shuttings up of the mountain passes, and harassed by having to pay unlawful tolls. My demands, too, were granted by the emperor and king Robert, in whose hands are most of the mountain passes; and all the princes, by their proclamations, enacted that my subjects, merchants as well as other persons travelling thither for the purpose of offering up their prayers, should, without any molestation at the mountain passes or any demand of tolls, go to Rome and return thence in full security and under just laws. I again made complaint to his lordship the pope, and stated that it greatly displeased me that my archbishops were mulcted in such enormous sums as were demanded of them, when, according to custom, they repaired to the Apostolic See, for the purpose of receiving the pall; on which a decree was made that the same should thenceforth be put an end to. Every request which I made for the benefit of my people, of his lordship the pope, of the emperor, and of king Robert and the other princes, through whose lands we have to pass on our way to Rome, they most willingly granted, and by oath as well established the same, upon the testimony of four archbishops, and twenty bishops, and a countless multitude of dukes and nobles who were there present. Wherefore I do render unto Almighty God extreme thanks, because that I have successfully carried out all that I desired to do, and as in my mind I had determined, and have to the utmost satisfied my wishes.

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[15] A mountain and promontory of Apulia, in the south of Italy

"Now, therefore, be it known unto you, that I have suppliantly vowed before God, henceforth in all respects to live justly, to govern the kingdoms committed to me, and their peoples, with piety, and in all things to observe equity and justice; and if, in the wantonness and carelessness of my youth, I have hitherto done anything but what is just, it is my determination, by the help of God, henceforth to make amends for the whole thereof. Wherefore, I do entreat and do command those of my advisers, unto whom I have entrusted the interests of the people, in no way, either through fear of me, or for the favour of any influential person, to consent henceforth to any injustice, or to suffer any such to spring up throughout all my kingdom. I do also command all the dignitaries and sheriffs throughout my kingdom, as they wish to ensure my friendship, as well as their own well-being, to do injustice by violence to no man whatever, rich or poor; but let all those who are noble, as well as those who are not, have the liberty of obtaining their rights according to the justice of the laws; from which no deviation shall be allowed, either to gain the favour of the king, or for the sake of any powerful person, or in order to accumulate money for me; because I have no necessity for money to be collected for me through iniquitous exactions. Wherefore, I do wish it to be made known unto you, that, returning the same way by which I came, I am on my road to Denmark, for the purpose, with the sanction and consent of all the Danes, of making peace, and a lasting treaty with those nations, who, if it had been possible for them so to do, would have deprived me both of my kingdom and my life; but were not able, inasmuch as God crushed their might; and may He, in His mercy, preserve us in our kingdom and honor, and annihilate the power of all our enemies. And further, when peace shall have been concluded with the nations which are round about us, and all this my kingdom here in the East shall have been set in order and brought to a state of tranquillity, so that we can, on no side, entertain fear of war or hostility on the part of any one, it is my determination, at the earliest period possible, at which, this summer, I can make the necessary preparations for sailing, to come to England. This letter I have now sent before me, to the end that all the people of my kingdom may rejoice at my welfare; and because, as you yourselves are aware, I have never been sparing of myself or my exertions—nor will I be sparing of the same in furthering the advantages and interests of all my people. Wherefore, I do now entreat all you my bishops and officers throughout my kingdom, by the fidelity which you owe to me and to God, that you will take care, that, before I return to England, all the debts which, in conformity with ancient usage, we owe to the Church, are discharged; that is to say, plough-alms,[16] the tithes of animals born in the present year,[17] and the pence owing to Saint Peter at Rome, whether from cities or whether from vills; in the middle of August, the tithes of the produce of the earth; and, on the festival of Saint Martin, the first fruits of seeds payable to the church of the parish where each one resides, and which in English are called 'Kyrkeset.'[18] If these and other things are not paid when I return [to England], the royal rigour shall strictly, and in conformity with the laws, punish the person who shall be guilty of such faultiness, without any pardon being granted whatever. Farewell."

In the year of our Lord, 1032, king Cnute, returning from Rome by way of Denmark, landed in England at Sandwich. The lord abbat Brichtmer met the king at that port, and presented to him two choice palfreys, which he courteously received, and repeatedly returned him thanks for the same. He also gave to our abbat a full suit of silk, embroidered with eagles in gold, and a thurible of silver gilt; which, having been lately broken through old age, has been repaired by the lord Ednoth, our sacrist. He also gave twelve white bears' skins, some of which have remained before the different altars even unto our times.

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[16] A penny for each plough, or, in other words, for as much land as a plough could till, to be distributed to the poor; payable within fifteen days after Easter.

[17] Payable at Whitsuntide.

[18] *Or "kirk-shot." It generally consisted of a certain quantity of corn*

Abbat Brichtmer, being strengthened in every way by the royal favour, and having first obtained the royal confirmation for his monastery, built many manor-houses for Croyland, which had been lately destroyed by the Danes He built, at Staundon, a very fine hall, with chambers and other requisite buildings, for the reception of his retinue, when he or his monks should have occasion to visit London on the business of the monastery. He did the same at Drayton, and the same, too, at Morburn. Upon the other manors which had been laid waste by the Danes, Cottenham, Hoketon, Wendling, Adyngton, Elmyngton, Langtoft, Baston, Bukenhale, and Halyngton, he erected barns, cow-houses, stables, sheep-folds, and kitchens. In his eighteenth year, king Cnute, having so nearly concluded the twentieth year of his reign, departed this life, and was buried at Winchester.

His two sons, Harold and Hardecnute, entering upon a contention for the kingdom, a mighty war seemed on the point of commencing For the Danes and the Londoners made choice of Harold, the son of Elfgiva of Northampton, but who was said to be only a pretended[19] son of king Cnute; while, on the other hand, the English, with the whole of the remaining part of the country, preferred Edward, the son of king Ethelred, or, at least, Hardecnute, the son of king Cnute by queen Emma. Upon this occasion, a vast multitude of men and women, smitten with alarm, together with their children and all their moveable property, took refuge at Croyland, being attracted, upon the mere apprehension of the approach of war, to the slimy retreats of the marshes, and the alder-beds, and the mud of the lakes, as though some very strong castle of refuge.

These new-comers everlastingly disturbed the whole monastery with numerous quarrels and bickerings, and rushing all day long into the cloisters, continually occupied themselves, either through the servants of the monastery, or in person, in plying the ears of the monks; endeavouring, by means of winning words, to gain over the masters of the place, and so induce them to look favourably upon their state of indigence. The consequence was, that the monks abandoned the cloisters, hardly ventured to descend from the dormitory to the choir for the performance of Divine service, and were scarcely able to meet in the refectory for the purpose of taking their food at the common table. But, more than all, they annoyed and distracted Wulfsy,[19] the anchorite and recluse among the clerks of Pegeland; for day and night they were consulting him about different matters, and by their multiplied clamours and invocations, forced him to become quite weary of his life. At last, however, having his eyes bound with a bandage,[20] he retired to Evesham, and, taking up the life of a recluse in a cell near a certain chapel at that place, there still abides.

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[19] It was suspected that she had imposed on the king the children of a priest and a cobbler as his own.

The kingdom of England was now divided between the two brothers, sons of the same father. Hardecnute received the southern provinces beyond the river Thames, while Harold took the northern ones, together with London, and the whole of the territory beyond the said river. Hardecnute, on receiving his portion, repaired to Denmark, where, making a longer stay than was proper or necessary, Harold was proclaimed king over the whole of England. He presented to our monastery the mantle used at his coronation, made of silk, and embroidered with flowers of gold, which the sacrist afterwards changed into a cope. And still more kindnesses would he have shown us, so great was the favour that the lord abbat Brichtmer had found with him, had not a speedy death prematurely carried him off, while still pausing upon the very threshold of his reign. Four years being completed, and the rule of the kingdom being but tasted of, as it were, he departed this life, and was entombed at Westminster. He was succeeded on the throne by Hardecnute, who was his brother, but the son of queen Emma, and who was sent for from Denmark. Immediately he entered the kingdom, he ordered the body of his brother, Harold, to be taken from the tomb, and, after being decapitated, to be thrown into the adjacent river Thames. The English and the Danes, however, taking it out of the river, had it buried in the cemetery of the Danes at London. Hardecnute, after a reign of two years, amid feasting and cups, belched forth his spirit at Lamithe,[21] near London, and rests at Winchester, by the side of his father.

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[19] See further mention made of him by Peter of Blois.

[20] That he might not behold the things of this world.

After his death, the choice of all fixed upon Edward, earl Godwin especially recommending him; and, accordingly, Edward, son of queen Emma, but by Ethelred, the former king of England, was crowned at London, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1043, upon the holy day of Easter; and reigned nearly twenty-four years. To him was given in marriage the daughter of earl Godwin, Egitha by name, a young lady of most remarkable beauty, extremely well-versed in literature, a maiden of exemplary purity of life and manners, and of most holy humility; while in no degree did she partake of the barbarous disposition of her father or brothers, but was meek and modest, trustworthy and honorable, and an enemy to no one. It was for this reason that the following Elegiac line was composed with reference to her:—

"As roses thorns, Egitha Godwin did beget."[22]

Frequently have I seen her,[23] when in my boyhood I used to go to visit my father who was employed about the court; and often, when I met her, as I was coming from school, did she question me about my studies and my verses; and most readily passing from the solidity of grammar to the brighter studies of logic, in which she was particularly skilful, she would catch me with the subtle threads of her arguments. She would always present me with three or four pieces of money, which were counted out to me by her hand-maiden, and then send me to the royal larder to refresh myself.

King Edward, though born in England, was brought up in Normandy, and from his long stay there, had almost become changed into a Gaul: he consequently brought over with him, or attracted, great numbers from Normandy, whom he promoted to many dignities, and greatly exalted. The principal among these was Robert, a monk of Jumieges, who was made by him bishop of London, and afterwards raised to be archbishop of Canterbury; as also William [and Wulfelm], the king's chaplains, the first of whom was afterwards made bishop of London, and the latter bishop of Dorchester. The consequence was, that under the governance of the king and of the other Normans who had been introduced, the whole land began to forsake the English customs, and to imitate the manners of the Franks in many respects; all the nobles in their respective courts began to speak the Gallic tongue as though the great national language, executed their charters and deeds after the manner of the Franks, and in these and many other ways showed themselves ashamed of their own customs. But of this, more hereafter.

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[21] At Clapham, which was formerly in the parish of Lambeth: it probably received its name from Osgod Clappa, the nobleman at whose house this king thus suddenly died.

[22] "Sicut spina rosam, genuit Godwinus Egitham."

[23] This is the first instance in which Ingulph speaks of himself as a personal witness of any of his facts.

In the sixth year of the reign of king Edward, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1048, the venerable father Brichtmer, the lord abbat of Croyland, fell sick, after having most diligently filled the pastoral office for a period of twenty-eight years: he departed this life on the seventh day before the ides of April, and lies buried in the doorway of the chapter-house. In his time, as we have a little before briefly mentioned, the venerable father Wulgat, the lord abbat of Pegeland, after having been for a long time subjected to the demands of Elfin, Arwin, and Leofric, the abbats of Burgh, was at length overpowered, and, shameful to relate! by judgment of the royal court, lost the entire site of his monastery. So powerful in those days was money against justice, craftiness against truth, and the influence of earl Godwin at the court of king Hardecnute.

The said abbat Wulgat, on losing the site of his monastery, was about to lay the foundation for a new monastery at his manor of Northburgh, which was near [to Peykirk], and upon the banks of the neighbouring river Welland. While he was making arrangements to remove his abbey thither, and was labouring with unremitting activity to rebuild the church and dormitory, together with the other buildings of the cloisters, being aided therein by the alms of many of the faithful; Fernot, the knight, and lord of Bosworth, [laid claim to the said manor of Northburgh, and] openly shewed by the abbat's own deeds that the said manor of Northburgh had been given by his ancestors to the monastery of Saint Pega, and to the monks there in the service of God: in consequence of which, as he alleged, since the abbat Wulgat and his monks could not in future serve God there, they ought no longer to hold the said manor. This was listened to by the king's justitiary, and immediately judgment was given that the said manor of Northburgh, together with all its appurtenances, had been for ever alienated and made over from the monks of the church of Saint Pega to the aforesaid knight, Fernot, as his by hereditary right.

As soon as ever it became known throughout the whole kingdom, how that the abbat of Peykirk had first lost his monastery, and in consequence thereof the manor which formerly belonged to that monastery; in a similar manner, Edmer, the knight, and lord of Holbrok, laid claim against the said abbat and his monks to the manor of Makesey, while Horsyng, of Wathe, laid claim to Badyngton as being his manor. Earl Siward again laid claim to the manor of Bernake, Hugolin, the treasurer, to the manor of Helyeston, and many others to other manors still belonging to the said monastery. All, too, for the same reasons were successful in their claims against the monks, and thus, both from their manors as well as from their monastery, the said abbat of Peykirk and his monks were iniquitously and cruelly expelled; so it is that misfortunes never come to any one alone. Accordingly, when abbat Wulgat and his convent, consisting of eighteen monks, being thus deprived of their monastery, had become mere wanderers, and, in a state of fluctuation, were on the point of being dispersed to all the winds of heaven in consequence of their extreme distress, the most pious king Edward took pity on them all, and received them at his court, and, until such time as he could make provision for them, commanded them daily to attend at his chapel and hall.

Hardly had the words proceeded from out of the king's mouth, when, behold! the death of Brichtmer, the abbat of the monastery of Croyland, was announced in his hall, and his pastoral staff was presented to the king by the prior of the monastery, and two others of the brethren who accompanied him. For, from the time of king Ethelred, his father, the abbats had begun to be better known at the royal court, and the consequence was, that from that time the king's thanes were every day more abundantly honored with various presents and courtly salutations by such of the monks as were ambitious of dignities or prelacies. Among the principal monasteries, Croyland at this time enjoyed especial celebrity, so many and so great were the gifts and tributes which in the times of the

Danish troubles it had ever been ready with a most prompt hand to pour into the royal court.

Hence it was, that for many years past no election of prelates had been entirely free and canonical, but the royal court had at its own pleasure conferred all the offices of bishops as well as abbats by ring and pastoral staff. Accordingly, the most pious king Edward received the pastoral staff, and, in presence of the lord Gerard, prior of Croyland, and his two brother monks, who had come with him to court, and of the other monks of Pegeland, whom the monks of Croyland well knew, as having formerly been their fellow-countrymen and very dear neighbours, invested the before-named venerable father Wulgat, the lord abbat, with the rule of the monastery of Croyland, by the pastoral staff thereof; and addressed a letter to the convent of Croyland, relative thereto, in these words:

"Edward, king of the English, to the subprior and holy convent of the monastery of Croyland, greeting. Taking compassion upon Wulgat, formerly lord abbat of Pegeland, who, not through any crime of his own, but by sentence of law, has lost his monastery; taking compassion also on yourselves, who, not of your own wills,[24] but through the rapacious grasp[24] of death, have lately lost your father, I hasten, by means of an antidote, to heal you both, in appointing the said father Wulgat over you as your prelate. Wherefore you will be acting becomingly as holy men, if you obediently receive your said father and pastor, after having been harassed and proved by tribulations so numerous, and treat with kindness his fellow-monks, your brethren, who will accompany him to your house, and manifest towards them the feelings of brotherly love; to the end that you may together, after the career of this present life, be enabled to reach heaven, and to mingle with the holy company of your patrons, who were brethren. Fare ye well, and offer your supplications for me, and pray unto God for all my kingdom day and night."

At this same period, at the prayer of Wulgat, the lord abbat of Croyland, the before-named lord Gerard, the prior of our monastery, suggesting and zealously promoting the same, king Edward, by his charter, granted a confirmation to our monastery of Croyland, of all the lands, tenements, marshes, and other things, to our said monastery of Croyland belonging, to the following effect:

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[24] A pun is probably intended here, in the use of the words "volentia" and "violentia.'

"I, Edward, by the grace of God, king of the English, at the prayer of Wulgat, the lord abbat of Croyland, and at the duteous supplication of the lord Gerard, the prior of the said monastery, do in all things approve of, applaud, and confirm the charters of my predecessors, the kings of England, that is to say, of the most pious king Edred, and of the renowned king Edgar, my grandfather, made in favour of the monastery of Croyland. For they gave, and by their charters confirmed unto God and to Saint Guthlac and his monks, as a several site for a monastery for the aforesaid monks, the whole island of Croyland, as the same lies around the said monastery, with limits and boundaries in the charters of the said kings distinctly described and defined; together with the two marshes thereof, that is to say, Alderlound and Goggislound, being opposite to the said island, and on the western side thereof, in like manner, with the same metes and boundaries by which they are in the said charter described. These and all other gifts of the said kings, that is to say, of Edred, the restorer of the said monastery, and of Edgar, my grandfather, I do grant and confirm to the monks aforesaid and their successors, together with all liberties and privileges in their charters to the said monastery granted and contained, the same to be held by Saint Guthlac and his monks aforesaid for ever, as a pure and royal alms-gift. Witnesses hereto, Egitha, my queen, Edsy and Alfric, the archbishops, earls Godwin, Leofric, and Siward, together with the others of my nobles, who are present at my court."

Accordingly, the before-named venerable father, lord Wulgat, came to Croyland, together with all his monks, sixteen in number, (for two had died at London), and all his moveables; and was received on the day of Saint Mark the Evangelist, in the year of our Lord, 1048. In this year, a great earthquake took place on the calends of March, being the Lord's day, and a great mortality of men and beasts followed.

Egelric, a monk of Burgh, was at this time made bishop of Durham, through the influence of earl Godwin. After he had obtained this bishopric, and had collected infinite sums of money, he caused a solid highway for travellers to be made through the middle of most dense forests and the extremely deep marshes of Depyng as far as Spalding, constructed of timber and sand,—a most costly work, and one of the greatest utility. This road up to this day bears, and as long as it shall last will continue to bear, the name of 'Elricherode,' derived from Egelric, its maker. For this work all the Gervii,[25] and the people of Mid Anglia, and all the Saxons lavished blessings upon him: while the people of the diocese of Durham greatly censured him. After he had again replenished his purse with money, he gave up the bishopric, and returned to Burgh, resigning his ring[26] to Agelwin, a monk of Burgh, and his own brother. The good offices of earl Godwin being in a similar manner exerted with the king, Agelwin was appointed bishop, and has remained in that office to these our times. But more of this hereafter.

In the year of our Lord, 1051, Alfric archbishop of York departed this life at Southwell, and was buried at Burgh. In the same year also, the earth failing with its usual fertility to produce its fruits, it consumed multitudes of the inhabitants thereof with famine, so much so, that, through the dearness of corn and the excessive want of bread, many thousands of men perished. Being moved with pity for the poor, the most pious king Edward remitted for ever to all England a most grievous tribute which was known by the name of 'Danegeld.' Some say, that this most holy king, on one occasion when his chamberlains had brought this Danegeld, after its collection, into his chamber, and had taken him to see such a vast heap of treasure, on the first sight thereof was seized with a shuddering, and protested that he beheld the devil dancing upon the pile of money, and exulting with excessive joy. He consequently gave orders to restore it immediately to its former owners, and would not so much as touch a single jot of such a cruel exaction, but remitted the same thenceforth for ever,[27] it being the thirty-eighth year since, in the time of Ethelred his father, Sweyn, king of the Danes, had ordered the same to be paid yearly to his army.

At this period, the venerable father, abbat Wulgat, seeing the scarcity at the present day wax stronger and stronger, and that his sons, the monks of his monastery, who, before his arrival, had been refreshed with dainties and had abounded with sumptuous clothing,[28] were now feeding on inferior[29] bread, and a few small fish caught in the river, sighed deeply, and grieved exceedingly that he had "multiplied the nation, and not increased the joy;"[30] and he deliberated with his brethren what steps ought to be taken against this most imminent danger of approaching famine, while he suppliantly entreated all the friends of the monastery, calling upon the rich to contribute, and the wise to give their counsel.

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[25] See note to p 50 and 87.

[26] The episcopal ring

[27] This tax was levied again by William I. and II., but was afterwards repealed by Henry I., and finally by Stephen.

At this period, among the especial friends and well-wishers of our monastery, our principal adviser was the sheriff of Lincoln, Thorold by name, a person whom many who are still surviving, both regulars and seculars, have seen and known, being a member of the race and kindred of that sheriff Thorold, who in former times proved a most warm friend to our monastery, and gave us his manor of Bokenhale, with all its appurtenances. In the same manner, this Thorold was influenced by a most becoming spirit of pious affection for our house; and for the purpose of affording relief and assistance to our monastery, gave his whole manor of Spalding, with the rents pertaining thereto, and all its services, as a perpetual alms-gift, which would suffice, as he considered, for the sustenance of six monks, that is to say, of one prior and five brethren, with a competent number of dependants; and executed his charter to that effect. Accordingly, six monks being thus transferred from our monastery, through the said Thorold, our refectory was greatly relieved thereby; while he applied himself with all diligence to remove his household from the said estate, and then to put his chapel in better condition, and to change the hall into a refectory, the chamber into a dormitory, and the place for exercise into a cloister for the monks. Besides this, he gave to the monks all the beasts of burden on the manor that were suited for the purposes of agriculture, and all the other implements and utensils that were requisite for cooking, brewing, and baking.

It was at this period, that William, the most illustrious and glorious duke of the Normans, came over to England to visit king Edward, attended by a large retinue of knights. The king received him with all becoming honor, and after keeping him some time at court, accompanied him round the cities and the royal castles, and shewing him all becoming attentions, at length sent him home honored with numerous presents. As to his succession to the kingdom, he had hitherto entertained no hopes thereof, nor was there any mention made of it between them.

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[28] This is probably the meaning of "croceis."

[29] "Secundario," probably the same which we call "seconds"

[30] Isaiah ix. 3.

In the year of our Lord, 1052, Wulgat, lord abbat of Croyland, after having fulfilled the duties of the pastoral office for a period of four years, departed this life on the nones of July, and was buried in the chapter-house, on the day of Saint Medardus, the bishop. He was succeeded in the office of abbat, at the presentation of king Edward, by the venerable father, the lord Wulketul; who, being a monk and sacrist of Burgh, was made abbat of Croyland, and installed on the festival of Mary Magdalen Emma, formerly queen, the wife of kings, namely, Ethelred and Cnute, and the mother of kings, namely, Hardecnute and Edward, departed this life, and was buried at Winchester.

In the year of our Lord, 1053, while earl Godwin was seated at the king's table, he was charged by the king with the death of his brother; on which, after giving utterance to many oaths, he at last swore by the morsel which he was about to swallow that such was not the fact, and on tasting the morsel was instantly choked, and so died. The earldom of Wessex was given to his son Harold; while the earldom of Harold, that is to say, Essex, was given to Algar, the son of Leofric, earl of Leicester

In the year of our Lord, 1056, Siward, the brave earl of Northumbria, departed this life, and was buried in the cloisters of the monastery of Saint Mary, which he had built, without the walls of the city. His earldom of York was given to Tosti, the brother of earl Harold, while the earldoms of Northampton, and of Huntingdon, with the rest of his lands, were given to the renowned earl Waldev,[31] his son and heir. At this time, also, king Edward, being influenced by the bad advice of some persons, outlawed the most illustrious earl Algar, without any fault on his part. But by the aid of Griffin, king of the Welch, and of a Norwegian fleet, which had unexpectedly come to his assistance, he was at length reconciled to the king after many

[31] More generally Waltheof.

had been slain [in battle], and so recovered his earldom; while his fleet was taken up to Leicester, and, after being most bountifully rewarded by his father, took its departure

In the year of our Lord, 1057, Leofric, the most illustrious and most virtuous earl of Leicester, departed this life, and lies buried at his monastery of Coventry, which he had built and enriched with very great gifts and privileges. He died just in the fortieth year after he had bestowed our manor at Baddeby, for the remainder of the term which had been granted to his brother Norman, on the monastery of Evesham; and in this alone did he[32] do any injury to us. Edward, also, the uncle of king Edward, being invited to return from Hungary, as soon as he had reached England, fell sick and died; from which period all hopes of continuing the royal line began to fail.

In the year of our Lord, 1058, Algar, the brave earl of Leicester, was outlawed a second time; on which, he again repaired to Griffin, king of the Welch, and, hiring a Norwegian fleet, recovered his earldom by force. He was a friend and benefactor to our monastery, and favourably and graciously confirmed all the gifts of his forefathers to our house, while he added certain special provisions for the support of our convent, and of our brethren at Spaldyng At this time, also, by the advice and consent of the said earl, the venerable father, abbat Wulketul, assigned the chapel of Saint Mary, at Spaldyng, and all the profits thereof, together with all the revenues to our monastery belonging on the eastern side of the river Welland, unto the said monks, to hold the same with the entire rights thereof, for the purpose of affording hospitality after the monastic manner, as well to the poor as the rich, of whom there was to that place a constant resort.

In the year of our Lord, 1059, Benedict, an usurper of the Apostolic See, was, through the zeal of the faithful, expelled from the papacy, and Nicolas, bishop of the city of Florence, was, on the election of the cardinals, canonically appointed It was he[33] who had sent the pall to Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, like favouring like.[34] The most valiant earl Algar, who was always extremely attached to our monastery, also departed this life, after being repeatedly persecuted by his rivals, and oftentimes buffeted to and fro by land and by sea; though, the Lord prospering his designs, he always remained unconquered, and was beloved with the most sincere affection by the people of his land; he was buried at Coventry, near his father, and left three children, two sons, namely, Edwin and Morcar, who were afterwards earls, and one daughter, who is now surviving, the countess Lucia

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[32] Earl Leofric.

[33] Benedict.

[34] William of Malmesbury represents Stigand as a sort of usurper of the see of Canterbury.

In the year of our Lord, 1060, Kynsy, archbishop of York, departed this life, and was interred at Burgh, of which place he had formerly been a monk. He was succeeded by Aldred, bishop of Worcester. To this Aldred, king Edward had entrusted the bishopric of Hereford to keep; and accordingly, on his promotion to the see of York, king Edward gave that bishopric to one Walter, chaplain to queen Egitha, by birth a native of Lorraine.

In the year of our Lord, 1061, Wulketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, began to build a new church, as prosperous times were coming on; for the old one, which the venerable lord Turketul had formerly erected, threatened immediate ruin. The renowned earl Waldev aided him with the most ardent zeal, and on this occasion, gave to our monastery of Croyland his vill of Bernak, assigning it for the building of the church; for he was troubled with the remorse of an upright conscience, because it had formerly been the property of the church, and because, as there was an excellent quarry there, it was consequently especially adapted to the necessities of the monastery.

In the year of our Lord, 1062, Saint Wulstan, formerly a monk of Burgh, after that, prior of Worcester, and then abbat of Glocester, was at length made bishop of Worcester. At this time, a nobleman, the lord of Brunne[35] and of the adjoining marshes, Leofric by name, a person of high lineage, and renowned for his military prowess, showed himself, in many respects, a beneficent adviser and friend to our monastery; he was a kinsman of Radulph, the great earl of Hereford, who had married Goda, the sister of king Edward, and who lies entombed at Burgh This Leofric, by his wife Ediva, who was of like noble blood (being granddaughter in the fifth degree of the mighty duke Oslac, who formerly lived in the time of king Edgar), had a son, Heward[36] by name, at this period a young man remarkable for his strength of body. He was tall in person, and a youth of singular beauty, but too fond of warfare, and of a spirit fierce and uncontrolled beyond expression. In youthful sports and wrestling he also manifested such indomitable ardour, that many a time "his hand was against every man, and every man's hand was against him."[37] The consequence was, that when the youths of similar age engaged in wrestling and other sports of a like nature, if he could not gain a triumph over them all, and his fellows did not offer him the laurel crown as the reward of victory, he would very often obtain with the sword that which by the mere strength of his arm he was unable.

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[35] Bourne

For this reason, the neighbours made great complaints against the youth, and so greatly did they provoke his father, Leofric, against his own offspring, that, in the extreme bitterness of his anger, he discovered to king Edward many youthful pranks which he had played off upon his father, of a nature that could not be borne, and acts of excessive violence against his neighbours; and thus, as though he had been his enemy, he procured his outlawry.

This most valiant youth, Heward, on being thus outlawed, first repaired to Northumbria, then to Cornwall, thence to Ireland, and afterwards to Flanders; and, everywhere behaving himself with the greatest bravery, in a short time acquired a most glorious and illustrious name. He exposed himself with intrepidity to every kind of peril, and had the good fortune always to escape; in every military conflict he would ever oppose himself to the bravest, and by means of his undaunted spirit, proving victorious, left it a matter of doubt whether he was more fortunate or more brave—so surely did he overcome all his foes, so surely did he escape from the greatest dangers. Becoming thus renowned and invincible in many and mighty battles, his fame was even spread among his adversaries, and his valiant deeds reaching even England, were sung there; and, by the wonderful grace of God, the feelings of his father and mother, and all his relations, and neighbours, and the whole of his fellow-countrymen, towards him were changed into those of the most ardent affection; a change wrought, no doubt, by the right hand of the Most High, which substituted such kindly feeling for aversion so extreme

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[36] More commonly called Hereward. [37] Gen. xvi. 12.

At length, in Flanders, he married a damsel of noble birth, Turfrida by name, and by her had an only daughter; who is now surviving and living in our neighbourhood, and has been lately married to an illustrious knight, one on the most intimate terms with our monastery, Hugh Evermue by name, lord of the vill of Depyng, having brought with her her patrimonial estate of Brunne and its appurtenances Her mother, Turfrida, coming to England, with her husband, on seeing the multiplied changes of this transitory world, at last, with the permission of her husband, abandoned all the pomps of the world, and received the monastic habit, in our monastery of Croyland, at the hands of Wulketul, the lord abbat. After having long lived a most holy life under that garb, she died recently, hardly four summers since, and lies buried in our monastery.

Her father, Heward, after returning with his said wife to his native land, fought mighty battles, and underwent a thousand perils, in engagements with both the king of England, and his earls and barons, his chieftains and commanders. After undergoing these numerous perils and showing the most undaunted prowess, as we still hear sung in our streets, and after having with a powerful right-hand avenged his widowed mother, made peace with the king, and obtained his patrimonial estate, he ended his days in peace, and was very recently, by his especial choice, buried in our monastery, by the side of his wife. But of these matters more hereafter.

In the year of our Lord, 1063, Harold, earl of Wessex, by command of king Edward, conducted a most formidable expedition against the Welch, who were constantly making inroads and repeated depredations upon the neighbouring districts. Seeing that the activity of the Welch proved remarkably effectual against the more cumbrous movements of the English, and that, after making an attack, they quickly retreated to the woods, while our soldiers, being weighed down with their arms, were unable to follow them, he ordered all his soldiers to accustom themselves to wear armour made of boiled leather, and to use lighter arms. Upon this, the Welch were greatly alarmed, and submitted in every respect, utterly throwing off all allegiance to their king, Griffin.

In the year of our Lord, 1065, Griffin, king of the Welch, was slain by his people, and his head, together with the beak of his ship, was sent to Harold; on which, king Edward gave to his brothers, Blethgent and Ruthius, and, in consideration of their swearing fealty and paying due service to the kingdom of England each year, granted to them, Wales, to hold the same in peace to themselves and to their posterity. In the same year, king Edward, being now enfeebled by old age, and perceiving that Edgar, the son of the lately-deceased Clito Edward, was unsuited, both in disposition as well as body, for occupying the royal throne, and that the numerous and wicked progeny[38] of earl Godwin was daily waxing stronger and stronger upon the earth, turned his thoughts to his kinsman, William, duke of Normandy, and, by a distinct announcement, appointed him his successor on the throne of England.

For duke William had at this period proved victorious in every battle, and triumphant on all occasions over the king of France; and was preeminently distinguished among the earls neighbouring to Normandy, being invincible in the exercises of arms, a most upright judge in the determination of suits, and most religious and most devout in the service of God. Hence it was that king Edward sent to him Robert,[39] archbishop of Canterbury, as envoy on his behalf, and informed him, by the mouth of his archbishop, that, both as the due of his relationship, as well as the reward of his virtues, he had been named as the successor to his throne. In addition to this, Harold, the master of the king's household, went to Normandy, and not only made oath that he would, after the king's death, preserve for duke William the kingdom of England, but even pledged his word that he would marry the daughter of duke William; after which, receiving magnificent presents, he returned home.

In the year of our Lord, 1066, a comet appeared in the heavens, which portended great changes in the kingdom, the slaughter of the people, and multiplied miseries inflicted on the land. On this occasion was repeated the rhyming couplet—

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[38] Ingulph is probably prompted here by his dislike for Harold.

[39] Stigand, the then archbishop was only an usurper.

"Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno,
Anglorum metæ crinem sensere cometæ."[40]

For, as the philosophers say, "Those who see its tail, will have bad fortune to bewail.[41]

About the time of the Nativity of our Lord, king Edward fell sick unto death, and [had the church of Westminster consecrated on the feast of the Holy Innocents; but, the malady, daily increasing, he died on the vigil of the Epiphany of our Lord, and] was interred at Westminster, having nearly completed the twenty-fourth year of his reign. On the morrow of the royal funeral, earl Harold, showing himself, contrary to his dignity and his oath, a contemner of his plighted faith, and wickedly forgetting his solemn promise, intruded himself upon the royal throne, and being solemnly crowned by Aldred, the archbishop of York, reigned nine months.

On this, William, duke of Normandy, sent ambassadors, declared that Harold had violated his engagements, published the terms of his agreement, demanded of him the performance of his promises, and requested that some fair terms should be adopted. King Harold, however, would hardly listen to the ambassadors, denied that he had violated his engagements, denied the existence of any such agreement, excused himself for non-performance of his promises, and scoffed and laughed at all fair terms that were offered. While these negociations were daily going on, and throughout the whole summer there was nothing but messengers running to and fro without any result therefrom, William addressed his complaints to the pope, and consulted him thereon, and, receiving encouragement from him, was even presented by him with the standard of lawful victory.

Harold, however, cared but little for the opinion of the pope, but visited his harbours, assembled his troops, and, in especial, led an expedition against his brother, earl Tosti, who was then repeatedly harassing his shores, and expelled him thence. Just then, behold! Harold, king of Norway, whom the said Tosti had joined, entered the mouth of the river Humber with a fleet of two hundred ships; and they all came up the little river Ouse, nearly as far as York. The fleet being there left under the care of a guard, they attacked the city of York, and took it, spreading slaughter and devastation on every side The two brothers, earls Edwin and Morcar, collecting a small band of their fellow-countrymen, flew to its assistance, but being unprovided with arms, were quickly repulsed by the armed troops. At last, Harold, king of the English, with a strong body of troops, attacked them in open battle, at Stamford Bridge; and although the Norwegians offered a very stout resistance, he at last gained the victory, king Harold and earl Tosti, the leaders of the army, together with a vast multitude of the barbarians, being slain. The guard left with the fleet, Olaf, son of king Harold, and Paul, earl of the Orkneys, together with a fleet of twenty ships only, were the only persons left at liberty, and allowed to return home.

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[40] This Leonine couplet is also given by Hoveden It may be rendered by the homely words—

"In the year one thousand and sixty-six,
A comet all England's gaze did fix "

[41] Literally, "Whither it directs its hair, thither does it direct calamity"—a pun being made on the resemblance of "crinem," the "hair," or "tail," of a comet, and "discrimen," "danger."

But while Harold was exulting in this victory gained over the Norwegians, news was being daily brought by fresh messengers that the Normans had effected a landing in the southern parts of the kingdom. The king, overjoyed at the victory of yesterday, dreamed that similar fortune would attend him in future. He, therefore, applied the spur, and outstripped all his people, nor was he attended by any part of his whole army, except a very few persons Arriving with all speed at Hastings, and collecting there a miscellaneous rout of the country-people, he refused to await the arrival of his army, but employed them, raw and undisciplined as they were, for his troops, and so drew up his line of battle. The fates urging him on, upon the following day he engaged with the duke, and fighting with the greatest valour, remained unconquered throughout the whole day until the evening Repeatedly engaging hand to hand with the foe, like a common soldier, and laying about him most stoutly, right and left, he fought on, till at last, just at twilight, he fell, struck by an arrow, on a little eminence, whither he had rallied his men. There fell king Harold, and his earls, his brothers Gurth and Lefwin, and all the rest of the nobles of England in his army.

The most victorious duke William, having now obtained the palm of conquest, after having in a short time traversed the western coasts of England, attended by numerous bishops, proceeded to London; and was joyfully received there, and, amid multiplied acclamations, declared king. On the day of the Nativity of our Lord, he was crowned by archbishop Aldred, and ascended the royal throne. For he was unwilling to have the duties of the coronation performed by archbishop Stigand (to whose dignity that duty ought by right to belong), because he had heard that it was alleged by the pope, the successor of the Apostles, that he had not received the pall canonically. This same Stigand had resigned the bishopric of East Anglia,[42] and, abusing the simple-mindedness of a most upright king, and thinking that he might by money pervert all right, had seized upon the see of Winchester; and then, while archbishop Robert was still living, had ascended the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury, still retaining in his hands the bishopric of Winchester. Being accused of this, and publicly condemned, he was afterwards deposed at a synod held at Winchester; on which, that most reverend patriarch, the abbat of Caen, Master Lanfranc, a person esteemed most holy for his religious character, a [most praiseworthy and] famous professor of all liberal arts, and one well versed in temporal matters, was canonically consecrated archbishop of Canterbury. But more of this hereafter.

Many of the chief men of the land, for some time, offered resistance to William, the new king, but, being afterwards crushed by his might and overcome, they at last submitted to the sway of the Normans. Among these, the before-named brothers, earls Edwin and Morcar, were both slain by stratagem; Roger, earl of Hereford, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; Radulph, earl of Suffolk, was driven from the country; earl Waldev was secured by William giving him his niece in marriage; Agelwin, bishop of Durham, was imprisoned at Abingdon, and his brother and predecessor, Egelric, was, in like manner, incarcerated at Westminster, while all the rest who made resistance were either deposed and deprived of their prelacies, driven beyond sea and exiled, or distributed through the monasteries, there to be imprisoned; or else, at last, unwillingly bowed their heads to the new king. I am hurriedly and summarily making mention, in this way, of the exploits of this most glorious king, because I am unable here to follow him year by year, and to set forth his progress step by step. The king then proceeded to distribute among his Normans the earldoms, baronies, bishoprics, and prelacies of all the land, and would hardly allow any Englishman to attain any honorable position, or to hold an office that conferred any power.

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[42] The bishopric of Helmham.

Herward, who has been previously mentioned, was the only one of them who enjoyed[43] a prosperous end. For, on hearing, in Flanders, that the land of England was subjugated by foreigners, and that his own paternal inheritance, on the death of his father, Leofric, had been presented by the royal munificence to a certain Norman, while his widowed mother was being afflicted by many injuries and the greatest insults; he was touched with the most becoming grief, and, accompanied by Turfrida, his wife, flew to England, where, collecting no despicable band of his kinsmen, armed with the sword he rushed with the speed of lightning upon the persecutors of his mother, and thrust them out and drove them afar from his inheritance. Reflecting that he was in command of men of the greatest bravery, and some of those, knights, while he himself had not yet, according to military usage, been lawfully girt with the belt; he took with him some few novices of his band who were, together with himself, to be lawfully consecrated to knighthood, and repaired to his uncle, Brand by name, who was at that time abbat of Burgh, a very religious man, and (as I have heard from my predecessor, Ulfketul, the lord abbat, and many others) one very much devoted to almsgiving to the poor, and adorned with every virtue. Here, after prefacing with a confession of all his sins, and receiving absolution thereof, he most urgently entreated that he might be made a knight. For it was the custom of the English, that he who was about to be lawfully consecrated a knight should, the evening before the day of his consecration, with contrition and compunction, make confession of all his sins, before some bishop, abbat, monk, or priest, and should, after being absolved, pass the night in a church, giving himself up to prayer, devotion, and mortification. On the following day he was to hear mass, and to make offering of a sword upon the altar, and, after the Gospel, the priest was to bless the sword, and, with his blessing, to lay it upon the neck of the knight; on which, after having communicated at the same mass in the sacred mysteries of Christ, he became a lawful knight. The

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[43] "Remurmurabat" is perhaps a misprint for another word.

Normans held in abomination this mode of consecrating a knight, and did not consider such a person to be a lawful knight, but a mere tardy trooper, and a degenerate plebeian.

And not only in this custom, but in many others as well, did the Normans effect a change. For the Normans condemned the English method of executing deeds; which, up to the time of king Edward, had been confirmed by the subscription of the faithful present, with golden crosses and other sacred signs, and which chirographs they were in the habit of calling "charters." The Normans were also in the habit of confirming deeds with wax impressions, made by the especial seal of each person, with the subscription thereto of three or four witnesses then present. At first, many estates were even transferred simply by word of mouth, without writing or charter, and only with the sword, helmet, horn, or cup of the owner; while many tenements were conveyed with a spur, a body-scraper, a bow, and some with an arrow. This, however, was only the case at the beginning of this reign, for in after-years the custom was changed.

So inveterately did the Normans at this period detest the English, that whatever the amount of their merits might be, they were excluded from all dignities; and foreigners, who were far less fitted, be they of any other nation whatever under heaven, would have been gladly chosen instead of them. The very language even they abhorred with such intensity, that the laws of the land and the statutes of the English kings were treated of in the Latin tongue; and even in the very schools, the rudiments of grammar were imparted to the children in French and not in English. The English mode of writing was also abandoned, and the French manner adopted in charters and in all books. But enough of these matters.

When the earls above-named were making resistance to the renowned king William, holding possession, together with many other nobles who were similarly disinherited, of the fens of Ely, they sent a speedy messenger to fetch Herward; upon whose arrival, he was made leader in the warfare and chief of the troops; upon which, he performed so many glorious and warlike exploits, was so often victorious over his adversaries, eluded them on so many occasions, that he earned lasting praise, because he upheld the falling condition of his ruined country as long as he could, and did not permit [his countrymen] to go unrevenged to the shades below. The rest of the nobles, surrendering themselves to the king, endeavoured to gain favour, while he was the only one who utterly refused to do so, and deferred his submission, adopting some new course.

At this season, Brand, abbat of Burgh, the before-named uncle of Herward, departed this life, on which, Thorold, a foreigner, succeeded him on the presentation of king William. Herward, being vexed that a foreigner should rule over his kinsmen and acquaintances, attacked Burgh, and put the abbat to flight; and although the lord abbat Thorold brought thither to defend him, Ivo Taillebois, at that time a most powerful Norman, and lord of the whole of Hoyland in that vicinity, having received it from the king, he took him prisoner in a pitched battle, but afterwards set him at liberty, on his ransom by payment of a large sum of money, and allowed him to return home.

To this Ivo Taillebois, after the death of the two brothers and earls before-named, Edwin and Morcar, the renowned king William had given their sister Lucia in marriage, together with all the lands and tenements which had belonged to them; and as these mostly lay in Hoyland, all the people of that district honored him with the greatest attention, and supplicated him as their lord on bended knees. Although they bestowed upon him all the honors they possibly could, and all the services they were bound, still he did not, repaying that confidence, show any love for them; but tortured and harassed, worried and annoyed, incarcerated and tormented them, every day loaded them with fresh burdens, and, by his cruelty, compelled most of them to sell all their property, and seek other countries. But against our monastery and all the people of Croyland, he was, by the instigation of the devil, aroused to such an extreme pitch of fury, that he would follow the various animals of the people of Croyland in the marshes with his dogs, drive them to a great distance, drown them in the lakes, mutilate some in the tails, others in the ears; while often, by the breaking the backs and the legs of the beasts of burden, he would render them utterly useless.

He also repeatedly attempted, to the utmost of his ability, to cause the ruin of the lord Ulfketul, my predecessor, who was at that time abbat, and at last, by his accusations, caused him to be deposed; and, after his deposition, most unrighteously had him shut up in the convent of Glastonbury, that he might not enjoy any solace whatever by being in his own country. But more of this hereafter.

Against our cell[44] also, and our brethren, his neighbours, the prior and his brother monks, who lived within the gates thereof, and dwelt the whole day in his presence, he raged with such tyrannical and frantic fury, that he would many a time lame their cattle, oxen as well as horses, would daily impound their sheep and poultry, and frequently strike down, kill, and destroy their swine and pigs; while, at the same time, the servants of the prior were oppressed in the earl's court with insupportable exactions, were often assaulted in the highways with swords and staves, and sometimes killed.

Consequently, the prior and the monks, after entreaties and presents and gifts innumerable to his servants, and after they had taken every measure that they deemed necessary, found that their exertions were of no avail, but that the wickedness of the tyrant was always on the increase, and the malice of his servants only gained additional strength: upon which, they took with them their holy chalices, books, and beds, and left their cell in the hand of the Lord, and then, shaking the dust from off their feet against these sons of fire eternal, returned to their monastery at Croyland.

From this time forward, they sent each day to the wooden chapel of Saint Mary, a single monk of Croyland, who was there to perform Divine service for the people; at last, however, both abbat Wulketul, as well as the whole of his convent, thinking that this was an immense labour and wearisome beyond their strength, by common consent determined that a monk should be sent on alternate days only. After this had been done for some time, (as is well known among all the people of those parts), on the feast of Saint Lucia the Virgin, early in the morning a mighty tempest arose, just like a flood rushing on against a ship, and the lord Manerius, a venerable old man of remarkable piety, being the monk who was so sent, was drowned at Wodelode. Being alarmed at so great a misfortune and exceedingly terrified thereat, all the monks of the monastery of Croyland ceased for a long period to send any person. As for earl Ivo, being greatly overjoyed that the

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[44] At Spalding.

Lord even seemed, as it were, to be fighting with him against our monastery, he sent to Angers, to Natalis, lord abbat of Saint Nicholas, and entreated him to send to him some monks; at the same time promising and engaging that he would have a fair and sufficient cell prepared and built for one prior and five monks in his vill of Spalding, and amply endowed with lands and tenements. Accordingly, the monks of Angers came and took possession of our cell, and thus, before our very eyes, do foreigners devour our lands. Upon Wulketul, the lord abbat, making complaint hereof in the king's court, all the Normans, leaguing together, justified and palliated the acts of robbery, oppression, and slaughter, together with all the other injuries, of which Ivo Taillebois had been guilty against the people of Croyland; and just as on the body of Behemoth, "scale is joined to scale,"[45] so did they stop up every breath of truth, [and, as though "sinews of his stones wrapped together,"[46] defended one another a thousand ways].

To add to the calamities of Croyland, the cruel execution of earl Waldev also took place at this time, a person who had shewn himself most kindly disposed towards all the religious, and an especial and most excellent friend to the monastery of Croyland; and, although the venerable archbishop Lanfranc, his confessor, asserted that he was utterly innocent of all participation in the rising and conspiracy, and that if he died on that account, he would be a martyr, by reason of his innocence; still, as his most impious wife desired to contract a new marriage, and therefore most wickedly hurried on his destruction, while certain Normans were avariciously intent upon his earldoms of Northampton and Huntingdon, (and especially the Anjouin earl Ivo Taillebois, who was most anxious to possess his lands and tenements, which were very numerous in all parts of England, and therefore thirsted for his blood); though innocent and guiltless, he was beheaded at Winchester, on the day before the calends of June, and the body of the martyr was immediately buried there, beneath the humble sod.

However, after the lapse of fifteen days, by the king's permission, the body of the [deceased] martyr was raised from the tomb by the venerable abbat Wulketul, and was found to be fresh, and sprinkled with blood which seemed to be just shed, as though he had been slain on that same day; upon which, he was with all due respect carried to Croyland, and was honorably buried in the chapter-house of that monastery. When the Lord, wondrous in His Saints through the might of His miracles, and for ever to be praised, gave signs here to show the innocence of His martyr, his relict, Juditha, hearing the mighty works of Christ, came to the tomb of her husband, and in our sight offered a pall of silk upon his tomb; upon which, just as though it had been torn off by the hands of some person, it flew to a distance from the tomb.

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[45] He alludes to Job xli. 17; but these words are there used in reference to Leviathan, and not Behemoth.

[46] Job xl. 17. This is said in reference to Behemoth.

At this time, also, the manor of Bernake, which he had [lately] presented to our monastery, was taken from us, and by the king's command confiscated, in order to be presented, together with the rest of his lands lying near the Trent, as the marriage portion of [Juditha], that most wicked Jezebel, his late wife. A short time after this, when the renowned king William was desirous to give his said niece in marriage to a certain Norman, of noble birth, by name Simon of Senlis, she declined his hand, because the said Simon halted in one leg. The king, being excessively enraged at this, gave the earldom of Huntingdon, with all the lands pertaining thereto, to the said Simon; on which, dreading the wrath of the king, accompanied by her daughters she took to flight, and being utterly despised, and held in extreme hatred by all through the just judgment of God, concealed herself a long time in various spots and hiding-places.

At length, however, this wretched woman confessed her wickedness, and shewed extreme penitence for the nefarious destruction of her husband; and so remained unmarried to the end, being from that time an object of suspicion to all, and deservedly despised. Earl Simon, however, before-named, after much deliberation, took her eldest daughter, Matilda by name, to wife, by whom he had offspring, Simon, Waldev, and Matilda, who are still young and in their infancy. Alice, his wife's sister, was given by the said earl Simon to that most illustrious man, Rodolph of Tournay, together with the whole lordship of Wilchamstowe, which had formerly belonged to her father, earl Waldev. By her the said Rodolph has issue, but with the names of the children I am not at present acquainted. This Simon, earl of Huntingdon and Northampton, built the castle at Northampton and the monastery of Saint Andrew, not far from the said castle. These particulars, as to the wife and offspring of this holy martyr, I think it sufficient for the present to state.

The venerable abbat Wulketul, shortly after the burial of the holy martyr, openly disclosed to his neighbours, and publicly made known to all, the miracles of God which the Lord wrought daily for His Saint. The Normans, being very indignant at this, and unjustly enraged against this righteous man, and Ivo Taillebois, in especial, persecuting him with more unrelenting fury than all, the rest, they had him summoned to appear in person at the next council to be held at London; and on the day of his appearance, having entered into a nefarious combination against him for the becoming reverence which he had shown for the holy martyr, iniquitously accused him of idolatry, and still more iniquitously deprived him of the care of the monastery; and after so depriving him, most iniquitous of all, condemned him to be immured in the convent of Glastonbury, under the most cruel abbat Thurstan, far from his friends and his native place. The venerable father, abbat Wulketul, being thus deprived of the rule of the pastoral office, and all the treasures of his monastery carried off and confiscated to the royal use, a substitution was made in his place in my own humble person.

Now I, Ingulph, the humble servant of Saint Guthlac and of his monastery of Croyland, a native of England, and the son of parents who were [citizens] of the most beauteous city of London, being in my tender years destined for the pursuits of literature, was sent to study, first at Westminster, and afterwards at Oxford. After I had made progress beyond most of my fellows in mastering Aristotle, I also clothed myself down to the heels with the First and Second Rhetoric of Tully. On growing to be a young man, I loathed the narrow means of my parents, and daily longed with the most ardent desire to leave my paternal home, and, sighing for the palaces of kings or princes, to clothe myself in soft and pompous raiment. And behold! just at this time William, our present renowned king of England, who was then as yet duke of Normandy only, came over with a great retinue of followers to London, for the purpose of having an interview with Edward, the then king of England. Immediately enrolling myself in the number of these, I exerted myself in the performance of all kinds of weighty matters of business; and after having brought many affairs to a prosperous issue, was speedily brought to the notice of that most illustrious duke, and, becoming a very great favourite with him, returned with him to Normandy.

Being there appointed his secretary, at my own will I ruled the whole of the duke's court, incurring thereby the envy of some, while those whom I chose I humbled, and those whom I thought fit I exalted. Impelled onward by the natural ardour of youth, notwithstanding my having gained this high position, although thus elevated above my original station, I still grew weary, and in my ambition, was always most ardently longing, with my unstable feelings, and with aspirations so eager, that I am forced to blush at the acknowledgment, to obtain a station even still more elevated. Just then, it was noised about, and indeed universally spread throughout Normandy, that many archbishops of the Empire, together with some other of the princes of the land, were desirous, for the well-being of their souls, with all due devoutness to proceed on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Upon this, several of the household of the duke, both knights as well as clerks, among whom I was the first and foremost, with the permission and good-will of our master, the duke, made preparation for setting out on the said journey; and accordingly, taking the road for Germany, being more than thirty horsemen in number, we joined his lordship [the archbishop] of Mentz All were in a state of preparation for the journey, and in company with their lordships, the bishops, there were reckoned seven thousand persons, who prosperously traversed numerous regions, and at last arrived at Constantinople. Here, addressing our prayers to its emperor, Alexius,[46] we saw the [church of] Saint Sophia, and kissed its sanctuaries, so infinite in number.

Departing thence, and taking our way through Lycia, we fell into the hands of Arabian robbers, and, being plundered of an immense amount of money, and many of us being put to death, only escaped with the greatest difficulty and at the extreme peril of our lives, and at length joyously made our entrance into the much longed for city of Jerusalem. We were received by Sophronius, the then Patriarch, a man venerable for his grey hairs, and most holy and most upright, with a great crash of cymbals and an immense blaze of torches, at the most divine Church of the most Holy Sepulchre, a solemn procession being formed, of Latins as well as Syrians. What prayers we here uttered, what tears we shed, what sighs we heaved, the inhabitant thereof, our Lord Jesus Christ, alone knoweth. And so being led from the most glorious Sepulchre of Christ to visit the other holy places of the city, we beheld with tearful eyes an infinite number of holy churches and of oratories which the Sultan Achym had lately destroyed. With abundant tears we testified our most ardent sympathies for the ruins of the most holy city as well without as within; and after having given no small sum of money for the restoration of some parts, sighed with the most eager devotion to go forth into the country, to dip ourselves in the most holy Jordan, and to kiss all the footsteps of Christ.

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[46] An anachronism, as Alexius I did not begin to reign till 1081, or twenty-two years after the death of Sophronius.

But some robbers of Arabs, who kept a watch upon all the roads, would not allow us, in consequence of their fierce and countless multitudes, to wander to any distance from the city. Accordingly, on the arrival of spring, a fleet of Genoese ships arrived in the port of Joppa. On board of these we all embarked, after the Christian merchants had exchanged their wares throughout the maritime cities, and had in like manner paid their adoration to the holy places, and so committed ourselves to the sea. After being tossed by waves and storms innumerable, we arrived at last at Brundusium, and then making a prosperous journey through Apulia, repaired to Rome, where we kissed the thresholds of the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and at all the stations the most numerous monuments of the holy Martyrs. Then the archbishops and other princes of the Empire returned to Germany, taking the road to the right, while we turned to the left on our way to France, taking leave of each other, with kind words and kisses of inexpressible fervency on both sides. And thus at last, instead of our number of thirty horsemen who took our departure from Normandy in excellent condition, hardly twenty returned, poor pilgrims and all on foot, attenuated and famished in the extreme.

After all my companions had quickly dispersed and made their way each to his own home, in order that I might not in future be involved in the vanities of this world, to keep my house thenceforth swept clean,[47] and preserve it closely shut against the seven spirits of wickedness, I took refuge in the holy convent of Fontenelle.[48] Here I received the monastic habit from the venerable father abbat Gerbert, and with unwearied diligence applied myself to cleanse away and make amends for the errors of my youth and all my ignorances, according as the grace of the Holy Spirit inspired me to do. At length, after the lapse of not a few years, on the decease of the venerable prior, the lord Winotus, my venerable father, the lord abbat Gerbert, summoned my humble self to be the sharer of his anxieties, and, though unworthy and reluctant, at last made and appointed me prior of his monastery, bound, as I was, by the ties of duty, to obey.

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[47] Alluding to St Matthew xii. 44, and St Luke xi. 25.

At this time, my lord William, the renowned duke of Normandy, hearing by his daily messengers of the death of his kinsman, Edward, the most pious king of England, was long waiting at the port of Saint Valery for a favourable wind, it being his intention to cross over with a most valiant army, in order to assert his rights. Thither I then repaired with the subsidy offered by my lord the abbat, and, having watched for a suitable time for so doing, presented twelve chosen youths, on horses, and supplied with arms, together with a hundred marks for their expenses, as his contribution, on behalf of my father the abbat. Being most abundantly thanked for so welcome a present, and having, by the most munificent bounty of the duke, obtained his charter of donation for ever to our house of the whole of the vineyards of Carville, overjoyed and exulting, I returned to our monastery. The duke, in the meantime, crossed over the sea, having a most prosperous voyage, and, as I have previously stated, reduced England to subjection. He ever after displayed the most ardent affection for our abbey of Fontenelle, and showed abundant honor and respect both to my lord the abbat, as well as all the brethren of the said monastery, whenever he met them.

Accordingly, in the course of some years, on the venerable father Wulketul, the lord abbat of Croyland, my predecessor, being deposed from the duties of the pastoral office, my master, the renowned king William, sending a messenger to the venerable father before-named, Gerbert, my lord abbat, to enquire for my humble self, obtained that which he sought; and so placed me, with mingled feelings, of extreme sorrow at assuming a burden of such heavy responsibility, and of extreme delight at seeing myself transferred to my native soil, in the most holy Temple of Christ, upon the candlestick of the church of Croyland. Both my venerable abbat as well as all the rest of the holy community of the brethren, suppliantly and repeatedly entreated me, when about to set out for those parts, that I would always preserve a grateful recollection of my holy nest, and would never dismiss my mother from my thoughts. They also requested that I would say a good word for them [against all men] in presence of my lord the king, whose conversation, they supposed, I should frequently enjoy; as, living with him in England, I should often be in his presence, and sometimes a guest at his table. They also begged that I would take away with me something from the tombs of the Saints, many of whom rest in that monastery, by way of a lasting remembrance of it, to the end that my devoutness might increase towards God, and my affection for the place continue.

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[48] In Normandy.

Accordingly, I passed a night in the church, before the shrines of the Saints there buried, namely, Wandragesil, the abbat, and Wulfran and Ausbert, the bishops, and there I poured forth my heart; and, with becoming devoutness, entreated that the Lord would deign to guide my steps, through the merits and prayers of my said patrons. It was the vigil of Saint Andrew the Apostle, and in its course midnight had now nearly passed, when, after the repetition of many prayers, and after reading the victorious passion of the said Holy Apostle, sleep suddenly creeping upon me, I reclined on my left side against the lectern, which was standing before me.

And now, behold! I saw a certain abbat, of remarkably handsome features, attended by two most reverend bishops, one on either side, proceed from the altar behind, and meet, in the middle of the choir, the same number of Saints; of whom two were refulgent with priests' stoles, while the third, whom they escorted between them with the greatest veneration, appeared to be an earl most gorgeously arrayed, who wore a tore of gold on his neck. When they had saluted each other, and had finished the Lord's prayer, one of the bishops addressed me, and anxiously requested and ordered me to lead his guests to the hostrey,[49] and diligently minister to their wants, while, at the same time, I was most carefully to watch the fire of the hostrey, until such time as they should send for me: the rest of the holy men making similar requests of me. While I was hesitating for some little time to comply with their requests, the holy bishop added these words: "Go thy way, and, of a truth, my right hand shall always be with thee," upon which, the vision disappeared, and, the morning vigils to be paid to the Apostle before-named now approaching, our sacrist rang the bell to awake the brethren.

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[49] Or guest-hall.

Now, of the interpretation of this vision I was for many years utterly ignorant, until, having come into these parts, and reflecting upon the said vision, I gathered from it the following prognostics:—The two bishops were the two patrons of the convent of Fontenelle, Wulfran and Ausbert, while the abbat in the middle was Saint Wandragesil, the abbat and founder of that place, and the first inhabitant thereof: they proceeded from the altar behind me, because there their holy bodies repose. The two who met them, clad in priests' stoles, were Saint Guthlac and Saint Neot, both most holy priests of God, and especial patrons of Croyland; while the earl in the middle, who was decorated with a golden torc around his neck, was the most holy martyr, earl Waldev, who, though most innocent, was beheaded, and entombed in that monastery. To the service of these I was appointed, when I assumed the charge of the pastoral office in this convent of Croyland. The hand of the holy bishop Wulfran still remains with me, because I brought away with me the bone of his right arm, which, as a present from the whole convent, I had received as a lasting memorial thereof.

Accordingly, having been thus presented with the said holy arm, I came to London to my lord the king; where being invested with the staff of the pastoral office of the monastery of Croyland, after being admitted, and having received the benediction from the venerable father, archbishop Lanfranc, and the most reverend bishop of Lincoln on the day of the Nativity of our Lord, I made my first entrance into Croyland on the Conversion of Saint Paul the Apostle, and was installed there in the year of our Lord, 1076.

I found in this monastery [of Croyland], of which, by the will of God, I am a servant, sixty-two monks, of whom four were lay brethren, besides monks of other monasteries, who were making profession of the monastic life there, together with those of our chapter. All these, when they came, had stalls in our choir, seats in our refectory, and beds in our dormitory. These, too, exceeded one hundred in number, and just when they pleased [they came, and just when they pleased,] some after the expiration of half a year, and some after a whole year, they returned to their own monasteries; and this, more especially in the time of war, and when the least whirlwind muttered in the time of peace; for then, like bees returning to their hives when it threatens rain, so did they flock from every quarter to Croyland. At this time, the number of those thus united with us in making monastic profession were, from Thorney ten, from Burgh six, from Ramsey eight, from Ely three, from Saint Edmund's nine, from Saint Alban's twelve, from Westminster ten, from Saint Andrew's at Northampton two, from Christ Church at Norwich fourteen, from Tetford fifteen, from Coventry seven, from Saint Mary without York six, from Saint Mary Stowe[50] ten, from Michelney six, and from Malmesbury five; besides those who were arriving every day, and others who were always staying with us, and who, having seen the safe situation of the locality, and the mutual affection of the brethren of Croyland, most devoutly entreated that they might be enrolled in our community; while that hospitality, which was innate in our monastery from ancient times, seldom or never repulsed any one who knocked.

Accordingly, on my arrival at the monastery, finding all in a most desolate condition, and humbled even to despair, on account of the various misfortunes which had from every quarter depressed the house, I consulted both laymen, as well as the literate monks, who were acquainted with the means of the convent, by what aids or resources they had found that in former years the monastery was relieved; and most earnestly requested them truly and simply to inform me thereon, and on no account whatever to conceal from my notice anything that they knew of as being requisite to be known by me.

On this, they made answer, that one Asford of Helieston, who was formerly the bailiff of the lord abbat Wulketul, my immediate predecessor, had for many years had the management of the manors and rents of the whole monastery, had made delivery of the lands and tenements thereof to the farmers, had received the rents and profits thereof, and had paid all the workmen of the convent entirely at his own will and pleasure; that he had grown enormously rich, and had but very seldom repaired the dilapidations of the monastery; that he was the only one who knew the real state of our monastery, and that it was in his power alone to afford the desired relief.

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[50] In Lincolnshire.

I, Ingulph, on hearing this, had this Asford sent for, and, simply disclosing to him the state of the monastery, informed him that it stood greatly in need of his advice and assistance, and, with many prayers and promises, begged and entreated him, and laboured with the greatest earnestness to work upon his good feelings to such a degree as to prompt him to render us assistance: besides which, I explained to him my state of ignorance, and the fact of my having so recently come, and fully disclosed to him my wretched state, as well as that of the whole monastery, unless he should give us a helping hand. To all this he showed himself as hard as iron, and as impenetrable as adamant; and just in the same way that "the adder is deaf, and stops its ears,"[51] so did he despise my entreaties, laugh at my promises, and, as though he took a pleasure in the misfortunes of the monastery, set at nought all my advice

On perceiving this, and seeing into the matter more distinctly, I persisted in humbly requesting that the accounts of his management of all our lands and tenements[52] should be delivered to me; and I urgently and repeatedly entreated him to inform me from which of the vills in the neighbourhood our revenues arose. Being at length induced by great promises, after having mentioned many tenements throughout the vills belonging to the monastery, he came at last to that of Helieston, on which he not only concealed what were our rents there, but, with multiplied perjuries, all but made oath that our tenements belonged to himself, and that he was in possession of them by hereditary right. However, on our seniors steadfastly contradicting him, and producing charters and the requisite documents, he laughed our rights to scorn, and, after much wrangling, promised that he would openly prove before the king's justices that those tenements were his paternal property, and so took his departure from our convent

Accordingly, on our putting in our claim to the said tenements before the king's servants, a day was appointed for the trial at Stamford. On that day, being about to appear before the king's justices on the business of the monastery, I commended myself to the prayers of my brethren, and putting my trust in the Lord, rode to Stamford: he too, confiding in the greatness of his riches, and placing all his hopes in his treasures of money, was riding on, stiff-necked, as he was, against God, when, lo and behold! his horse striking against a stumbling-block of a stone that lay in the middle of the road, threw his rider and broke his neck, and so sent to hell the soul of him who was thus goingin his pride to oppose the Lord. When news of this was brought to the king's court, and to us who were at Stamford awaiting the trial, as we did not as yet place full belief in such an accident having happened, another day was appointed [for the trial]

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[51] Alluding to Psalm lvi. 4.

[52] "Tenementis" seems a preferable reading to "monumentis."

On the following day, when he was being carried by his neighbours and relatives on a bier towards the convent of Burgh to be buried, a place which he had often [before] named as that of his sepulture, those who carried it had to pass over ten acres [of the meadow land] belonging to our monastery, to which he in his lifetime had laid claim; when, behold! a most dense cloud covered the sun in his course, and brought on, as it were, the shades of night, while the heavens poured forth such a deluge of rain, that, from the flowing of the waters, the days of Noah were thought to have come over again; in addition to which, the bier suddenly broke down, and the body of the deceased. falling to the ground, was for a long time rolled about in the filthy mud. On seeing this, those who carried him acknowledged the hand of the Lord, and openly confessed their injustice; while his relations and neighbours came running to meet us, who at the same moment had arrived from Stamford, and throwing themselves at our feet, entreated that pardon might be granted them for so outrageous an injury attended by the manifest vengeance of God. Returning thanks unto God and Saint Guthlac for their assistance, we forgave them the injury they had done us, and received from them our meadow land, all right to which they disclaimed, together with all other things in full to which we laid claim, and we have up to this present time remained in peaceable possession of the same. Blessed be God in all things, who hath returned to the unrighteous according to the works of his hands, and who hath made foolish and rendered unstable the counsels of his heart!

This vengeance of the Lord upon the adversaries of our monastery being circulated to a distance by the lips of all, and terribly thundering into the ears of our rivals, there was no one from that time forward who dared in any way to offend the Lord our Defender, or who would presume thenceforth to provoke Saint Guthlac to anger. But, on the contrary, Richard de Rulos, who had married the daughter and heiress of Hugh de Evermue, lord of Brunne and Depyng, and was a person much devoted to agricultural pursuits, and took great delight in the multitude of his cattle and sheep, being wishful, for the purpose of enlarging his vill of Depyng, to enclose a great portion of the common marsh, and to sever the meadow lands and pastures, would on no account presume so to do, without the sanction of our monastery; but, coming to us, with great dutifulness, he most pathetically entreated that in the name of Christian charity the confirmation of our chapter might be granted him. This we accordingly granted him, and consented that his name and that of his wife should be inscribed in the obituary of our brethren. [For he] bestowed twenty marks of silver as an alms-gift upon our monastery, and most deservedly obtained our permission to enclose as much as he pleased of the common marshes; on which, he enclosed the whole of the land of the chapel of Saint Guthlac, which the brethren of our monastery had erected there, while the said vill belonged to us before the coming of the Danes, on the east as far as Caredyk, and then passing Caredyk as far as Cleylake beyond Crammor; while he excluded the river Welland by a very strong embankment, because every year it had, by its continual inundations, overflowed nearly all the meadows adjoining the banks of the said river; from which circumstance that vill had, in ancient times, received the name of Depyng, meaning "the deep meadow." Building upon the embankment numerous tenements and cottages, in a short time he formed a large vill, marked out gardens, and cultivated fields; while, by shutting out the river, he found in the meadow-land which had lately been deep lakes and impassable marshes, most fertile fields and desirable land, and out of sloughs and bogs accursed made quite a pleasure garden. Having thus formed a most fertile soil, he at the same time changed the said chapel of Saint Guthlac into the parish church of his new vill. To our monastery he was always extremely well-disposed, and proved himself with our lord the king a most prompt intercessor for us on all occasions, and an assiduous promoter of our interests.

As more prosperous times for us had now ensued, and the condition of our monastery bore fruit most abundantly both in matters temporal as well as spiritual, the Lord prospering us and multiplying our friends, I resolved to go to my lord the king, and in some way or other procure some favour for the lord Wulketul, my predecessor, who was still enduring exile at Glastonbury For I was fully convinced that, through long usage and experience, he was perfectly acquainted with the state of our monastery, and well knew of what our tenements consisted, which lay dispersed over many counties, and had been almost lost to us through the maliciousness of that most wicked Asford; while by myself, who was a stranger, they were utterly undiscoverable.

Accordingly, I proceeded to London, and found there my venerable masters and old friends, the most reverend archbishop Lanfranc, and Odo, lord bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, and master of the palace, uterine brother of our lord the king (by the advice and counsel of whom, both the king as well as his kingdom in all respects were governed); and I boldly disclosed to them the reason for my coming, at the same time requesting the favour of their intercession with the king. Other friends and mediators also exerted themselves in my behalf, among whom the before-named knight, Richard Rulos, the king's chamberlain, gave especial assistance, in order that they might ascertain the feelings of the king, our master, towards my said predecessor, the lord Wulketul; on which, they found that his personal rancour towards him was much modified, but that he was inexorably determined that he should not be promoted to any prelacy great or small, and most pertinacious in adhering to his original purpose.

Accordingly, at the intercession of my lords, the lord archbishop of Canterbury, the king's brother the lord bishop of Bayeux, Richard de Rulos, the king's chamberlain, and many others formerly known to me in Normandy, and connected with me by terms of close intimacy, I obtained leave for him to return from Glastonbury to Burgh; on condition, however, that he was to reside there without having the slightest range or liberty to go into the country beyond it, and without holding any cure or office whatsoever; and it was only permitted that I should be at liberty, whenever it should seem good to me, to send for him to Croyland, to give me information as to the state of my monastery.

Having obtained this permission, I had him brought by an honorable escort of horsemen from Glastonbury to Burgh, and [afterwards sent for] from Burgh to Croyland; on which, seeing that this venerable person was worthy of all favour and filial love, and was distinguished for his most holy piety, I had him placed in his ancient stall; nor did I, so long as he lived, consider myself as being fully the husband, but always as a sort of bride-man or steward, of the monastery. On perceiving my dutifulness, and that the love of his sons had through no tribulations in any way swerved from their ancient kindliness of feeling, he restored to our monastery the chalice that formerly belonged to his chapel, a breviary of the customs of our church, a missal, a cup of silver, with a silver lid for the same, together with twelve spoons of silver: he also promised some other things, so soon as he should have the opportunity of speaking to some persons who were formerly his servants. I used to send for him two or three times a-year, with a proper escort of servants, and often keep him with me a month, sometimes half a year even; and, as I showed him the greatest respect in every place, as well in the choir as the refectory, I found that, besides the information which he most readily gave me as to the state of the whole monastery, so long as his life lasted everything went well with me; whereas, on his decease at the end of ten years, numerous adversities befell us every day.

He was deposed in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1075, and survived ten years; when, being seized with a sudden attack of paralysis, he sickened for four months, until he died, being the whole of that time [almost] deprived of speech, and unable to express his last wishes He died on the day of Saint Hieronymus the priest, in the year of our Lord, 1085; some of our archives and jewels still remaining at Burgh, unrestored to us, although he had repeatedly promised to return and restore them to us, and, in his last agonies, to the best of his ability, frequently signified to his brethren his wish that the same should be done.

To go back to a few years before this period, when Cnute, king of Denmark, having collected a large fleet, was preparing to invade England, the renowned king William, having levied troops in all quarters throughout France, Germany, and Spain, distributed the whole of them throughout the monasteries of the whole kingdom, and especially had them quartered on those convents which held their demesnes of the king exempt from supplying him with troops. He accordingly sent six knights and twenty-eight arbalisters [to take up their quarters] at Croyland. At the same time, leading an army into Northumbria, where the Danes had been in the habit of frequently landing, he scoured the whole country, and almost reduced it to a desert, rendering it uninhabitable many miles for a long time after, in order that the enemy might not, on coming, find provisions and so prolong his stay, but, being compelled by hunger and want of food, might be forced speedily to leave the country and return home. On the same occasion, the illustrious king William also went beyond this district, and, passing on to Scotland, compelled Malcolm, the king thereof, to do homage to him, and to swear fealty to him, at Abernethie.

On his return to England, he commanded every one of its people to do homage to him at London, and to swear fealty to him against all men He then proceeded to mark out the land, so that there was not a hide of land in all England but what he knew the value and the owner thereof; nor was there a piece of water, or any place, but what the same was described in the king's roll; while the rents and profits of the property itself, and the possessor thereof, were set forth for the royal notice by the trustworthy report of the valuers, who were chosen out of every district to describe their own neighbourhood. These persons showed a kind and benevolent feeling towards our monastery, and did not value the monastery at its true revenue, nor yet at its exact extent, and thus, in their compassion, took due precautions against the future exactions of the kings, as well as other burdens, and with the most attentive benevolence made provision for our welfare. This register was called the "Winchester Roll," and, in consequence of its containing in full all the tenements throughout the whole country, received from the English the name of 'Domesday.'

King Alfred had formerly published a register of a similar nature, and closely resembling it, in which he described the whole land of England by counties, hundreds, and decuries, as I have previously stated; this too was called the "Winchester Roll," because it was deposited and kept at Winchester, that city being then the capital of his hereditary kingdom of Wessex, the most noble and illustrious among all the individual kingdoms of England. In the later roll, which was called the Winchester Roll, because it was published after the example of the former one, there were described, not only the counties, hundreds, decuries, woods, forests, and all the vills, but throughout the whole territory it was stated how many carucates of land there were, how many roods, how many acres, what pasture lands there were, what marshes, what tenements, and who were the tenants thereof.

At this period I, myself, went to London, and, having, with much labour and at no small expense, extracted and culled the following tenements of ours from the two rolls before-mentioned, commonly known to the English by the name of Domesday, I have determined to state the same, briefly at least, for the information of posterity; in most cases I shall abbreviate, while in some I shall be more discursive, for the full information of my successors. If any one of posterity shall wish to read in preference word for word the account of our property, as the same is stated more diffusely in the said original rolls, then let him betake himself to those rolls, and diligently examine the same; and I only trust that he will appreciate this short performance of mine, and will, from his heart, commend these my labours, seeing that I have so carefully and succinctly collected and thrown together into this form particulars so little known, so much dispersed, and gathered out of such a mass of confusion.

In the first place, in Lincolnshire, at Croyland, in Ellowarp,[53] Saint Guthlac had, and still has, woods and marshes four leagues in length and three leagues in breadth. This was the seat of the abbey in the time of king Ethelred, and it is free and absolved from all secular services. In Holeben and Capelade, Saint Guthlac had and has three carucates and six bovates, assessed to payment of geld; and now has there in demesne one carucate, three villeins with half a carucate, and twelve acres of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, the value was twenty shillings in money. In like manner, at Spalding, a berewick[53] of Croyland, he has two carucates of land, assessed to payment of geld: the [arable] land being one carucate and a half: here are seven villeins and four bordars,[54] holding three carucates: in the time of king Edward, it was valued at twenty shillings in money. In like manner, Saint Guthlac had, in the time of king Edward, at Pyncebek, and still has, half a carucate, assessed to payment of geld. In Kirton Warp,[55] in the berewick of Algar, Saint Guthlac had and now has twelve bovates of land, assessed to payment of geld; ten bovates of the land being now waste, through overflow of the sea. In Donnedyk, Saint Guthlac had and now has two carucates of land, assessed to payment of geld, and two carucates, with right of Sach and Soch; here is now one carucate in demesne, and thirteen villeins, with one carucate and twenty acres of meadow land. In the time of king Edward, it was valued at twenty shillings in money. In like manner [in Drayton], Saint Guthlac had and now has one carucate of land, assessed to payment of geld: the land consists of one carucate; the villeins here do not plough; the four salt-pits here are worth five shillings and fourpence; there are five acres of meadow land.

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[53] This is a mistake for "Elloe," or "Ellowwapp"—"the wapentake of Ellow" The accounts here given vary considerably from those to be found in Domesday.

In Burtoft, Saint Guthlac had and now has one bovate of land, with Sach and Soch, and the church of Sutterton, as also, in the time of king Edward, the right of presentation in the Soke of Donnedyk Also, in Souditling, in Hawardeshow wapentake, in Bukenhale, Saint Guthlac had and now has two carucates and a half, assessed to payment of geld: here is one carucate in demesne, five villeins, two bordars, and eight socmen,[56] holding one carucate; twenty-six acres of meadow land, and fifty acres of forest; the seventy acres of forest, in the time of king Edward, were valued at thirty shillings in money. In like manner, in the Soke of Beltisford. Also, in Halyngton, Saint Guthlac had and now has ten bovates of land, four bovates at Juland, and twenty-two acres of meadow land. [The same] in the Soke of Tad. Also, in the wapentake of Nons. In Langtoft, Saint Guthlac had and now has six carucates, assessed to payment of geld; the land here is six carucates in demesne, that is to say, one carucate, and eight villeins, with four bordars, and twenty socmen, holding five carucates of [arable] land and one hundred acres of meadow land, also, two woods, with the property in a marsh, two leagues in length, and two leagues in breadth: the arable land being fifteen quarantenes in length, and nine in breadth. in the time of king Edward, they were valued at four pounds, [now] at sixty shillings in money. The cut wood was valued at three shillings

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[53] As he afterwards states, "berewick" here means a "manor," though generally it signifies a member only, or portion of a manor, as a vill or hamlet. See page 170.

[54] "Bordarii." These were probably mere bondmen, or cottagers of some sort, but were evidently a distinct class from the "villani." They were probably in a less servile condition, and had a bord or cottage, with a small parcel of land. The origin, however, of the name is not accurately known.

[55] Wapentake is probably the correct reading.

Also, in Baston, Saint Guthlac had and now has four carucates of land, assessed to payment of geld, there being four carucates of land: there is now in demesne one carucate, and five villeins, two bordars, and seven socmen, with two carucates. Here is a church, with a priest, and one mill, with half another mill, and forty-five acres of meadow, and marshes fifteen quarentenes in length, and eight in breadth; in the time of king Edward, they were in like manner valued at forty shillings of money. Also, in Avelound wapentake, in Repyngale, Saint Guthlac had and still has three carucates of land, assessed to payment of geld, and sixty acres of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at twenty shillings. Oger holds the same to farm, by paying to the abbey sixty shillings, and bearing many other burdens. Also, in Aswardeherne wapentake, in Laithorp, Saint Guthlac had and still has one bovate of land; in Kirkby three bovates of land, in the time of king Edward [its property].

Also, in the hundred of Opton-a-green, in Northamptonshire, Saint Guthlac at Croyland held and now holds woods and marshes, two leagues in length, and two leagues in breadth, in the time of king Edward, free and absolved from all services. In Peykirk, three virgates of land, in the time of king Edward, assessed to geld. In Wridthorp, Saint Guthlac held and now holds one hide and a half, subject to payment of geld; the [arable] land consists of two carucates, of which there is one carucate in demesne; and eleven villeins, and eleven bordars with two carucates. Here are three acres of meadow land, and one mill, valued at five shillings: they are [in the whole] valued at forty shillings Also, in Pokebrok hundred, in Elmyngton, Saint Guthlac had and now has one hide of land; the [arable] land is one carucate in demesne, and there are two villeins and two bordars, with one carucate, and six acres of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, these were valued at eight shillings, now at sixteen In Elmyngton, also, Saint Guthlac had and now has two hides; the [arable] land consists of three carucates; there are five villeins, and four bordars with three carucates. Here are twelve acres of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at twelve shillings, now at twenty shillings Also, in Soudnaveslound hundred, in Adyngton, Saint Guthlac had and still has two hides; the [arable] land consists of four carucates. There is one carucate in demesne, and there are two serfs, six villeins, and three bordars, with one soeman, holding three carucates; there are also six acres of meadow land, and a mill, valued at thirteen shillings and fourpence: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at fifteen shillings, now at forty shillings Of this place, it also has the church, and in the other Adyngton half a virgate of land, assessed to geld. Also, in Ausefordshew hundred, in Wendlingborough, Saint Guthlac had and now has five hides and a half of land; the [arable] land consists of twelve carucates. There is one carucate in demesne, with one serf, and twenty-one villeins, with a church and priest, and seven bordars, and twelve soemen who hold eleven acres. Here are two mills, valued at sixteen shillings, and thirty acres of meadow land, valued at fifty shillings; the tribute was eleven shillings, it is now six pounds.

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[56] Tenants holding their lands by socage tenure.

Also, at Granelcrand, in Baddeby, in Ailwordesic hundred, Saint Guthlac had and still has four hides [of land]; the [arable] land consists of eleven acres; there are eight carucates in demesne, and eight serfs, five neifs,[57] twelve villeins, and eight bordars, with six carucates. Here is a mill, valued at two shillings, and twenty-eight acres of meadow land, with woods, four quarentenes in length, and two quarentenes in breadth: in the time of king Edward, they were, in like manner, valued at eight pounds. Also, in the hundred of Widibroke, at Glapthorn, Saint Guthlac had and has one virgate of land, assessed to payment of geld, and twenty acres of wood land.

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[57] Bondwomen or female villeins.

Also, in Leicestershire, at Beby in Goscote wapentake, Saint Guthlac had and has ten carucates and a half of land; the [arable] land consists of eight carucates. There is one carucate in demesne, and two serfs, and twenty-one villeins, with five socmen, and three bordars holding six carucates. Here are thirty acres of meadow land, valued, in the time of king Edward, at sixty shillings, now at forty shillings. Also, in the wapentake of Guthlacston, in Sutton, Saint Guthlac had and now has two carucates, and two in Stapelton; the [arable] land consists of five carucates. Here are six villeins, with two bordars holding one carucate and a half: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at twenty-four shillings, now at twenty shillings.

Also, in Huntingdonshire, at Morburne, in Norman's-Cross hundred, Saint Guthlac had and now has five hides assessed to payment of geld. The land here consists of nine carucates; there are two carucates in demesne, and sixteen villeins, and three bordars, holding seven carucates: there is a church and priest here, and forty acres of meadow land, and one acre of brushwood: in the time of king Edward they were valued at one hundred shillings, and now at the same. In Therming, Saint Guthlac had and now has one hide and a half, assessed to geld; the [arable] land is one carucate and a half. In the Soke of Achumesbiry, the king's manor, Eustace now holds of the abbat of Croyland and has there, one carucate, and one villein, with half a carucate, and six acres of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at twenty shillings, and are now worth the same.

Also, in Grantebrigshire, at Hokitton, in Nordstow hundred, Saint Guthlac had and has seven hides and a half; the [arable] land consists of eight carucates; there are four hides and four carucates in demesne. There are also fourteen villeins, and three bordars, with six carucates. There are four cottages, and three serfs, and two carucates of meadow land, together with a church and a priest: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at eight pounds, now at six pounds. At Cottenham, in Cestreton hundred, Saint Guthlac had and now has eleven hides assessed to geld; the [arable] land consists of eight carucates; there are six hides and one carucate in demesne. There are twelve villeins and eight bordars, with seven carucates; there is also one serf, and a meadow; and eight acres of pasture land, granted at the prayer of the vill, in the marshes of the lord Angill, and at present paying twelvepence:[58] in the time of king Edward, it was valued at eight pounds, but now at six. This manor always has been, and still is, of the demesne of Saint Guthlac. In Drayton, Saint Guthlac had and has eight hides and a half: the [arable] land consists of six carucates: in demesne there are four hides and three virgates, and one carucate. There are also twelve villeins, and five bordars, and three socmen, with four carucates. There are also four cottages, and two carucates of meadow land: in the time of king Edward, they were valued at one hundred shillings, and now at four pounds ten shillings. This land is held in demesne by the church of Saint Guthlac, together with its church and the office of priest thereof.

Now, for the information of my successors, it seems to me requisite and very necessary, in a few words, to explain some of the matters before stated, in the same way in which they are now understood. And first, as to the seat of our abbey, where it is stated to be four leagues [in length and three] in breadth. The league, or "leuca," is the usual measure of dimension for land among the Franks, and consists of two thousand paces.[59] It is not improbable that "leuca" is derived from the word "leucon," which, in the Scythian language, is the same as the name "Philip." Hence it is that the Master, in his "Introduction" to O. M.[60] B. III, where he speaks of "niveus leucon," says, that by this "leucon" was meant the emperor Philip, who is described as "niveus," or "snow white," because he was a Christian, and by baptism was made whiter than snow. In another passage, also, where he explains the story, that Phœbus fell in love with Leucothoe, he says that

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[58] This is probably the meaning of the abbreviation—acræ, pastur. ad pet. villæ de marisco D. Ang. et de præsent xii d.

[59] The Gallic "leuca" was generally considered to be 1500 paces in length.

[60] It is probable that by the words, super. O. M. Lib III, he alludes to the Ormista, or History of Orosius, which is supposed to have received its name from the words "Orosii mundi historia."

God loved the Christian zeal of the kingdom of France, that is to say, of the Philips, the name of Philip being an extremely common one among the Franks; so much so, that king Henry, who now reigns in France, had his eldest son called by the name of Philip. For Philip, the blessed Apostle of Christ, after having preached the word of God to the Scythians, and converted many of them to the faith of Christ, on his return to Asia, passed through the Sicambri, and was the first to preach to them the name of Christ. The Franks, springing from these, as many of their sacred historians relate, still hold Saint Philip the Apostle to have been in especial their original teacher and first Apostle. From all these circumstances, it may be gathered that "leuca" received its name from "leucon"—meaning, that it is a measure of Philippean land, or land of Philip, or of the Philips [62]

The English, however, in measuring land, use miles, or "milliaria;" which are so called, because they consist of "mille passus," "a thousand paces." This name was derived from the fact that Hercules, while drawing his breath, walked a thousand paces, according to Isidorus [in his "Etymologica"] B III. Therefore, on thus learning what are leagues and miles, you might possibly say, posterity and friends, that the seat of our abbey is said to be four leagues in length, from the further bank of Schepishee on the east thereof, as far as Kenulphston on the west, or in other words, eight miles; and in breadth, that is to say, from the further [side] of the bank of Southee on the south thereof, as far as the outer bank of Asendyk or of Welland on the north thereof, two leagues, or in other words, four miles: but neither of such statements would be true. For you ought to be informed that the English, under the dominion of the Normans, adopted in many respects the usages of the Franks, and consequently substituted "leucæ," or "leagues," for "milliaria," or "miles," though they still meant miles; and as its length exceeds[63] four miles, and its breadth two miles, the surveyors, with remarkable foresight, and most piously taking precautions against the bad feelings of our rivals, chose to set it down as more than the real measure, rather than less. All the assessors in the neighbourhood accepted this measurement, and the king's court accepted it as well, when the true account of measurement was required for incorporation in the royal rolls.

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[62] All this is fanciful and absurd in the extreme.

[63] This is probably the true reason for the statement of the surveyors They perhaps found the length to be six miles, and therefore called it four "leucæ," which was just that measure, and not eight miles, as Ingulph supposes.

I ought also here to state, that Alderlound is described in Opton-a-green hundred; whereas, in the charter of Edred, the former king and our refounder, it is stated, that this part of the marsh, situate on the southern side of the river Welland, is connected with the county of Lincoln in all respects, and belongs thereto, evidence of which is collected from the charter of Edgar, the former king and the confirmer of our privileges, in the words in which he forbids all his servants, meaning thereby sheriffs, summoners, and bailiffs, in the county of the Girvii,[64] that is to say, the county of Northampton, to enter within the limits and boundaries of the said marsh, or in any way to interfere therewith; showing thereby, that this part of the marsh was forbidden to his servants in the county of Northampton, and that, with the remaining portion of our monastery, it came under the jurisdiction of his servants in the county of Lincoln. But when the Danish kings, Sweyn, Cnute, Harold, and Hardecnute, were oppressing the whole of England, and making great changes, many of the privileges of the monasteries were lost, and utterly swept away, while the limits and boundaries of territories and of counties were transferred and changed from their ancient state, just as the money of the rich gained a preponderance over the feelings of the barbarians, who sought nothing else but money.[65] An evidence of this was the destruction in the time of king Hardecnute of the monastery of Saint Pega, at Peykirk, the money of the abbat of Burgh prevailing against justice on the side of the people of Pegeland, and the influence of earl Godwin over the simplicity of the poor.

At this time also, the monks of Burgh were held in the very highest esteem, so much so, that the whole world followed after them; and, many of the great men of the land, both bishops [of the highest rank], as well as other nobles and chiefs of provinces, choosing their place of burial among them, they even had the most supreme impudence to extend the horns of their desires towards our monastery; while the lord Wulketul, my predecessor, concealed such an act of extreme injustice, and as though he had connived at such a great peril to our monastery, was lulled, I am ashamed to say, into a most supine lethargy, and under its soporific influence continued long asleep. Still however, I hope, before long, with the kind feelings manifested by the king towards us, fully to restore it to its former condition, which for the space of nearly three hundred and thirty years previously, we peaceably enjoyed.

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[64] Baxter, in his Glossarium, speaks of the Girvii as inhabitants of the county of Huntingdon. But it is not improbable that the same people extended along the extremity of Northamptonshire which separates Huntingdonshire from Lincolnshire. See Note to p. 87.

[65] "Pecunias" seems to be a preferable reading to "ruinas."

I ought also to throw some light upon the passage where it is stated that "from the time of king Ethelred the seat of our abbey was free and absolved from all secular services,"[66] as there were three kings called Ethelred; and as to each of them, probable grounds may be stated for shewing that the said passage bears reference to him. For the first Ethelred, the son of Penda, and brother of Peada and Wulpher, the former kings of the Mercians, succeeded the before-named kings, his brothers, and after he hed reigned thirty years, withdrew from the world, and became a monk in the monastery of Bardeney, being at last created abbat thereof. In the kingdom of the Mercians, his kinsman Kenred was appointed king in his stead, being the son of Wulpher, the former king, the brother and predecessor of Ethelred, as I have more fully stated above. This Kenred, after a reign of five years, taking his departure on a pilgrimage to Rome, he was succeeded by Celred, son of the before-named Ethelred, his father the abbat of Bardeney still surviving.

This Celred dying after a reign of eight years, he was succeeded on the throne of Mercia by our Ethelbald, who reigned forty-one years. In the first year of his reign he founded our monastery of Croyland, and gave us his charter granting the same: which charter, as the first witness after the bishops, the before-named Ethelred, abbat of Bardeney, devoutly signed: and in the same year, being now an aged man and full of days, he departed unto the Lord. From the time therefore of this king Ethelred our abbey was "free and absolved from all secular services," meaning by that term the time of its first foundation.

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[66] See pages 160, 161.

The second king Ethelred was the son of Ethelwulph, and brother of king Ethelbald, and of Ethelbert and Alfred, the former kings, being the last but one of the brothers who came to the throne; and, after having most stoutly wielded the sceptre of the kingdom of Wessex for a period of five years, and had repeated engagements with the Danes, in which he sometimes most gloriously defeated them, departed this life in the year of our Lord, 871, it being the year after the destruction of the monasteries of Bardeney, Croyland, Medeshamsted, and Ely. The monks of Croyland, however, as has been previously stated, were most of them most happily saved, after a flight and concealment of three days, and throughout the whole period during which it lay desolate, possessed the site of the whole abbey, together with the same liberties which they had previously enjoyed, at the grant of king Beorred, and of Alfred, who afterwards succeeded to the throne; whereas, the other monasteries being utterly destroyed through the ravages of the Danes, and all their monks slain, ruined, or utterly dispersed, their sites were taken and added to the royal treasury. From the time, therefore, of this king Ethelred, our abbey was "free and absolved from all secular services," that is to say, in the time of its greatest desolation, until its restoration, and from then up to the present time.

The third king Ethelred was the son of king Edgar, who, after Saint Edward the king, and at last, the Martyr of God, his own brother by the father's side, had a most wretched reign of thirty-eight years. In his time, the armies of the Danes greatly ravaged the whole of England, and exceedingly oppressed the churches and convents. This state of extreme tribulation lasted for many years; indeed, throughout the time of four kings, that is to say, of the same Ethelred, Cnute, Harold, and Hardecnute. From the time, therefore, of this Ethelred, our abbey was "free and absolved from all secular services," that is to say, from the time of that king who was lawful successor in the royal line of the English, and father of Edward, that most pious king; upon whose relationship and consanguinity our renowned king William founds his right conscientiously to take possession of England: the other kings of Danish blood being in the meantime omitted, as having no rights whatever of their own to assert.

We ought also to remark, that in our settlement at Croyland, no villeins, bordars, or socmen are put down, as is the case in our other lands; for, except through fear of impending war, few or none would persevere in living with us. For, in the same way that, on war breaking out, all of the neighbouring country, rich as well as poor, men as well as women, resorted to Croyland from every side, as a place of refuge, so again, on the serenity of peace being restored by the Lord, all, returning homewards, quitted our monastery; our own household of domestics, together with their wives and children, being the only persons left; to whom, as will be stated in the sequel, I have lately demised a great part of the marshes and meadows of the seat of our monastery for a certain annual rent, and the performance of other services; letting to some the same to farm for a certain number of years, and conveying it to others in fee for the purposes of cultivation. But more of this hereafter.

It ought also here to be stated, that where it is said, "at Spalding, a berewick of Croyland," and in another place, "in the berewick of Algar,"[55] it should be understood by the former expression "Spalding, a manor of Croyland," and by the "berewick of Algar," another manor [of Croyland].

It ought also to be stated as to the manor of Badby, that although it is now in the hands of persons to whom it is leased, it is still described in the king's roll as though it were now in our hands; but it should also be known that because the measurers of the lands and the assessors of that district saw that monks were holding that manor of the monks of Evesham, they took them to be our monks of Croyland, and thought and reported the possession to be ours, and not that of the real lessees; whereas there are still twenty years of their lease to run, before[56] the hundred years expire, which were granted to Norman, the sheriff of the late earl Edric. These matters I openly declared in presence of my lord the king and his council, in behalf of my monastery and its possessions, and they were all graciously listened to, and opportunity of inspecting the royal roll was liberally granted to me

I also, on this occasion, took with me to London the charters and deeds and principal muniments of our monastery, namely, those of Ethelbald, the former king and our founder, and of the other kings of Mercia, who confirmed the grant of our house: all of which were written in Saxon characters; as also the charters of Edred, the former king, our re-founder, of king Edgar, the confirmer of our rights, and of other kings of England who succeeded them down to these our times; part of which were written in duplicate, both in Saxon characters as well as Gallic. For the Saxon characters had been used by all the Saxons and Mercians down to the time of king Alfred, who having been chiefly instructed by Gallic teachers in all branches of literature, from the time of that king they fell into disuse, and the Gallic hand-writing, because it was more legible, and was far more comely to the sight, grew more and more into favour every day with all the English.

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[55] See page 161

[56] This fixes the date as A.D. 1093. See the Note to page 116.

Although by the Gauls and Normans universally Saxon handwriting was never, on any account, employed, and was utterly abominated by them, and at this time especially, when the Saxon nation, too, was held in contempt and quite disregarded; still, through the merits and prayers of Saint Guthlac, our advocate and especial patron, the Holy Spirit divinely inspired the heart of the renowned king with such favour and good-will towards our monastery, that all our muniments, whether written in Saxon or whether in Gallic characters, as I have already mentioned, were openly read and carefully examined in presence of the before-named renowned king William and his council, and were received with great favour and considerable approbation; the royal confirmation being most becomingly adjudged by acclamation on the part of all. And particularly, the charter of the late renowned king Edred, our re-founder, who granted more special privileges to our monastery, and more fully confirmed to us our lands, was most readily received by all, and was most graciously allowed to be confirmed by our lord the king; which was accordingly done with the greatest care in such manner as I desired and requested, and in the following words:

"I, William, by the grace of God, king of the English, at the humble petition of my servant Ingulph, abbat of the monastery of Croyland, do sanction, approve of, and confirm, and do in all things command effectually to be observed, the charter of privileges which the excellent king Edred, my predecessor, gave and granted unto God and to Saint Guthlac and the monks of Croyland, the same having been read and set forth in presence of me and of my council. I do also forbid that any person under my rule shall presume rashly to molest them, lest he perish by the sword of excommunication, and for such violation of ecclesiastical rights suffer the torments of hell. But they are to hold all their possessions as a perpetual and royal alms, of my gift and confirmation, by me granted to the praise of God and out of reverence for Saint Guthlac, the confessor, who in the body there reposes, together with all those rights which are called Soch and Sach, Tol and Them, to hold the same with the same laws and customs as of perpetual right as freely and quietly as they held them with the same in those days in which king Edred was alive and well. For the confirmation of this writing the following nobles therein named were present as witnesses: Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, archbishop of York; Walkelin, bishop of Winchester; William, bishop of Durham; earl William, earl Alfred, Alfred, the son of Topi, William Malet, and others."

On this occasion, perceiving that the feelings of my lord the king and of his council towards my humble self were, at the inspiration of the Most High, thus benevolent and favourable, I also produced before my lord the king and his whole council the charters formerly granted by the sheriff Thorold as to our cell at Spalding, which I had brought with me to London; and having fully set forth our title and alleged our right thereto, with all becoming diligence, I demanded restoration of our said cell to our monastery. After our right to the said cell had been discussed in the king's council for a very considerable time, and I almost imagined, from the favourable feelings manifested by all, that judgment was about to be awarded in our favour, the king's council came to the determination to send for Ivo Taillebois, because the said cell was situate in his demesne.

He speedily arrived, and when he heard the nature of my proposal, pointed out to our lord the king that in my petition was sought the expulsion of the Gallic monks, whom, by his royal charter, he had previously confirmed in their rights, as well as the promotion of the English monks, who were always imprecating evils upon him; whereby he effected an entire change in the intention of the royal benevolence to look favourably on my proposal, and being stoutly backed and supported on every side by the Normans and Anjouins, his own partisans, who were always surrounding my lord the king, totally frustrated my object.

Accordingly, taking with me the confirmation by my lord the king of the charter of king Edred, our re-founder, which, before the arrival at court of the said Ivo, I had obtained from the munificence of our lord the king, as well as all our muniments safe and unhurt, and at the same time giving thanks to the Most High, I returned to our monastery safe and sound; and I advise my successors who shall follow me hereafter, and who shall luckily chance to obtain favour with the king of the English, when they wish to regain the said cell, especially to rely on this charter of Thorold, the founder of the said cell, the other charters being for certain reasons concealed: for I have learned by the repeated advice of the lawyers that the said charter will prove much more valid and efficacious for the assertion of our rights than the others. This charter is to the following effect.[66]

"I, Thorold, of Bukenhale, in presence of my most noble lord, Leofric, earl of Leicester, and his most noble countess, the lady Godiva, my sister, with the consent and good-will of my lord and kinsman the earl Algar, their eldest son and heir, have given and delivered unto God and Saint Guthlac, at Croyland, into the hands of Wulgat, lord abbat of the said monastery of Croyland, for the foundation of a cell of the monks of Croyland, in honor of Saint Mary, the Mother of God and ever a Virgin, in the vill of Spalding, the whole of my manor situate near the parish church of the said vill [between the manor of my said lord the earl Leofric, and the western banks of the river of the said vill,], together with all lands and tenements, rents, services, cattle, and implements, which I have possessed in the said manor, and in the said vill, and in the fields thereof, both on the eastern side of the river as well as on the western side thereof, together with all the appurtenances thereof; that is to say, Colgrin, my steward, and all his people, with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatsoever. Also, Hardyng, the blacksmith, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Lefstan, the carpenter, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Ryngulph the elder, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Elstan, the fisherman, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever Also, Gunter Liniet, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Outy Grimkelson, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Turstan Dubbe, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Algar the Swarthy, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Edric, the son of Siward, and Osmund the miller, and all their people, together with all the goods and chattels which they possess in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also Besi Tuk, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Elmer of Pyncebek, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. Also, Gouse Gamelson, and all his people, together with all the goods and chattels which he possesses in the said vill, and in the fields and marshes thereof, without any exception or reservation whatever. These, my servants, and all their goods and chattels, together with all the cottages to me formerly belonging, and situate on the eastern side of the river around the wooden chapel of Saint Mary, in the vill of Spalding, from of old belonging to the monastery of Croyland, with all the rights and other things thereto appendant, I have given unto God and Saint Guthlac, for the purpose of building the aforesaid cell, together with all my piscaries, both in the marshes adjacent, as well as in the sea to the said vill adjoining, as my free and perpetual alms-gift, and for the salvation of my soul, and of the souls of all my progenitors and kinsmen. This my charter, I, Thorold, have confirmed with the sign of the Holy Cross, at Leicester, in presence of many of the faithful of Christ, there on the holy day of Pentecost assembled, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1051. +I, Wulfin, bishop of Dorchester, have ratified the same. +I Wulgat, abbat of Croyland, have joyfully accepted the same. +I, Lefwin, abbat of Thorney, have approved of the same. +I, earl Leofric, have granted the same. +I, the countess Godiva, have long desired the same. + I, earl Algar, have consented hereto. +I, Turner, chaplain of my lord Wulfin, bishop of Dorchester, have been present hereat. +I, Wulnar, chaplain of my lord Wulfin, the bishop, have listened hereto. +I, Sitric, chaplain of my said lord Wulfin, have beheld the same. +I, Stanard, servant of my lord the earl Leofric, have taken part herein +I, Fulk, monk of Croyland, have applauded the same. +I, Pigot, monk of Thorney, have witnessed the same + I, Living, the clerk, have written this charter with my own hand, and have delivered the same unto my lord the sheriff Thorold, by his hand to be delivered into the hand of the before-named Wulgat, abbat of Croyland."

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[66] This charter is looked upon by Hickes as not genuine.

On the same occasion, I brought with me from London to my monastery the laws of the most just king Edward, which my lord, the illustrious king William, had, under most heavy penalties, proclaimed throughout the whole kingdom of England, to be inviolably held as authentic and of lasting authority, and had given to his justiciaries, in the same language in which they were originally published: to the end that it might not happen through ignorance that we or our people should at any time fall into any grave peril, and with rash presumption offend his royal majesty, and so with incautious foot incur the very heavy censures contained therein, to the following effect:[67]—

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[67] The narrative of Ingulph, as given in Saville's "Scriptores," abruptly terminates here.

"These are the Laws and Customs which king William granted unto the people of England, after the Conquest of that land: they are the same which king Edward, his kinsman, observed before him; that is to say:[68]

1. *Of the right of asylum, and of ecclesiastical protection.*

"The protection of our Holy Church we have hereby granted. For any offence whatever, of which a person may have been guilty, if he takes refuge with the Holy Church, he shall have protection for life and limb. And if any one shall lay hands on him who has so sought the protection of Mother Church, if the same is a cathedral church, or an abbey, or a church of the religious orders, let him restore him whom he has so taken, and pay one hundred shillings as a fine; if it is the mother church of a parish, twenty shillings; and if a chapel, ten shillings. Also, he who breaks the king's peace in the parts subject to the laws of the Mercians, shall pay a fine of one hundred shillings; and so in like manner as to compensation for homicide,[69] and lying in wait of malice aforethought.

2. *Of the king's protection.*

"These pleas pertain to the crown of the king. If any sheriff or any provost shall injure any men belonging to his jurisdiction, and shall be attainted thereof by the king's justice, his penalty shall be double that which another would have had to pay.

3. *Of the violation of the public peace.*

"He who, in places subject to the Danish laws,[70] shall break the king's peace, shall pay a penalty of one hundred and forty-four pounds; and the king's fines, which belong to the sheriff, in places subject to the Mercian laws are forty shillings; and in places subject to the laws of Wessex, fifty shillings. And as to a free man who has right of Sach, and Soch, and Tol, and Tem, and Infangthefe,[71] and shall be accused thereof, and be condemned to pay a penalty in the court of the county, he shall forfeit to the use of the sheriff forty oras,[72] in places subject to the Danish laws: and any other man who does not enjoy the same liberties, shall pay thirty-two oras. Of these thirty-two oras, the sheriff shall have to the use of the king ten oras; and he who has accused him shall have, for his redress against him, twelve oras; and the lord in whose fee he shall reside, shall have the remaining ten oras. This, in places subject to the Danish laws.

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[68] These laws are given by Ingulph in the Romance, or old French, but in a most corrupt and imperfect state. The text of them has been revised, by collation with that found in the Holkham MS., by Sir F. Palgrave, in his Illustrations to his Commentary on the Laws of England. He also gives the Latin version of the same laws, which was probably the original form in which they were promulgated. The Latin version differs somewhat, in various places, from the text given by him of the Romance; on such occasions it has been generally followed in this translation.

[69] "Hemfare," (incorrectly, in Ingulph, "heinfare,") may mean "the flight of a slave." But Spelman, in his Glossary, has shown that it has also the same signification as the word "manbote," or "compensation to the superior lord for the death of one of his men."

[70] "Denelaga."

### 4. *Of accusations of Larceny, and of the sureties.*

"This is the custom in places subject to the laws of Mercia: If any person shall be accused of larceny or of robbery, and shall have given pledge to appear in court, and shall take to flight in the meantime, his surety shall have a month and a day to seek him; and if he shall find him within that time, he shall deliver him to justice; and if he cannot find him, he shall swear with eleven others, himself being the twelfth,[73] that, at the hour at which he became surety for him, he was not aware that he was the thief, that it has not been through him that he has made his escape, and that he has not been able to take him. Then he shall restore[74] the chattel for which he was arrested, and twenty shillings for his head, fourpence to the keeper of the prison, one obol for the spade,[75] and twenty shillings to the king. In places subject to the laws of Wessex, one hundred shillings on the hue and cry for his head, and four pounds to the king. In places subject to the laws of the Danes, the penalty is one hundred shillings; twenty shillings on the hue and cry for his head, and seven pounds to the king. And if he shall be able within a year and a day to find the thief and bring him to justice, there shall be restored to him the twenty shillings which shall have been so taken, and justice shall be done on the thief.

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[71] See the Translation of Hoveden's Annals, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library, vol i. p. 551.

[72] The "ora" was a Danish silver coin, probably about ten shillings in value.

[73] "De dixieme main" seems a better reading than "dudzieme"—as the institution of "frithborg," or "tenemental," or "oath of ten men," seems to be here referred to. See the Translation of Hoveden's Annals, vol. i. p. 550.

[74] Probably in the sense of "make good."

[75] "La besche."

### 5. *Of the apprehension of a thief.*

"He who shall apprehend a thief without pursuit, and without outcry raised on the part of the person to whom the robber has done the injury, and shall keep him without delivering him up, shall pay ten shillings for Hengwite,[76] and justice shall be done on the prisoner at first view of frank-pledge; and if he shall pass over that sitting without leave of court, then the penalty shall be forty shillings.

### 6. *Of the redemption of animals.*

"In the case of him who shall redeem horses, or oxen, or cows, or pigs, or sheep, which the English call by the name of 'forfengen,' he who shall claim the same shall give to the reeve for a sheep one penny, for a pig fourpence, and for an ox or a horse fourpence, and he shall not give more than eightpence, whatever be the number of the beasts. He shall also give security, and shall find sureties, that if any person shall come to make proof, and demand the beast within a year and a day, he will produce in court that which he has so received.

### 7. *Of things that are found by chance.*

"As to beasts going astray, and other things that are found: Let the property so found be shown to three-fourths of the vicinage,[77] that the same may bear testimony to the finding thereof. If any person shall come to make proof, and to claim the thing as his own, let him give security and find pledges that he will, in case any person shall claim the beast, within a year and a day, produce in court what he has so found

### 8. *Of homicide, and of the price of the head and the Were.*[78]

"If any person shall kill another, or be privy thereto, and shall be bound to make amends for the same, he shall pay his Were, as well as Man-bote to the lord; for a free man ten shillings, and for a serf twenty shillings. The Were of a thane is twenty pounds in places subject to the laws of the Mercians, and twenty-five pounds in those under the laws of the West Saxons. The Were of a villein is one hundred shillings in places subject to the laws of the Mercians, as also to those of the West Saxons.

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[76] A fine for letting a thief escape. The Latin and Romance texts here vary considerably.

[77] Probably the same as "vill," in this instance. See the Translation of Hoveden's Annals, vol. i. pp 552, 553.

[78] The "Were," or "wergeld," was paid by a murderer, partly to the king for his loss of a subject, partly to the lord whose vassal he was, and partly to the next of kin, for the person slain. "Manbote" was a payment to the lord for the loss of his vassal.

### 9. *To whom the Were is to be paid.*

"Of the Were to be paid for the shedding of blood, there shall be first paid to the widow ten shillings: and the orphans and relatives shall divide the surplus among themselves.

### 10. *The valuation of certain animals in the payment of the Were.*

"In the payment of Were, each person shall be at liberty to pay a horse, not a gelding, as being twenty shillings, a bull as being ten shillings, and a boar-pig as being five shillings.

### 11. *Of one who inflicts a wound upon another.*

"If one man shall wound another, and shall be in duty bound to make amends for the same, in the first place he shall pay him all his expenses incurred;[79] and then the wounded person shall swear upon the relics of the Saints that he was not able to be cured for a less sum than that demanded, and that it was not for hatred that he incurred more than a moderate expense.

### 12. *Of Sarbote, or payment for pain of wounds inflicted*

"If a wound is inflicted on the face uncovered, then the penalty is to be, for every inch seen,[80] eight pence; but if the party shall have the head or other part covered, then the penalty shall be, for every inch, fourpence; and for as many bones as they shall extract from the wound, the penalty for each bone shall be fourpence. For the purpose of reconciliation, the person offending shall do due honor to the other, and shall swear that, if the other had done to him what he himself has done, he would have accepted from him what he himself now offers, had the other intended to make such offer, and if his friends had advised him so to do.

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[79] Called the "lich-fee," or surgeon's fee.

[80] The text given by Sir F. Palgrave appears here to be somewhat defective; but, from the words employed, it would seem that the "Sarbote" was measured by the superficies of the injured limb or part of the body.

### 13. *The valuation of the Limbs.*

"If it shall happen that any person shall cut off the hand or foot of another, he shall pay him half of the Were according to his station in life. But for the thumb, he shall pay the moiety of the penalty for the hand; for the finger next to the thumb, fifteen shillings English, of such as are styled shillings of fourpence;[61] for the middle finger, sixteen shillings; for the next or ring finger, seventeen shillings; and for the little finger five shillings. If any one shall cut off the nail of the thumb, he shall pay five shillings English money, and for the nail of the little finger fourpence.

### 14. *Of Adultery.*

"He who shall defile the wife of another, shall forfeit his Were unto the lord.

### 15. *Of corrupt Judges.*

"He who shall give a false judgment, shall lose his Were, unless he can prove, upon the relics of the Saints, that it was not in his power to give a better judgment.

### 16. *Of the clearing of him who is accused of Theft.*

"If one person shall accuse another of larceny, and he is a free man, and can give true testimony as to his having hitherto acted lawfully, he shall fully clear himself by his own oath. But if a person has been previously accused thereof, then he shall clear himself by the oath of persons named; that is to say, upon the oaths of fourteen lawful men named, if he can find them; and if he cannot find them, then he may clear himself by the oaths of twelve. But if he cannot find them, then he must defend himself by the judgment.[62] The accuser shall make oath by mouth of seven men by name, that he has not made the accusation for malice, or for any other reason than the prosecution of his rights.

### 17. *Of him who breaks into a church or a house.*

"If any person shall be accused of breaking into a monastery or into a chamber, and shall not have been previously accused of such a crime, he shall clear himself upon the oaths of fourteen lawful men named, himself being the twelfth;[83] and if he has been previously accused thereof, he shall clear himself by three times that number, himself being the thirty-sixth. And if he cannot find them, then he must have recourse to the threefold[84] judgment; in the case where the oaths of a triple number should have been taken. If he has previously been guilty of larceny, then he must be tried by judgment of water.

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[61] In Du Cange's Glossary it is suggested that the word "quer" here means forty.

[62] Of ordeal.

### 18. *Of Fines.*

"In places subject to the laws of the Mercians, an archbishop is to have out of all fines forty shillings, a bishop twenty shillings, an earl twenty shillings, a baron ten shillings, and a villein forty pence.

### 19. *Of Saint Peter's Pence.*

"A free man, who has possession of lands to the value of thirty pence, shall give one penny to Saint Peter. The lord, for the one penny which he shall give, shall render his bordars, herdsmen, and servants, free from payment. A burgher, if he has chattels of his own to the value of half a mark, shall give one penny to Saint Peter. In places subject to the Danish laws, a free man who shall have cattle in the fields, to the value of half a mark, shall give one penny to Saint Peter; and by the penny of the lord, all shall be acquitted who live in his demesne. He who withholds the penny of Saint Peter, shall be compelled by ecclesiastical censure to pay the same, and thirty pence as well by way of fine. If pleas thereon shall come before the king's justices, the king shall have forty shillings for a fine, and the bishop thirty pence.

### 20. *Of those who use violence against Women.*

"If a man shall ravish a woman by force, he shall be punished by loss of limb. If a man shall throw a woman upon the ground for the purpose of committing violence, he shall pay to the lord ten shillings.

### 21. *Of putting out an eye.*

"If any person shall, in any way whatever, put out the eye of another person, he shall pay to him a penalty of seventy shillings, English; but if the sight shall be restored, then he shall pay half that sum.

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[83] These numbers are very doubtful.

[84] Probably meaning triple ordeal, which was the most severe ordeal, by red-hot iron or boiling water.

### 22. *Of Reliefs.*

"The relief of an earl to the king consists of eight horses, of which four shall be saddled and bridled; and with them, four coats of mail, four helmets, four lances, four bucklers, and four swords; the other four horses are to be palfreys and post-horses, with bridles and head-stalls. The relief of a baron is four horses, two of which shall be saddled and bridled; and with them two coats of mail, two bucklers, two helmets, two lances, and two swords. Of the other two horses, one shall be a palfrey, the other a post-horse, with bridles and head-stalls. The relief of a vavassour[55] to his liege lord, is a horse, such as was in possession of his father at the day of his death, a coat of mail, a helmet, a buckler, a lance, and a sword. If perchance he shall not possess the same, and shall be unable to pay the same by reason of having neither horse nor arms, then he shall be exempted on payment of one hundred shillings. The relief of a villein is the best beast of burden that he has, whether a horse, an ox, or a cow; the same shall belong to his lord. In the case of him who holds land at a yearly rent, his relief shall be the amount of one year's rent.

### 23. *Of producing Warranty.*

"If any person shall lay claim to any live cattle as having been stolen from him, and shall give security and find sureties that he will prosecute his claim, then the person who has the property in his possession must produce his warranty. If he cannot do this, then he must produce his Heuvelborh[56] and his witnesses. If he can produce neither warranty nor Heuvelborh, but has witnesses[57] that he bought it in the king's market, though neither warranty nor pledge whether it was alive or dead, then he shall lose the chattel so claimed; and by the simple oath of his witnesses and of himself, he shall clear himself. But if he shall find neither warranty, pledge, nor witnesses, then besides the matter claimed he shall pay his Were to his lord. This is the universal law in all places, whether subject to the laws of the Mercians, the Danes, or the West Saxons. No one shall be compelled to produce his warranty before the claimant shall have produced his pledge, on the oaths of six men. In places under the Danish law, the property shall be placed in the hand of a third party, until the matter shall be decided. If the party can prove by three-fourths of his vicinage that the animal has been reared by himself, it shall be adjudged to him. From and after the time that, on this oath, the property has been adjudged to him, it cannot be withdrawn by him on trial in England.

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[55] The next rank in dignity below a peer.

[56] The Heuvelborh was the "fide-jussor," or the guarantee, who was bound to restore the property sold, if the purchaser should be lawfully evicted.—*Palgrave.*

[57] The text, even in Sir F. Palgrave's amended version, seems to be in a most corrupt state here.

### 24. *Of Murder.*

"If any person shall kill a Frank by birth, and the men of the hundred shall not take the murderer within a week, and bring him to justice to show why he did so, they shall pay for the murder forty-seven marks.

### 25. *If a person lays claim to land against his lord.*

"If any person shall wish to disprove any covenant as to the holding of any land against his lord, he shall be bound to disprove the same by his peers who hold by the same tenure, as by strangers he cannot possibly do so.

### 26 *If a person denies that he has said in court that which is imputed to him.*

"In every court, except in the king's presence, if it is imputed to any one that on trial he has said such and such a thing, and he denies that he has said so, if he cannot, by two intelligent men, who either heard or saw the same, disprove that he so said, he shall be bound by his words.

### 27. *Of the three*[58] *royal roads.*

"On the three royal roads, that is to say, Watelingstrete, Ermingstrete, Fosse, and [Ikeneldstrete], whoever shall slay a man passing through the country, or shall commit an assault on him, the same is a breaker of the king's peace.

### 28. *If the thing stolen is found with the thief.*

"On the land of whomsoever the thief is found with the thing stolen, the lord of the land, and the wife of the thief, shall have a moiety of the goods of the thief, and the claimant shall have his property stolen, if he shall find it, besides the other moiety of the goods; unless the thief be found on the lands of a person who has right of *Sach* and *Soch*, in which case the wife shall lose her share, and the lord shall have the same.

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[58] The text in the Romance has "three," in the Latin, "four," Ikeneldstrete being omitted in the former.

### 29. *Of the keepers of the roads.*

"For every hide[59] in the hundred, four men shall be provided for street ward, from the feast of Saint Michael to the feast of Saint Martin. And the Guarderere, that is, the head of the keepers, shall have thirty hides as compensation for his labour. If beasts shall trespass upon the places committed to their care, and they cannot show that they were driven thither by force or by shouts, they shall deliver up the same.

### 30. *Of cultivators of the land.*

"Cultivators and tillers of the land must not be harassed beyond what is due and lawful; and lords are not to be allowed to remove the husbandmen from off the lands so long as they are able to render their due services.

### 31. *Of Serfs.*

"Serfs must not depart from their lands, nor seek excuses by which to deprive their lords of their due services. If any one shall so depart, no person shall receive him, or his chattels; nor shall he withhold him, but he shall make him return to his lord to whom his services are due.

### 32. *Of cultivating the land.*

"If the lords of the land shall not find fit and proper cultivators for their lands, then the justices shall do so.

### 33 *That no one shall withdraw his just services from his Lord.*

"No one shall withdraw his due services from his lord, on the ground of any remission which has been previously made gratuitously by the lord.

### 34. *That a pregnant woman shall not undergo punishment of death.*

"If a woman shall be adjudged to die or to suffer mutilation of her limbs, and shall prove pregnant, execution of the sentence shall be deferred till she has been delivered.

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[59] The old text, in Gale's edition, "has one man for every ten hides," which seems a preferable reading.

### 35. *Of those who die intestate.*

"If any man shall happen to die without making a will, in such case his children shall divide their paternal inheritance between them.

### 36. *If a father finds his daughter in the act of adultery, or a son his father's wife.*

"If a father finds his married daughter in his own house, or in that of his son-in-law, in the act of adultery, he is at liberty to slay the adulterer. In like manner, if a son finds his mother in the act of adultery, during the life of his father, he is at liberty to slay the adulterer.

### 37. *Of Poisoning.*

"If a man shall poison another, he shall either be put to death, or sent into perpetual banishment.

### 38. *Of throwing goods overboard through fear of death.*

"If any person in peril of the sea, shall, through fear of death, throw the property of another into the sea for the purpose of lightening the ship, he shall clear himself by oath that he did the same for no other reason than fear of death. The property that remains in the ship shall be divided among all, according to the chattels of each. If any person shall act otherwise, then he shall make good the property lost.

### 39. *No one shall suffer prejudice through the fault of another.*

"If two or more shall be parceners of a property, and one of them shall, without the other or others, be impleaded, and shall by his folly or for any other reason lose the same, then the parceners shall not be damaged thereby; because a matter that has been decided among other persons, ought not to prejudice others, especially if they were not present.

### 40. *Of Judgments and Judges.*

"Judges are to use the utmost care and diligence that they so judge their neighbour, as they wish themselves to be judged by God, when they say, 'Forgive us our debts even as we forgive the same to our debtors' He who shall give false judgment, or shall encourage injustice through hatred, love, or money, shall pay a penalty of forty shillings to the king, unless he can excuse himself on the ground that he knew not how to give a better judgment; and he shall lose his liberty as well, unless he shall redeem the same from the king. In places under the Danish law he shall pay his Lagslite.[90]

### 41. *That no one shall be condemned to death for a trifling offence.*

"We do forbid that a person shall be condemned to death for a trifling offence. But, for the correction of the multitude, extreme punishment shall be inflicted according to the nature and extent of the offence. For that ought not for a trifling matter to be destroyed which God has made after His own image, and has redeemed with the price of His own blood.

### 42. *Christians are not to be sold out of the country or to Pagans.*

"We do also forbid that any one shall sell a Christian into a foreign country, and especially among the infidels. For the greatest care ought to be taken that souls are not sold into damnation, for which Christ gave His life.

### 43 *Of those who refuse to take their trial.*

"He who refuses to submit to just laws and a just trial, shall pay a penalty to him to whom the same shall rightfully belong. If it is against the king, he shall pay six pounds; if against an earl, forty shillings; if it is in a hundred or in the court of any one who by virtue of his privilege holds the same, then thirty shillings English. In places under the Danish law, he who shall refuse to abide a just trial, shall pay the penalty of his Lagslite.

### 44. *That no one shall lay a complaint before the king, unless there is a default in the hundred or county.*

"No one shall lay a complaint before the king, unless there has been a miscarriage of justice in the court of the hundred or the county

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[90] Lagslite was a punishment inflicted for breaking the law.

### 45. *That no one shall rashly make distraint.*

"No one shall take a distress in a county or out of it unless he shall have three times demanded satisfaction in the court of the hundred or county. If on making the third demand he shall receive no answer, he may have recourse to the court of the county, which shall name for him a fourth day. If even then, satisfaction shall not be made to him, he shall receive licence to levy a distress[91] for himself, far and near.

### 46. *That no one shall buy anything without witnesses.*

"No one shall buy anything, whether alive or dead, to the value of fourpence, without four witnesses, either from a borough or a vill in the country. If claim shall afterwards be made by any person, and he shall have neither witnesses nor warranty, then he shall restore the property, and pay a penalty to the person to whom by right it belongs. If he has witnesses, they are to view the property three times, and on the fourth occasion, he is either to disprove the claim, or to lose the property.

### 47. *Of proof against witnesses.*

"It seems absurd and contrary to law that proof should be made against witnesses, who know the property claimed; and proof[92] shall not be admitted before a stated time, the sixth month from the time since the thing claimed has been stolen.

### 48. *Of a person charged, who does not appear when summoned.*

"If any person of bad character, and charged with breaking the laws, shall not make his appearance after being three times summoned, on the fourth day the summoners shall shew his three defaults, and he shall once more have a summons to find sureties, and obey justice. If, even then he shall not appear, he shall be judged, whether living or dead, and there shall be taken whatever he has, and after the chattels are restored to the claimants, the lord and the hundred shall equally divide the residue between themselves. And if any one of his friends shall offer to use force against the execution of this enactment, he shall pay a penalty of six pounds to the king. The thief shall also be caught, and no one shall have power to

[91] " Nam " or ' naum "

[92] The text seems corrupt here.

harbour him, or to guarantee to him his life; nor shall he any longer be enabled to recover anything by trial in court.

### 49. *That no one shall entertain a stranger for more than three nights.*

"No one shall entertain a stranger for more than three nights, unless a person who is his friend shall have given him a recommendation; and no one shall permit a person, after he is accused, to leave his home.

### 50. *That no one shall allow a thief to escape.*

"If a person meets a thief, and, without outcry raised, lets him escape, he shall pay a penalty according to the value set on the thief, unless he shall prove on oath that he did not know him to be a thief.

### 51. *Of those who do not pursue on hue and cry raised.*

"He who, on hearing hue and cry raised, shall neglect to pursue, shall, for his neglect, pay a fine to the king, unless he can clear himself by oath.

### 52. *Of one accused in the court of the hundred.*

"If a person shall be accused in the hundred court, and charged by four men, he shall clear himself on the oaths of twelve men.

### 53. *That the lord shall hold his servants in Frank-pledge.*

"All lords who have servants are to be their sureties, that if they are accused, they will produce them for trial in the hundred court; and if any person after being accused shall take to flight, the lord shall pay his Were, and if it shall be charged that through him he made his escape, he shall either clear himself on the oaths of six men or pay a penalty to the king; and the person who has so taken to flight shall be outlawed."

I also brought with me on the same occasion from London, a copy of the decision of the whole controversy between the churches of Canterbury and York, which had long existed, as to the right of the chief primacy, and which matter had been discussed at very great length a few years before my arrival in England in presence of the king's council, and had been at last finally determined; it had also been set at rest by the irrefragable sentence of the Apostolic authority, to the following effect:—

"In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1072, in the pontificate of our lord the pope, Alexander XI., and in the sixth year of the reign of William, the glorious king of the English, by the precept of the said pope Alexander, and with the sanction of the said king, in presence of himself and of the bishops and abbats, the dispute was enquired into relative to the primacy which Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, in right of his church, asserted over the church of York, and relative to the ordinations of certain of the bishops, as to whom it was a matter of great uncertainty to whom in especial they belonged. At length, upon the authority of divers holy writings, it was proved and shewn that the church of York ought to be in subjection to that of Canterbury, and to pay obedience to its archbishops as primates of the whole of Britain, in all enactments which pertain to the Christian religion. But the subjection of the church of Durham, that is to say, the church of Lindisfarne, and of all the districts which extend from the bishopric of Lichfield and the great river Humber as far as the extreme boundaries of Scotland, and whatever on the side of the said river belongs to the diocese of the church of York, the metropolitan of Canterbury has conceded unto the archbishop of York and his successors; on the understanding that, if the archbishop of Canterbury shall wish to convene a synod, whenever he shall think fit so to do, the archbishop of York shall, at his pleasure, be present thereat together with all subject to him, and shall shew himself obedient to his canonical dispositions And, further, that the archbishop of York ought to bind himself by oath as well thus to do to the archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, has proved from the ancient custom of his predecessors; but in his love for the king, has excused Thomas, archbishop of York, from taking the said oath, and has only received his written profession, without prejudice to his successors, who shall think fit to demand the oath, with the profession from the successors of Thomas.

"If the archbishop of Canterbury shall depart this life, the archbishop of York shall come to Canterbury, and shall, together with the other bishops of the before-named church, consecrate him who shall be elected, as being lawfully his own primate. And if the archbishop of York shall happen to die, he who shall be chosen to succeed him shall, on receiving from the king the gift of the archbishopric, come to Canterbury, or wherever it shall please the archbishop of Canterbury, and shall, in due canonical manner, receive ordination from him. To this constitution have agreed, the king before-named, and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas, archbishop of York, Hubert, sub-deacon of the Holy Church of Rome and legate of the before-named pope Alexander, as also the other bishops and abbats who have been present. This cause was first heard at the city of Winchester, on the festival of Easter, in the royal chapel, which is situate in the castle there; and afterwards in the royal vill, which is called Widlesore,[1] where it was brought to an end, in presence of the king, bishops, and abbats of divers ranks, who were assembled at court during the feast of Pentecost. The seal of king William. + The seal of queen Matilda. + I, Hubert, lector[2] of the Holy Roman Church and legate of the lord Alexander the pope, have subscribed hereto. + I, Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, have subscribed hereto. + I, Thomas, archbishop of York, have subscribed hereto. + I, William, bishop of London, have consented hereto. + I, Hermann, bishop of Sherburn, have set my mark hereto. + I, Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, have subscribed hereto. + I Walter, bishop of Hereford, have consented hereto. + I, Giso, bishop of Wells, have consented hereto. + I, Remigius, bishop of Dorchester, have consented hereto. + I, Walkelin, bishop of Winchester, have consented hereto. + I, Herefast, bishop of Helmham, have subscribed hereto. + I, Stigand, bishop of Chichester, have consented hereto. + I, Siward, bishop of Rochester, have consented hereto. + I, Osbert, bishop of Exeter, have consented hereto + I, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and earl of Kent, have consented hereto. + I, Goisfrid, bishop of Coutances, and one of the elder bishops of the English, have consented hereto. + I, Scotland, abbat of the convent of Saint Augustin, have consented hereto. + I, Edwin, abbat of the convent called Ramsey, have consented hereto. + I, Elnoth, abbat of Glastonbury, have consented hereto. + I, Turstan, abbat of the convent in the isle called Ely, have consented hereto. + I, Wulnoth, abbat of the convent called Cheretesey, have consented hereto. + I, Elwin, abbat of the convent of Evesham, have consented hereto. + I, Frederic, abbat of Saint Alban's, have consented hereto. + I, Goiffrid, abbat of Saint Peter's, which is situate not far from London, have consented hereto. + I, Baldwin, abbat of the convent of Saint Edmund's, have consented hereto. + I, Turold, abbat of Burgh, have consented hereto. + I, Adelm, abbat of Abingdon, have consented hereto. + I, Ruald, abbat of the new monastery at Winchester, have consented hereto. +"

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[1] Windsor.

[2] Apparently the same rank as subdeacon, by which name he is previously called.

At the same council, it was also enacted and decreed, in accordance with the words of the canons, that bishops should leave the vills, and transfer their sees to cities in their dioceses. Upon this, the bishopric of Dorchester was changed into that of Lincoln, Lichfield into that of Chester, Selsey into that of Chichester, Sherburn into that of Salisbury, and Helmham into that of Thetford. The bishopric of Lindisfarne had long previously been changed into that of Durham.

Accordingly, on coming from London to my monastery, well harnessed with books and laws and the new confirmation by my lord the king of the charter of our re-founder, together with all our other deeds and muniments, which had been accepted by the whole of the royal council, and most graciously approved by the aforesaid royal confirmation, I caused exceeding joy to all the sons and friends of our monastery. A very few days after I had arrived there, the winter came on with more severity than usual; on which, all the waters around us were frozen with hard ice, and the entire passage for vessels was for some days cut off; but still, the ice was not so strong or so thick as to suffice for the support of vehicles or waggons for the carriage of any necessaries to the monastery, though it was so hard and thick that all navigation was entirely put an end to. Accordingly, our cellarer bringing us word that bread was falling short in our pantry, and that there was no corn in the granary, as God is my witness, I was rendered sad and sorrowful beyond measure for the famine which was impending over the brethren.

Finding that we were thus placed in these straits, and that the inclemency of the weather, which was daily increasing, would not allow victuals to be brought from our estates at a distance to the monastery, ever putting my trust in the Lord and in our most pious patron, the most holy father Guthlac, I gave myself up to prayer before the most holy tomb of so precious a confessor of Christ, and most devoutly prayed the whole night for his intercession for us with God; to the end that he would not allow his servants to perish with hunger, and that, having proved a most holy helper to many strangers who had come and asked his aid, he would not shut the ordinary bowels of his compassion to his sons, but would, with his accustomed beneficence, afford some signal relief against the impending peril of hunger, and with the usual condescension of his favourable disposition, mercifully provide us some protection.

These requests, with renewed sobs and tearful laments, I repeated over and over again in the ears of the most pious father, and passed a whole night in watching at that most precious tomb. When morning dawned, and we had in common performed the first service of the day in the choir in honor of God, and the community was anxiously intent upon its devotions before the various altars for the purpose, amid such straits, of obtaining the mercy of God, behold! on a sudden, from the northern side of the monastery, a voice resounded in my ears, as though that of an angel, who thundered forth words to this effect: "Receive victuals for the brethren, and prepare bread that they may eat." On hearing this voice, we wondered much, and went forth into the cemetery to see who it was, and why he had given utterance to such language. On opening the door, however, we were able to see no one, but found four sacks of the largest size, two of which were filled with corn, and the other two with the finest flour; upon which we returned most duteous thanks to God, and our most holy father Guthlac, who had not deserted those who put their trust in Him, but had wrought His mercy in the day of tribulation and of our straits, to the praise of His most holy confessor. Neither, from that day forward, was food wanting for the brethren, but, eating each day, and always abounding, we thought that the miracle related in the Gospel about the five loaves was being repeated over again; until at last, after a considerable time, the ice thawing, we received a new supply of food from our manors. Thus did we verify the words of Saint Ambrose: "As they ate, beneath their teeth did the food increase in their mouths, and the more it was consumed, the more the food was multiplied. Amid their hands, as they break it, does the bread flow forth; to their surprise the men find, untouched, fragments which they have not broken off." As this miracle happened to take place on the fifth day of the week, we all determined, always in future, solemnly to perform in the choir the holy office of our most holy patron, Guthlac, whenever we should happen to have the leisure on the fifth day of the week so to do.

In the following summer, the people of Hoyland at Multon, Weston, and Spalding, in imitation of those at Depyng, by a common enactment agreed to among them, divided among themselves, man by man, their marshes, which were situate above our river Asendyk, on which, some put their portions in tillage, others preserved theirs for hay, while some, again, allowed theirs, as before, to lie for pasture for their own cattle apart from the others, and found the earth to be rich and fruitful. Stimulated by this their example, I, Ingulph, the abbat of Croyland, and L— of Hacbeth, and some others at Cappelade, in like manner divided between ourselves our portion at Cappelade, which ran down to the same river; and, on tilling it, we found the soil equally fertile and fruitful.

Thus far had I run on my course of prosperity rejoicing; now do toil and grief emit their funereal notes. The origin of our evils, and the chief cause of our woes, was Ivo Taillebois, who was ever a most determined enemy of ours. After my lord the king had given him to wife Lucia, the daughter of the late most valiant earl Algar, upon the decease of her two brethren, Edwin and Morcar, together with all their lands, in the year of our Lord, 1072, he was elated beyond measure, against God and his Saints, and our monastery of Croyland; and so greatly did he harass the monks of our cell at Spalding, who daily dwelt at his gates, that they left their cell, as I have previously mentioned, in the hand of God, and, with all their goods, returned to their monastery of Croyland, it being the year of our Lord, 1074.

Moreover, after Waldev, the holy Martyr of God, had been most cruelly beheaded, on his body being carried by Wulketul, the lord abbat, to Croyland, to receive there the affectionate duties of sepulture, the said venerable father was most impiously deposed, and sent into distant exile. This was in the year 1075. He survived his deposition for the space of ten years, as I have already mentioned, and was at last carried off by a sudden attack of paralysis, while many of our archives and some of our jewels were still remaining unrestored; in consequence of which, being baulked of my desires, I was greatly deceived in my hopes.

In the same year, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1085, my most illustrious lady, queen Matilda, who had always used her good offices for me with my lord the king, had often relieved me by her alms-deeds, and had very frequently aided me in all matters of business and cases of necessity, departed this life. In the second year after her death, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1087, my lord, the renowned king William, having levied a most valiant army, led an expedition against France, and wasted nearly the whole of Maine with fire and sword; but having brought on a disease through the extreme toil and anxiety attendant upon this expedition, on finding, from his physicians, that his death was impending, he gave Normandy to Robert, his eldest son, England to William, his second son, and all his mother's territories, and a great part of his treasures and other jewels, to his youngest son, Henry. At last, after being provided with the heavenly viaticum, he departed this life, and was regally buried by his sons in the monastery of Saint Stephen, at Caen, which he had erected from the foundations; it being the twenty-second year of his reign, the fifty-second of his dukedom, and nearly the sixtieth of his age.

He was succeeded on the throne of England by his son William, who was solemnly crowned at London by archbishop Lanfranc. On hearing from Normandy the rumours of the king's death, we were all smitten with sudden dread: I, in especial, could mourn, with tears and lamentations irremediable, the having lost a most beloved master, one who from my infancy had proved a most excellent patron, and in all my necessities an unwearied protector against all my adversaries But may Abraham receive his soul into his bosom, and may he place him before God in the repose of the blessed!

Trusting in his familiar acquaintanceship with the new king, and perceiving that my lord the king, my old protector, was now dead, Ivo Taillebois, my most inveterate foe, vomited forth all his malice against our house, and rapaciously seized into his own hands all our lands that lay in his demesne, that is to say, in Cappelade, Spalding, Pyncebek, and Algar; both the lands which we held of the gift of Algar the Elder, together with the churches and chapels thereon, our priests and servants being expelled by him, and his own clerks violently intruded therein. He also seized the lands which the sheriff Thorold had recently bestowed on us, and those which his kinsman, earl Algar, had lately given to us; while, at the same time, he drove away all our servants, and placed his own there, and having, by the exercise of his power, expelled our priest Jocelyn therefrom, intruded his clerk, Fulcard, into our church of Cappelade.

After I had frequently sent to him the lord Richard de Rulos and others, who were friends and well-wishers to the monastery, to act as mediators for the purpose of obtaining peace, while he in the meantime grew more and more obstinate in his course of wickedness; on seeing that this son of eternal perdition, in the depths of his wickedness, contemned the words of life, after having communicated my design to those who were faithful to us and had proved our friends, I took with me our title deeds relative to the lands before-mentioned, and again repaired to London; then passing on to Canterbury, I consulted my old friend, the lord archbishop, about my affairs, and, repeatedly throwing myself at his feet, suppliantly implored his intercession with the new king, his pupil, for the protection of my monastery. He greatly compassionated my calamitous condition, and mercifully granted me his intercession, while, at the same time, he appointed a day within the fifteen days following, on which to come to London; and he advised me to come prepared, and bringing with me the best charter I had relative to the aforesaid lands, not to shew the rest of the muniments; for, as he reminded me, "of making many books there is no end."[2]

Accordingly, on the day named, I made my appearance as commanded, and showed to the before-named venerable father, the lord archbishop, in his chapel, the charter of earl Algar, relative to the said lands, written in Saxon characters; upon which, summoning a meeting of his clergy, he examined the said charter, and, having instructed himself on every head, and well grounded himself therein, he proceeded to the king with the said charter, and, blessed be the Most High, gained his favour in all respects in full accordance with my utmost wishes. For I received a letter from my lord the king, addressed to the sheriff of Lincoln, commanding him to make inquisition of the lands contained in the said charter, and if he could find by the said inquisition that they had from ancient times belonged to our monastery, and that, in the time of his father, we had been peaceably seised thereof, he was to restore them to us in full; which was accordingly done.

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[2] Eccles. xii. 12.

Fulcard, however, before-mentioned, who had been iniquitously intruded into our church at Cappelade by the said Ivo, on coming to a fuller understanding of the favourable disposition of the archbishop of Canterbury towards us, distrusted his own right, and, in search of subterfuges, appealed to the Apostolic See. The charter of earl Algar, which was then commended by the archbishop, and approved of by the sheriff and the faithful Christians, our neighbours, and the king's justices in the county, was to the following effect:—

"To all Christians throughout the whole of Mercia residing, the earl Algar, greeting. I would have you all to understand, that I have given to my spiritual father, Siward, abbat of Croyland, and all abbats there to succeed him, and to their monks, in Holebech and in Cappelade, four carucates of [arable] land, and six bovates; and twelve acres of meadow land, together with the parish church of Cappelade, and the presentation of the priest thereof; also together with the chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the same vill, and together with a mere of two thousand acres on the sea-shore, and a marsh of [three] thousand acres near its river of Schepishee; in Spaldelyng two carucates of land, in Pyncebek half a carucate of land, in Algare eleven bovates, in Donedyk two carucates and twenty acres of meadow land, in Drayton one carucate and six acres of meadow land and four salt-pits, and one carucate in Burtoft, together with the church of Sutterton and its chapel of Salteney. These my offerings I have given as a perpetual alms-gift unto the before-named abbat Siward and his monks, for the support of his monastery, seeing that, as I have often been informed, his island is not fruitful in corn of any kind: and I have firmly established the same by this my deed at Leicester, in presence of my lord, the king Kenulph, in the year from the Incarnation of Christ, 810. + I, Kenulph, king of the Mercians, have granted the same. + I, Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, have counselled the same. + I, Wonwona, bishop of Leicester, have praised the same. + I, Ceolwulph, brother of king Kenulph, have approved of the same. + I, Algar, son of Algar, have been gratified hereat. +"

This first charter of the before-named earl Algar, relative to the lands before-mentioned, I have inserted in this history, to the end that our successors may know what are their arms against the wickedness of our adversary, so powerful as he is, if he should chance at any time, at the instigation of the devil, again to lift up his horns as he has often done before, for the purpose of seizing our possessions.

An interval of two years speedily elapsing, the venerable father, one who had ever proved a most kind patron to me, my lord Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury, departed this life. He was the only friend who, after the king's death, had been left to me; and indeed, he had shewn himself in all my necessities an indefatigable friend, and an unwearied supporter in my tribulations. On the occasion of his death, one of our monks wrote a most graceful epitaph, which begins as follows:—

"Anglia, lament, and you, Italia, mourn:
Let Francia grieve, and Alemannia weep.
Scotia, and you, Hibernia too, lament,
And all ye lands, that this your flower is dead.
Lament, oh spouse of Christ! that he is gone,
And may thy grief for Lanfranc never cease.
Oh! ye who pass, but for a moment stay,
And Lanfranc, Apostolic man, bewail,
With tears and lamentations for our loss."

Again, after an interval of two years had elapsed from his death, a most dreadful misfortune befell me, one that had been shewn to me beforehand by numerous portents; the utter destruction I mean of our monastery, so famous as it was, which had been often most distinctly foretold to me by visions and other appearances, through a most dreadful conflagration, which most cruelly ravaged so many dwellings of the servants of God. For, our plumber being engaged in the tower of the church, repairing the roof, he neglected to put out his fire in the evening; but, by a kind of fatality, attended with extreme fatuity on his part, covered it over with dead ashes that he might get more early to work in the morning, and then came down to his supper. After supper was over, all our servants had betaken themselves to bed, when after the deepest sleep had taken possession of them all, a most violent north wind arose, and so hastened on this greatest of misfortunes that could possibly befall us. For, as it entered the tower in every direction through the open gratings, and blew upon the dead ashes, it caused the fire, thus fanned into life, to communicate with the adjoining timbers, where, speedily finding material of a dry and parched nature on which to feed, the fire waxed stronger and stronger, and soon began to catch the more substantial parts The people in the vill for a long time perceived a great glare of light in the belfry, and supposed that it was either the clerks of the church or else the plumber busily engaged at some work there; but at last, on seeing the flames bursting forth, with loud outcries they knocked at the gates of the monastery. This was about the dead of night, when all of us, resting in our beds, were in our first and soundest sleep.

At last, I was aroused from my slumbers by the loud shouts of the people, and, hastening to the nearest window, I most distinctly perceived, just as though it had been midday, all the servants of the monastery running from every quarter, shouting and hallooing, towards the church. Still in my night-clothes, I awoke my companions, and descended in all haste to the cloisters, which were lighted up on all sides just as though there had been a thousand lamps burning On running to the door of the church and trying to effect an entrance, I was prevented from so doing by the melted brass of the bells which was pouring down, and the heated lead which in like manner was falling in drops Upon this, I retreated and looked in [at the windows], and on finding the flames everywhere prevailing, turned my steps towards the Dormitory. The lead still pouring down from the church upon the cloisters, and soon making its way through, I was severely burnt on the shoulder blade, and should have had a narrow escape of being burnt alive, had I not instantly leaped over into the enclosure of the cloisters. Here I perceived that the fire, as it vomited forth sheets of flame, was issuing in volumes from the tower of the church, and had already communicated with the nave, while it was repeatedly shooting forth embers and flakes in the direction of the Dormitory of the brethren; upon which, I shouted aloud to them as if they had been immersed in a mortal lethargy, and it was only with the greatest difficulty, though I cried out at the very top of my voice, that I was able at last to awake them.

On recognizing my voice, full of alarm, they sprang up from their beds, and half naked and clad only in their night clothes, the instant they heard the fire in the cloisters, rushed forth through all the windows of the Dormitory, and fell to the ground with dreadful force; many were wounded and severely shaken by the severity of the fall, and, shocking to relate, some had their limbs broken. The flames, however, in the meanwhile, growing stronger and stronger, and continually sending forth flakes from the Church in the direction of the Refectory, first communicated with the Chapter-house, then they caught the Dormitory, and after that the Refectory, and at the same instant, the Ambulatory, which was near the Infirmary. After this, with a sudden outburst they extended their ravages to the whole of the Infirmary, with all the adjoining offices. All the brethren flying for refuge to the spot where I stood in the court, on seeing most of them half naked, I attempted to regain my chamber, in order to distribute the clothes which I had there, among such as I saw stand in the greatest need thereof; but so great was the heat that had taken possession of all the approaches to the hall, and so vast were the torrents of molten lead that were pouring down in every direction, that it rendered it impossible for even the boldest among the young men to effect an entrance.

Being still in ignorance that our Infirmary had caught on the other side, I took a circuit through the northern part of the cemetery towards the east end of the Church, upon which I perceived our Infirmary enveloped in flames, which proved so invincible as to rage with the greatest fury even upon the green trees, such as ashes, oaks, and willows, that were growing in the neighbourhood I, accordingly, returned to the west side, and there I found my chamber, just like a furnace, vomiting forth torrents of flame on every side through all the windows; and proceeding onwards, I saw, with eyes that had good reason to shed tears, all the other buildings adjoining, towards the south, the Halls, namely, of the lay brethren and of the guests, and all the others that had been covered with lead, falling a prey to the flames.

At this moment, the tower of the Church falling on its south side, I was so stunned by the crash, that I fell to the ground half dead and in a swoon. Being raised by my brethren, and carried to our porter's room, I was scarcely able, until morning, to recover my right senses or my usual strength.

Day dawned at last, and having now recovered from my fit, the brethren shedding tears and overcome with languor, and many of them being miserably lacerated and burnt in their limbs, with mournful voice and tearful lamentations we joined in the performance of Divine service in the dwelling of Grimketul, our corodiary.[3] Having performed all the Hours[4] of the Divine service, both those of the day as well as of the night, we proceeded to take a view of the state of our monastery, the fire still raging in many of the outbuildings. It was then for the first time that I perceived our granary and stable burnt, the fire not being yet extinguished, and the upright timbers being eaten away by the flames deep into the very earth.

About the third hour of the day, the flames being now greatly subdued, we effected an entry into the Church, and water being carried thither, extinguished the fire there, which had now pretty well burned out. In the choir, which was reduced to ashes, we found all the books of the holy office utterly destroyed, both Antiphonaries as well as Gradals.[5] On entering the vestiary, however, we found all our sacred vestments, and the relics of the Saints, as well as some other precious things deposited there, untouched by the flames, the place being covered with a double roof of stone. Going up stairs into our muniment-room, we found that, although it had been covered throughout with an arching of stone, the fire had still made its way through the wooden windows: and that, although the presses themselves appeared to be quite safe and sound, still all our muniments therein were burnt into one mass, and utterly destroyed by the intense heat of the fire, just as though they had been in a furnace red hot or an oven at a white heat.

[3] "Corodiarii." "Corodiarius" was the person who received the "Corody," a sum of money or allowance of meat, drink, and clothing, due to the king from an abbey or other house of religion, towards the sustenance of such one of his servants as he should think fit to nominate.

[4] See p. 80. They were called tierce, sext, nones, &c.

[5] Responsories, or books of responses, called "gradals," because the contents were chaunted "in gradibus," upon the steps of the choir. These books contained all that was sung by the choir at high mass; the tracts, sequences, and hallelujahs; the creeds, offertory, and the office for the asperges, or sprinkling of the holy water.

Our charters, of extreme beauty, written in capital letters, adorned with golden crosses and paintings of the greatest beauty, and formed of materials of matchless value, which had been there deposited, were all destroyed. The privileges, also, granted by the kings of the Mercians, documents of extreme antiquity, and of the greatest value, which were likewise most exquisitely adorned with pictures in gold, but written in Saxon characters, were all burnt. The whole of these muniments of ours, both great and small, nearly four hundred in number, were in one moment of a night, which proved to us of blackest hue, by a most shocking misfortune, lost and utterly destroyed

A few years before however, I had, of my own accord, taken from our muniment-room several charters written in Saxon characters, and as we had duplicates of them, and in some instances triplicates, I had put them in the hands of our chauntor, the lord Fulmar, to be kept in the cloisters, in order to instruct the juniors in a knowledge of the Saxon characters; as this kind of writing had for a long time, on account of the Normans, been utterly neglected, and was now understood by only a few of the more aged men. In so doing, my object was that the juniors, being instructed in the art of reading these characters, might, in their old age, be the better enabled to support themselves on the authority of their archives against their adversaries. These charters having been deposited in an ancient press, which was kept in the cloisters, and surrounded on every side by the wall of the church, were the only ones that were saved and preserved from the fire. These now form our principal and especial muniments, after having been long considered as of secondary value and thrown aside, and neglected and despised, in consequence of the barbarous characters in which they were written; in accordance with the words of the blessed Job: "The things that my soul refused to touch, are as my sorrowful meat."[6]

The whole of our library also perished, which contained more than three hundred volumes of original works, besides smaller volumes more than four hundred in number. We also lost, at the same time, an astronomical table,[7] of extreme beauty and costliness, wonderfully formed of all kinds of metal, according to the various natures of the stars and constellations. Saturn was made of copper, Jupiter of gold, Mars of iron, the Sun of latten, Mercury of bronze, Venus of tin, and the Moon of silver. The Colures and all the signs of the Zodiac were described by the skill of the artist in various forms and figures, in accordance with their natures, shapes, and colours, and attracted beyond measure the eye as well as the mind of the beholder by the multitude of gems as well as the metals employed. Throughout all England there was not such another Nadir known or heard of. The king of France had formerly presented it to Turketul, who, at his decease, had left it to the library of the convent, both as an ornament and for the instruction of the younger brethren, and now it was consumed by the voracious flames, and so annihilated.

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[6] Job vi 7.

[7] Called by our author "pinax" and "Nadir." Its uses were probably somewhat similar to those of the orrery of modern times.

The whole of our Chapter-house was burnt. Our Dormitory, with all the beds of the brethren contained therein, and the necessary-house as well, perished in the flames. Our Infirmary, together with the chapel and the bath-room, and all the offices thereto adjoining, was similarly consumed. Our Refectory, and all the contents thereof, were destroyed, with the exception of a few cups of porcelain,[8] and the horn and Crucibolum of Wichtlaf, the former king of the Mercians, which were kept in presses of stone; the kitchens also adjoining, and the hall and chamber of the lay brethren, with all the contents thereof, were consumed by the fire. Our cellar also, as well as the very casks, filled with beer, were destroyed. The abbat's hall, too, and his chamber, together with the entire court-yard of the monastery, which, through the care of my predecessors, had been most beauteously surrounded with buildings remarkable for their elegance—alas! unhappy me, that my sojourn was prolonged to behold it!—most shockingly fell a prey to the fury of the flames, which raged in every direction with a vehemence that seemed to be truly Greek[9]

A few cottages of the poor corodiers, the stalls of our beasts of burden, with the sheds for the other cattle, that stood at a considerable distance, and were covered with stone, were the only things that remained unconsumed. Besides the northern transept of the church, from which the wind drove onwards with most impetuous force towards the south, all the buildings of the monastery, and especially those covered with lead, whether formed of wood or of stone, our charters and jewels, books and utensils, bells and belfries, vestments and provisions, were in a moment of time lost and consumed, myself, to my most bitter sorrow, being then the head of the convent.

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[8] This is perhaps the meaning of "murrheos," but it is a matter of doubt.

[9] He alludes to the Greek fire, or wild-fire, much used in warfare during the middle ages.

Many signs and numerous portents foretold these fires, and nightly visions repeatedly forewarned us thereof; and too late did I understand them all. I then brought to mind the words of our holy father, Turketul, in his dying moments, when he benignly warned us diligently to take care of our fires,[10] as also those of our blessed father, Wulfran, who, in a nightly vision at Fontenelle, commanded me carefully to watch the fire of the hostrey of the three Saints, Guthlac, Neot, and Waldev. What these most unerring admonitions forewarned me, I now, too late, to my sorrow, perceive and understand, and indulge in vain complaints, while, with tears inexhaustible, I deservedly pour forth these lamentations, my errors demanding of me the same

But to return to the details of our tragedy. The news of our dreadful misfortune being speedily spread throughout all the vicinity, numbers of our neighbours, who had the bowels of compassion for our misfortunes, most kindly looked with the eye of sympathy upon our indigent state. For instance, our lord and most holy father, Remigius, the bishop of Lincoln, graciously granted an indulgence of forty days to all who should do us any service, as well as to those who should induce others so to do. He also gave us forty silver marks in money. By his advice and persuasion, also, the venerable canons of the church of Lincoln, and the citizens of that city, and the people in its vicinity, sent us one hundred marks. Richard de Rulos, also, the lord of Brunne and of Depyng, as being our faithful brother, and, in the time of our tribulation, a most loving friend, gave us ten quarters of wheat, ten quarters of malt, ten quarters of peas, ten quarters of beans, and ten pounds in silver. This was the alms-gift of Richard de Rulos towards the restoration of our monastery.

Haco of Multon also, at the same time, gave us twelve quarters of wheat, and twenty fat bacon hogs. This was the alms-gift of the said Haco. Elsin of Pyncebek also gave one hundred shillings in silver, and ten bacon hogs. Ardnot of Spalding likewise gave us six quarters of corn, two carcases of oxen, and twelve bacon hogs. Many others also presented us with various gifts, by means of which our indigent state was greatly relieved; and may our Lord Jesus Christ write their names in the book of life, and reward them with His heavenly glory. Nor should, among so many of our benefactors, the holy memory of Juliana, a poor old woman of Weston, be consigned to oblivion, who, "of her want," did give unto us "all her living,"[10] namely, a great quantity of spun thread, for the purpose of sewing the vestments of the brethren of our monastery.

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[10] See p. 10 , and 152.

Eustace, sheriff of Huntingdon, also, who held our lands at Thyrnyng, at the letting of my predecessor, the lord Wulketul, visited us on this occasion; and urgently requested of us a confirmation of the said lands for the term of his life, promising that he would in the courts of the county, and of the hundred, and everywhere else, be our protector; while he engaged to defend our rights, as though they were his own. To this we consented, and executed a deed to the following effect:—

"This is the agreement made between Ingulph the abbat, together with all the brethren, of Croyland, and Eustace, the sheriff of Huntingdon, to wit—The abbat, together with the brethren, hath granted unto him, so long as he shall live, in return for having his counsel, aid, and pains, in the affairs of the monastery, wheresoever and whensoever we shall, in the county of Huntingdon, be impleaded by any adversary, our manor of Thyrnyng, together with all our lands thereto belonging, that is to say, one hide and a half of land, as fully as he has hitherto held the said land at the letting of the lord Wulketul, the former abbat of the said monastery. But after the death of the said Eustace, the whole of the said land shall revert to us without any further delay or any diminution whatever thereof. I, Ingulph, the abbat of Croyland, have caused this deed to be made. + I, Odo, the prior, have consented hereto + I, Laurence, the chauntor, have written this deed. + I, Sigwata, the steward, have subscribed hereto. + I, Trig, the proctor, have signed the same. +

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[10] St Mark xii. 44.

I, Eustace, the sheriff, have given my consent hereto. + I, Baldwin, the son of Eustace, have acquiesced herein. +"

There came to us, at the same time, Oger, the priest of Repyngale, and took to farm of us our manor of Repyngale, together with all our land appendant thereto, that is to say, three carucates of arable and sixty acres of meadow land; on which occasion, we executed a deed in his favour, to the following effect:—

"This is the agreement made between Ingulph, the abbat of Croyland, together with all his monks, and Oger, the priest of Repyngale, to wit. The abbat, with his monks, hath to farm let unto the said Oger, the whole of their lands at Repyngale, that is to say, three carucates of land, together with sixty acres of meadow land, as also their manor in the said vill, so long as the said Oger shall live, for the payment of sixty shillings and twelve bacon hogs, to our monastery to be paid at the feast of Saint Martin in every year. And when he shall depart this life, if his heir shall wish to hold the said land, he shall be at liberty to hold it at the same rent. I, Ingulph, the abbat, have caused this deed to be made. + I, Odo, the prior, have consented hereto. + I, Laurence, the chauntor, have written this deed. + I, Sigwata, the steward, have counselled the same. + I Asius, the proctor, have set my mark hereto. + I, Oger, the priest, have bound myself hereto. + "

At the same time, there also came to us, Robert, the servant of Simon of Baston, and took to farm of us in Baston, thirty-six acres of land for the term of his life, in return for a certain sum of money, which he gave to us in our greatest necessity, as also for the payment to us in each year of two shillings, at the feast of Saint Bartholomew; upon which, we executed a deed in his favour, to the following effect:—

"This is the agreement made between Ingulph the abbat, together with all the monks of Croyland, and Robert, the servant of Simon of Baston, to wit—The abbat, together with the brethren, hath granted to him in fee so long as he shall live, thirty-six acres of land in Baston, and if he shall have such an heir as shall prove worthy of the said land, and shall, at the option of the abbat and the brethren, be deemed deserving of the same, he shall, on the like terms, hold the same. By way of rent for the said lands, Robert shall give in every year two shillings, and the tithes of the land of which he has so gained possession, according as the same shall accrue. And when he shall depart this life, he shall leave his body to the church of Saint Guthlac, together with the moiety of all of his money. He and his heir shall in each year pay the two shillings at the feast of Saint Guthlac. I, Ingulph, the abbat, have caused this deed to be made. + I, Odo, the prior, have consented hereto. + I, Laurence, the chauntor, have written this deed. + I, Sigwata, the steward, have signed the same. + I, Trig, the proctor, have subscribed hereto. + I, Robert, the liegeman of Simon of Baston, have given my consent hereto. + I, Simon of Baston, have sanctioned the wishes of my liegemen. +"

On the same occasion, in return for a sum of money which William the miller had given unto us towards the re-building of our church, we granted in fee to the said William, thirty roods of meadow land near Southee, and to his partner Agge of Newton, our entire piscary in the said stream, from Tedwarthar as far as Namanslandhyrne, to hold to themselves and their heirs by the tenure of paying unto us in each year, at the feast of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, upon our great altar, two shillings. As to the said thirty roods of meadow land and piscary, we executed to them our deed to the following effect:—

"This is the agreement made between Ingulph, the abbat of Croyland, together with all his brethren, and William the miller, together with Agge of Newton, his partner, and their heirs and assigns, to wit—The abbat and his brethren have granted in fee unto the aforesaid William the miller, thirty roods of meadow land, near the banks of the river Southee, extending from the corner which is called Tedwarthar, as far as Namanslandhyrne; and unto Agge of Newton, his partner, our entire piscary in the said river Southee, running along between the corners before-mentioned; to themselves and to their heirs and their assigns, as fully and freely as we have hitherto held the same, and without any diminution or gainsaying thereof: and they and their heirs, shall in each year, at the feast of Saint Bartholomew, offer unto us upon our great altar, two shillings, so long as they shall wish to hold the said piscary and the said meadow land. I, Ingulph, the abbat, have caused this deed to be made. + I, Odo, the prior, have consented hereto. + I, Laurence, the chauntor, have written this deed. + I, Sigwata, the steward, have counselled the same. + I, Trig, the proctor, have set my mark hereto. + I, William the miller, have accepted hereof. + I, Agge of Newton, have given my consent hereto. +"

We also demised at the same time, the same necessity compelling us thereto, unto Gunter Siword, two hundred acres of arable and meadow land near our rivers of Welland and of Asendyk, together with the entire piscary in our said rivers from Wodelade as far as Aswyktoft, for a period of twenty years; on which occasion, we executed to them our deed as to the aforesaid arable and meadow land and piscary, to the following effect:—

"This is the agreement made between Ingulph, the abbat, together with all the monks of Croyland, and Gunter Siword of Spalding, to wit—The abbat, together with his monks, has granted unto the before-named Gunter, for the space of twenty years, two hundred acres of arable and meadow land adjoining to their rivers of Welland and Asendyk, as also the entire piscary, in their said waters, that is to say, from Wodelade as far as Aswyktoft, without any right of ingress on our part, except for the purposes of navigation, and not for the purpose of fishing, except with the leave and good-will of the said Gunter. But the said Gunter shall give a passage to the said abbat and to his servants to the Drain of Asendyk and to Cokerdyke by such road as he shall appoint, as oft as, and whenever, they shall have occasion for the same. I, Ingulph, the abbat, have caused this deed to be made. + I, Odo, the prior, have consented hereto. + I, Laurence, the chauntor, have written [this deed]. + I, Sigwata, the steward, have set my signature, hereto. + I, Ægelmer, the proctor, have forwarded the same. + I, Gunter Siword, have received the same. + I, Fareman, the brother of Gunter, have acquiesced herein. + I, Aldieta, the wife of Gunter, have given my blessing hereto. + I, Wulmer, the son of Gunter and Aldieta, have granted the same. +"

At the same time, also, we granted to various men of our household, and many others who had lately resorted to us in consequence of the wars which were now being waged between the king and the chief men of the land, the whole of our lands situate between Wodelade and the vill of Croyland, near the banks of the river Welland, to hold the same of our cellarer by giving certain services, labours, rents, aids, and pains to us and to our monastery, as in the rolls of our cellarer are more fully set forth; a few of which, for the information of posterity, are here more fully inserted. All the men of Croyland, who hold meadow or arable land, except those whom the charters of the abbey which they possess acquit thereof, owe to the abbat three days' work, that is to say, one day's reaping, one day's binding, and one day's carrying, for the supply of food to the abbat. Likewise, all who desire to have turbary in the marshes of the abbat, owe one day's work, or else three obols towards digging turfs for the convent of Croyland; from which the abbat is to receive his pennies, and the cellarer his obols towards the expenses of the chaplains for the recluses. Likewise, every person who does not hold the same freely, is bound to pay one penny, which is now called "Rout-penny," towards the support of the men whose duty it is to carry the abbat and his people wherever he shall think fit to go by fresh water. Likewise, all persons who do not hold freely, shall pay tallage, and shall pay Lairwite[11] and an amerciament for their daughters. The serfs were also to do many other things for the monastery, which are found more fully enrolled in the before-mentioned inventory of our cellarer.

Being thus mercifully aided by these numerous acts of bounty on the part of the faithful in Christ, both neighbours as well as others situate at a greater distance, in order that they might see that they had not committed their alms-gifts to barren ground, we laboured night and day, with all possible diligence, to bring speedy relief to the house of the Lord. We placed a new nave beneath the roof of the church in place of the old one, which had been burnt, and added other appendages as well as we could. In place of the ancient tower of the church, we erected an humble belfry, and placed therein two small bells, which Fergus, the coppersmith of Saint Botolph's town,[12] had lately presented to us, there to remain until years of greater prosperity, when we propose, by the Lord's assistance, to make alterations in all these matters for the better, and to raise a temple worthy of the majesty of the Lord upon more lasting foundations.

[11] A penalty for being guilty of fornication.

[12] Now Boston.

After the wounds of our church had been in this humble manner tended and healed up, sad and sorrowing that the tomb of the holy Martyr, Waldev, who was buried in our chapter-house, lay uncovered and exposed in the open air to the showers and all kinds of tempests, after consulting my brethren thereupon, I determined to transfer it to our church, and, to the honor of God, more honorably to place it upon a candlestick rather than under a bushel. Accordingly, all our brethren, with the most ready devoutness, consented to this translation, and we named a suitable day for the performance of the task. On the day appointed, with all due reverence paid by a train of servants and taper-bearers, and with no small multitude of the other faithful ones of Christ in attendance, we approached the holy tomb, thinking that the body was reduced to dust, like other dead bodies, and that only the dry bones would be found remaining, as these events had taken place in the sixteenth year of his slumbers. But, behold! on opening the tomb, we received an evident proof of the glorification of the Martyr, for we found the body as whole and as uncorrupted as on the day on which it was buried; we also found the head united to the body, while a fine crimson line around the neck was the only sign remaining of his decollation.

On seeing this, I could not contain myself for joy, and interrupting the response which the brethren were singing, with a loud voice began the hymn, "*Te Deum laudamus;*" on which, the Chauntor, taking it up, enjoined the rest to sing it. In the meantime, looking upon the face of this most holy Martyr, I easily recognized the countenance of that most illustrious nobleman whom I had formerly seen in my vision at Fontenelle. After the said hymn was finished, and the confession had been repeated, all, both literates as well as laymen, falling on their knees and praying for the mercy of God to be shown unto me, and making confession, I pronounced the absolution of all; then crawling on my hands and feet, with my lips I kissed the face of the most holy Martyr, and having touched and handled him with my hands, I now inform posterity what, with my own eyes, I saw, and how that, with my own hands, I touched this Martyr. On kissing him, I perceived such a sweet odour proceeding from the holy body as I never remember having smelt, either in the palace of the king or in distant Syria, with all its aromatic herbs. Immediately upon this, I began the response, "*Ecce odor filii mei,*" &c.,[12] and directed the Chauntor to proceed with the words.

The response being finished, we closed the coffin, and placing it on the shoulders of the monks, lifted it from the earth; and then, with the solemn melody of our chaunts to the best of my humble ability, carried it into our church, and placed it at the side of Saint Guthlac, our founder, under a stone arch, in a place which had been prepared for the purpose; and, from our inmost hearts, we returned thanks to the Lord most High, who had thought fit to bring before our notice that there was a true Martyr among us, and had willed, in the day of tribulation, to prepare such a gift of consolation for his sons. For, the news of this translation of the holy Martyr being spread throughout the country, multitudes of the faithful flocked daily to his tomb, and offering up their vows there, tended, in a great degree, to resuscitate our monastery.

To the honor, also, of God, and the edification of the people, I recollected that in the monasteries beyond sea, that is to say, of Fontenelle, Feschamp, Jumieges, Molisme, and Clugny, as well as at Fleury, and in all the other most ancient convents, the Poor's Maundy[13] was every day performed after the greater mass, and that the people of God were much edified thereby; while, in all the English convents, this Poor's Maundy was either omitted, or else a thing quite unknown. Upon this, with the advice of all the community, I resolved that, for our benefactors, the same should be done each day from that time forward; and I gave permission to him who should for the time being act as our Almoner, to leave the choir at great mass, immediately after the consecration of the Sacrament of our Lord, charging the said Almoner to go straight to the gate of the monastery, and, before great mass was concluded, to bring three wayfarers into the great parlour; and if there should be no wayfarers, then three poor aged men were to be brought in; and if there were no such aged men, then three boys of good character were to be brought into the said parlour, in place of three paralytics, either men or women, who in the vill around us were confined to their beds. These boys, as in the case of the wayfarers or old men, were to have their feet washed, but the whole of the victuals was to be sent to the paralytics in whose place they had sat. As to the wayfarers and aged men, their feet were to be washed, and there they were to eat their victuals, if they should think fit, and to take away with them the remains of both the victuals and drink: but if they should not choose to eat it there, then they were to be at liberty to take it with them into the vill.

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[12] From Gen. xxvii. 27—"See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed."

[13] "Mandatum pauperum." The washing of the feet of the poor, in obedience to the "mandate" or "command" of our Saviour, in St. John xiii 34—"A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another;" which words were sung during the ablution.

In order to perform the said maundy, the Almoner was to receive each day three loaves, such as the monks received, three flaggons of the convent ale, and three dishes from the kitchen; and the Almoner was to see that all these were prepared before the coming of the monks, who, immediately on finishing great mass, were to come every day from the choir to wash the feet of the poor persons before-mentioned; and it was his duty to provide those persons, as well as the victuals, in the most becoming manner in his power. But if, at the persuasion of the devil, through the evil prompting of avarice, or through hatred of obedience, the said Almoner should bring in not three poor persons, but two only, or one, he was to be put for that day on bread and water, and no mercy was to be shown to him therein; and unless he should on another day supply as many as on that day he had subtracted, so many dishes were on the following day to be withdrawn as the number of the persons whom he had so subtracted, he still remaining on penance for his disobedience, unless the Lord's day, or the feast of any Saint should happen to intervene. But if he should not think proper, even after such penance, to make amends, he was to be expelled from his office, and another Almoner was to be appointed in his place, who should think fit to give more zealous attention to the interests of the poor, in accordance with the form before-stated.

After we had kept up this custom for some time, our fellow-monks, visiting us from other monasteries, were greatly edified thereby; and when they had returned home, introduced the same custom among themselves. And now we do rejoice greatly in the Lord that we were the first to introduce a custom so devout in other monasteries of the greatest celebrity, and, having been, as it were, the original authors thereof among the English, we hope for a great reward from God for having preceded them as the introducers of such a meritorious work.

At this time, also, certain honorable persons of our household, beholding our indigent state, supplied us most largely from their substance, and only required, in return, that their offices, together with the spiritual benefits of our chapter, might be secured to them for the term of their lives; upon which, we granted the serjeantship of our Infirmary to Wulsin, the barber, who, coming before our community in our public parliament,[14] made oath that he would be true and faithful to us, and would diligently perform his duties as hitherto he had done. On this occasion, we read over to him what were his duties, which were as follow:—He was to shave the whole community, each in his proper order, without any regard for persons, unless perchance any one of the more aged should choose of his own accord to wait till after a younger one. He was also to wait upon the monks at table, whenever they should take their meals in the Infirmary, and was, in especial, to show attention to those who were infirm in body and confined to their beds, by fetching bread and beer, at stated times, from the Cellarer, both for their regular drinking[15] as well as for dinner and supper. He was also, at all hours of the day, to be ready to wait upon them in the Infirmary, to fetch them victuals from the kitchen as well as the cellar, and attend to their wants whenever they should stand in need thereof.

If two persons should be sick and confined to their beds, Wulsin was to serve the elder of the two, and sleep with him, while the clerk of the Infirmary was to wait upon the younger, and sleep with him; and if a third sick person should be admitted, the cook of the Infirmary was to wait upon him, and, in like manner, sleep with him. These also, as often as there should be need thereof, were to assist each other in attendance upon the sick, that so attendance might be given to each of the sick, according to his necessities. In case any of the sick should be anointed with the holy unction, then, during the first night, the serjeant of the Infirmary and the serjeant tailor of the clothes-room[16] were to watch with the sick. On the second night the clerk of the Infirmary and the serjeant shoemaker of the clothes-room were, in like manner, to watch with the sick; while, on the third night, the cook of the Infirmary and the washerman of the clothes-room were, in like manner, to watch; and so in turns for nine nights, if necessary, they were to succeed one another in watching, and to sit up with the sick man as long as should be necessary. The serjeant of the Infirmary was to have from each sick man who died, in return for his labour, one tunic, or four shillings, or something else of the value of four shillings. But if he should wish to sell the said tunic or other cloth, he was to sell the same to some monk of that monastery, and on no account of any other monastery, or to any secular person whatever, to the end that various scandals might be avoided. Moreover, each one of the others who should watch with the brother so anointed, was each night to receive two pence out of the property of the sick when dead; this was enacted to the end that the said person so anointed might, in his last moments, be better attended to, while the servants might, for their extra labours, obtain a suitable reward.

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[14] Meaning "sitting" in chapter The word is still used, in a similar manner, in the Inns of Court.

[15] *Biberes* in the evening after nones.

[16] "Sartrina" This was a place in the monastery where the clothes were made.

We also enacted that all the goods of the brother so deceased should be sold by the Prior and the Chamberlain, and that the money should be laid out on behalf of the soul of the deceased brother upon the poor, or else be paid to the minor clerks for repeating the Psalms. The Abbat, also, was to exercise a proper supervision, that all things might be performed in a befitting manner.

Every brother also, who was confined to his bed, was to have such brother to wait upon him, by leave of the Prior, as he should think fit to make choice of out of the convent; who was to watch over him and to serve him in all things, the Infirmarer[16] of the convent taking turns with him in so doing. The said serjeant of the Infirmary was to assist the Prior in the celebration of the mass, and the clerk of the Infirmary, the Infirmarer, or such other of the old men as should think fit to celebrate the mass there, provided always, that he were not impeded by attendance upon any sick person.

The said serjeant of the Infirmary was to receive a fair livery of bread, drink, and cooked victuals, in the same way that hitherto one of the servants in the abbat's hall had been in the habit of receiving the same, as also four shillings per annum for his pay, which he was to receive from the Cellarer. If the whole community should be taking their meals in the Refectory, and there should be no sick person in the Infirmary, the said serjeant of the Infirmary was not to depart to his dinner before the bell was rung in the Refectory. But if for their own pleasure, or recreation, or in consequence of blood-letting,[17] they should eat in the Infirmary, the serjeant of the Infirmary was to attend them until all their victuals had been placed before them, and then he was to be at liberty to depart to his own dinner, unless he should be called back by the Prior or by the eldest of those at table; on which, he was to bring his bread, and the monks at table were to contribute from their own victuals, meat for him to eat therewith. If, on a second day, he should be ordered to remain, then the clerk was to bring his bread, and so on alternate days, they were in turns to find bread for their own use, and the monks were to provide [the rest of the] victuals.

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[16] "Infirmarius." This brother seems to have had spiritual charge of the Infirmary.

The cook's scullion was to have their leavings for his dinner: and in case they should leave little or nothing, the Almoner was to provide him with victuals. We also forbade Wulsin the barber, and our clerk, and our cook, and all the rest of our servants in the Infirmary, on any account to bring or allow to be brought, any secular men, boys, or women, into the Infirmary, from the vill or from any other place; by reason of which, scandal, offence, or disgust, might arise to the sick. We also enacted, that no secular person should be shaved or blooded in the offices of the Infirmary without leave of the Abbat or Prior, or the president in their absence. We also ordered, that our said three servants, namely, the serjeant [of the Infirmary], the clerk, and the cook, should lie every night in the Infirmary to guard against the various perils that might arise, unless they should obtain permission from the Prior to stay somewhere in the vill; which, however, was to be but rarely granted. If any one of our servants before-mentioned should do anything in contravention of the things before-stated, he who should so offend, was to lose his livery for one week, without any favour to be shewn to him therein.

Such and the like were the statutes as to the servants of our Infirmary, which we enacted as well for those of the present day as for those to come; as, in accordance with our holy rule which we have professed, it is especially incumbent on us to make provision that our sick may not suffer from any neglect.

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[17] "Minutione."

We also, at this time, gave the keepership of our church to Senian de Lek; who, appearing before the community in our public parliament, in like manner made oath that he would be true and faithful to us, and would diligently perform his duties as hitherto; on which, we read over to him his duties, which were as follow:—He was to be in attendance in the church both by night as well as by day, and was to light all the candles in the church, except those around the high altar, and to extinguish them at the proper times. He was also to ring all the notices in the church, both in the night and in the day-time, when we should be in the possession of more bells [than one], except at the twelve lessons at high mass, at vespers, at matins, and for obits read in the Chapter-house after chapter was held; because, at those times, the monks were to ring them.

Also, he was each day to lay out the vestments for those celebrating mass at the high altar, and for their assistants; and was to make all the tapers, both the Paschal taper as well as the others, that belong to the office of Sacrist. He was to assist the Sub-sacrist in baking the oblations and hosts for the convent as often as should be needed; and he was not to bring into his chamber suspected women, nor was he to allow them to enter any retired place, by reason of which suspicion of evil or any scandal might arise against himself or the monks. He was not to sleep out without the leave of the Prior or of the Sacrist; and, was in the meantime, in such case, with consent of the Prior through the Sacrist, to substitute in his absence some trustworthy person of the number of our other servants who had been sworn by us to take charge of the church. He was also to precede the monks of the convent in the greater processions, and was by all means in his power to take precautions that nothing unseemly or unbecoming should come in their way. He was also to receive, on behalf of the Abbat, a proper livery of bread, drink, and cooked victuals, and pay, along with the rest of the persons employed in their respective vocations, in such manner as he had been hitherto accustomed to receive the same.

These two offices of ours we have described more fully than the others, setting forth their responsibilities as well as their advantages, to the end that our successors may not increase the said responsibilities, or curtail the before-mentioned advantages; for they gave unto us largely of their own, that they might serve us in manner aforesaid and receive in full for their services the rewards above-stated.

We also at this season conferred other offices in our monastery on other persons of our household, but not with equal favours, as they had not with the same liberality bestowed on us of their substance; thus, we gave the wardership of our Refectory to Harold Gower, and the wardership of our Hostrey to Roller Quater, assigning thereto certain duties and liveries. These persons, coming in a similar manner in presence of our convent in public parliament assembled, made oath that they would be true and faithful to us, and would diligently perform their duties. All these officers before-named were to receive each day, whether absent or present, their respective liveries; provided, however, that they were absent on the affairs of some one or other of the monks. But if they should be engaged abroad about their own business, without the leave of the Prior granted them, then in the meantime they were not to receive their liveries; for without leave of the Prior they were never to go out either with a monk or upon their own business; and if they should do so, they were in the meantime to lose their livery. No one who had been sworn in full chapter was to go out without the leave of the Prior, the shoemaker and the buyer of provisions alone excepted, who were to go to market every week, and in whose cases it would have been too tedious to be so often having recourse to the Prior.

We also particularly added this provision, that our said servants were to answer to their masters yearly for the vestments, vessels, cloth and utensils committed to their charge, that so, through their negligence, nothing might be broken, made away with, or in any other way lost; and in order that if such should be found to be the case, they might make satisfaction for what had disappeared. Thus, for instance, the keeper of the church was to be answerable to the Sacrist for the sacred vestments, the sacred chalices, cups, lavatories, lamps, and other ornaments and utensils of the church entrusted to his charge. The warders of the Infirmary and the Refectory were to be answerable to their masters for the cups of silver and porcelain, the silver spoons, beakers, salt-cellars, cloths, napkins, and all other vessels and utensils entrusted to either of them. The warder of the Hostrey also was to be answerable to his master for the bed-clothes, table-cloths, cups, forms, tables, and tressels that had been delivered to and received by him.

The cooks also of either kitchen, that is to say, of both Infirmary and convent, were to be answerable to their masters for all the brazen vessels, pots, pitchers, kettles, platters, gridirons, frying-pans, dishes, tureens, brine-pans, spits, broaches, mortars, and pestles, as well as all other vessels and utensils entrusted to their care; lest, perchance, being carelessly treated, they might be worn out and broken sooner than they ought to be, or else made away with and destroyed in some other improper manner; and if such should be found to be the case, each person was to make satisfaction for his deficiency, if he should prove unable to make answer with fair reason to the charges brought against him. Our books also both the small ones unbound as well as the larger ones with covers, we utterly forbade to be lent to any persons at distant schools, and did, under penalty of excommunication, prohibit the same, without licence granted by the Abbat, and his certain knowledge at what time they would be returned. As to lending the smaller books, that is to say, the Psalters, the Donats,[18] the Cato's,[19] and poetical works of a similar nature, as well as the quires for singing, to boys and the relatives of the monks, we most strictly forbade the Chauntor and the Keeper of the Library, under pain of incurring the penalty of disobedience, under any circumstance whatever to lend or deliver out the same for more than one day, without the leave of the Prior first granted, and if any one should in future presume so to do, he was to remain for the space of two years, disgraced and disqualified for the performance of any duties in the convent.

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[18] The Latin Grammar, by Ælius Donatus, the grammarian of the fourth century, is here referred to. The "donat" was the common school-book of the middle ages

[19] He alludes to Dionysius Cato's Distichs on Morals, couched in Dactylic Hexameters. It was held in great estimation during the middle ages, and was extensively employed as a school-book.

At the same time, also, with the unanimous consent of the whole convent, we added to the most holy statutes of our venerable father, the lord abbat Turketul, who had most wisely divided the whole community of our monastery into three classes of monks, certain matters that seemed to us especially necessary and consistent with reason. These were to the following effect. "Those of the first class, who shall not as yet have arrived at their twenty-fourth year as members of the monastic order, shall not, when they take their food within the precincts of the monastery, give away any portion of the food set before them to any persons without the said precincts, unless they shall have first, before dinner, openly stated to the Prior, or the person who may be President, the reason of the necessity for their so doing, and, on such necessity being considered, shall have afterwards obtained leave so to do at dinner; and so they are to do as often as they shall find themselves so necessitated.

"As for those of the second class, that is to say, those who shall have lived from their twenty-fourth up to their fortieth year as members of the monastic order; as often as they shall stand in need of so doing,[20] they shall be at liberty to give of their victuals, having first asked and obtained leave of the President, although they may not have stated to him before dinner the cause of their being necessitated so to do; provided that all do not ask permission on the same day, but on different days, so that the necessities of all may be satisfied; with the exception of those in office, who, in virtue of their respective offices, daily supply their servants with their food, such as the Sacrist, the master of the works, and others, who find daily employment for their servants; although these may chance to be of the first class of juniors, still, on the ground of their offices, we wish them herein to have the privileges of seniors." Besides this, as our holy father, the lord abbat Turketul, most religiously decreed, all of the second class were to be excused from the duties of the minor

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[20] Their vows of poverty would preclude the possibility of their giving anything in return for services done them, beyond a portion of their allotted meals.

Chantries,[21] the Epistle, the Gospel, reading the Martyrology and collations[22] in the Chapter-house, joining in the procession of the taper-bearers to the music[23] of the Chauntor, and all such minor duties of the choir and the convent.

As for those of the third class, that is to say, those from forty years' standing and upwards, they were to be excused from prayers before Matins, before Prime, and before Vespers, and from Matins at the three lessons, unless it should be a festival of high mass in the weeks of Easter, Pentecost, and the Nativity of our Lord, when all members of the convent, in their turn, on their days officiate in their copes. They were also to be excused from reading at dinner, and from performance of the maundy[24] on Saturdays. They were also to be at liberty to go round the gardens of the Infirmary and of the Sacrist as often as they should think fit, without asking leave of the President, so long as it should be known to the Prior where they were, in case he should chance to want them for anything.

And further, as, our holy rules providing to that effect, lights were kept burning all night in the dormitory of the monks until the morning, for the purpose of avoiding manifold dangers, with the consent of the whole of our community, I granted to the office of our Sacrist an annual payment of forty shillings, recoverable from the vicar of Wendlingborough, and which the Abbat had hitherto been in the habit of receiving, that our said Sacrist might find all the lights, as well in the cloisters as in the dormitory, the same to be lighted at the stated times following, that is to say; on the approach of winter, from the feast of Saint Bartholomew to the feast of Saint Michael, immediately after the bell had ceased ringing for supper, the servants of the church were to light three lights in the cloister, and four in the dormitory; that is to say, two in the dormitory itself, and two in the necessary-house.

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[21] "Parva Cantaria," the chaunting of the portions of the service that were considered of less importance. See p. 98

[22] Readings of the Holy Scriptures at stated hours, and in especial after supper.

[23] The word is "tabula," which seems to have been some kind of musical instrument used by the Chauntor or Præcentor. It was probably employed for the purpose of beating time, and being made of bone, was perhaps not unlike our castanets See p. 100.

[24] See the note to page 210.

But the light in the Chapter-house was to be lighted before the supper-bell began ringing, and to burn the whole time, until, Matins being finished, all the monks had gone up to the dormitory. During the close of winter, from the feast of the Purification of Saint Mary until the feast of the Burial of Saint Guthlac, the same method of lighting all the aforesaid lights was in all things to be observed. From the feast of Saint Michael until the feast of the Purification, all the said lights were to be lighted before the monks went into the refectory to the regular drinking, and were to remain so lighted at all times of the year until sunrise; besides a lamp hanging in the Chapter-house, which was to be extinguished after the community had gone up to the dormitory, Matins being concluded in the church. From the feast of Saint Guthlac until the feast of Saint Bartholomew, throughout the whole summer, at sunset the Sacrist or Subsacrist was to light the lights before-mentioned in the dormitory, so that no secular person might have occasion in the night-time to enter the dormitory; and they were to be kept burning until it was broad daylight.

But if, in consequence of the neglect of the Sacrist, any of the said lights should remain unlighted at the time appointed, then the Sacrist was, on the morrow, to be put upon bread and water, without any mercy being shown him. And if, disregarding this our most just ordinance, he should make default in lighting, or in keeping up the lighting of, any one of the lights before-mentioned, he was to fare for one fortnight, during six days in each week, on bread and water only. But if, on a third occasion, any default should take place in providing the said lights, he was to be removed from his office, and remain for the next two years incapable of filling any office whatever. If any negligence of this nature should happen by reason of the default of the servants, that is, in case any one of the lights should remain unlighted at the proper time, then the servants, whose duty it was, in the summer time, to light the same when the community was not in the dormitory, were, on each occasion, to lose their allowances for one week: and if the same should happen a second or a third time, a more severe rebuke was to be administered, or the punishment aforesaid to be doubled. These strict rules, with the common advice and consent of our convent, we enacted to be inviolabl observed with regard to delinquents, and provided that neither the Prior nor any other president should at future times be enabled to relax the same, without the especial favour of the Abbat for the time being.

We also enacted, at the same time, that, on thanks being returned each day after dinner, the soul of king Ethelbald, our founder, should be especially prayed for, and that, at thanks after dinner, the following verse should always be repeated in full choir by the members of the convent, in memory of king Wichtlaf, by means of whose horn they had been refreshed.[25] "He hath dispersed, He hath given to the poor; His righteousness endureth for ever;" adding thereto, "His[26] horn shall be exalted with honor."

Our monastery being now, praised be the Lord! in some measure resuscitated from the ashes of its fatal conflagration, and its customs having been described, both as regards our fellow-monks as also our servants and assistants, as well as the deceased members of the monastery, so far as by my limited capacity has been deemed necessary; I might have brought this history to a close, had not the manifest malice of our rivals compelled me to make some small addition relative to their wicked proceedings, and, to the best of my humble ability, put my successors on their guard.

As soon as the most glorious king, William the First, had departed this life, and had left Normandy to Robert, his eldest son, by will giving England to William, his second son; the latter, immediately after the burial of his father, hastened over to England, and was received by archbishop Lanfranc, his tutor, and the other nobles throughout the whole kingdom, with outstretched hands, and was solemnly crowned at Westminster. He immediately proceeded to weigh the treasure of his father, which was then deposited at Winchester, and found sixty thousand pounds of silver, besides gold and precious stones, and other royal jewels, in vast quantities. He then distributed, in accordance with the last will of his father, to the greater churches throughout all England, ten marks, and to the smaller churches, or those of the vills, five shillings. He also sent through each of the counties one hundred pounds, for distribution to the poor, for the soul of his father. Led on by this lavishness, he fell into a course of prodigality, the more especially as archbishop Lanfranc was now dead; and having free rein, as it were, he strayed into all kinds of licentious courses. His father's treasures being speedily wasted in consequence, he began to oppress the whole land by new exactions, and to excite great numbers to sedition and hatred of himself. Hence it was that many bishops, as well as earls, conspired against him, on which he prevailed over some by caresses, and others by threats, while others, again, he sentenced to perpetual banishment from the land

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[25] Psalm cxii. 9.

[26] Psalm cxii. 9. This looks very much like a pious pun.

At this period, Ivo Taillebois, who had always proved our implacable enemy, supposing that, as common report stated to be the case, all our charters had perished in the conflagration of our monastery, caused us to be cited to show by what title we held our lands that lay in his demesne, when, in fact, he had often before both seen our charters and had heard them read. However, brother Trig, our proctor, appeared at Spalding on the day of trial, and produced the charters of sheriff Thorold, as also of both the earls Algar, still safe and unburnt. on which, being deceived in his expectations, he had recourse to raillery and abuse, saying that such barbarous writing was only worthy of laughter and derision, and that it could be esteemed as of no weight or validity whatever.

On this, brother Trig made answer to him, that these documents had been read in presence of the renowned king William, both father as well as son, and had been praised and confirmed both by them as well as the whole of their council; that, after being recited, they had been approved of, and established in every particular by the royal authority, and that it was not in his power to invalidate that which the kings had confirmed. He also stated, that if he or any other person should make any such attempt, in contempt of the king's majesty, we should appeal thereon to the tribunal of our lord the king, and desire a hearing before him upon the same; after which, our brother Trig, rolling up our charters, in presence of all delivered them to his clerk to carry; but after he had gone out of court, receiving them back from the clerk, he returned with them all to the monastery. This clerk, however, by his command, returned into the court, that he might give attentive ear, and ascertain what were the intentions of the said Ivo in relation to Croyland

At last, on the court adjourning in the evening, the clerk set out on his way towards Croyland, and, as he was crossing the stream of our river Asendyk, he was thrown from his horse, and most cruelly beaten by three servants of the said Ivo, who lay concealed there, and rushed upon him from their hiding-place. At length, after they had carefully searched his wallet and the folds of his garments, and could nowhere discover our charters, fully understanding the true state of the case, they left him half dead and covered with wounds and bruises. Crawling, however, towards a boat that happened to be coming that way, during the night the clerk arrived at Croyland. On hearing of this surpassing malice on the part of our foe, in order to guard against fire, as well as other inventions of the enemy of a similar nature, I took our charters and placed them in such safe custody, that, so long as my life lasts, neither fire shall consume nor adversary steal them; our Lord Jesus Christ, and our blessed patron, the most holy Guthlac, showing themselves propitious, and, as I firmly believe, extending their protection to their servants.

However, within a fortnight afterwards, our said enemy was also proclaimed an enemy to the king, in consequence of the before-mentioned conspiracy against him, to which he was privy and a consenting party; upon which he was outlawed, and is still living in Anjou, in banishment from England.

This history, I, Ingulph, abbat of Croyland, have continued thus far, for the information of posterity, so far as I have been able to collect materials from our archives, and in accordance with the statements which my fathers have made to me. The history from our foundation until the destruction of our monastery, the five Sempects wrote. The life of the lord abbat Turketul was written by abbat Egelric the younger, his kinsman. From his day up to the present moment, I myself have related the history of our times.

END OF INGULPH'S HISTORY.

### CONTINUATION OF

# INGULPH'S HISTORY OF CROYLAND,

### BY PETER OF BLOIS.

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*Epistle of the Abbat of Croyland to Peter of Blois.*

"To our most dearly-beloved, Master Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, vice-chancellor of our lord the king, and most worthy Prothonotary of the whole kingdom, a most wise sanctuary of all the liberal arts, as also the most eminent professor in our times of the eloquence of Tully, the brother Henry de Longchamp, the unworthy abbat of the servants of God militant for the Lord in the church of Croyland, and their unprofitable minister, to his good pleasure and commands entirely commending himself and his—

"'Orators, rhetoricians, and poets, as well as holy prophets, consummate divines, and great doctors, renowned for their eloquence, celebrated for their knowledge, weighty in their authority, and remarkable for their sanctity, have, in grandiloquent style, most becomingly discoursed upon the histories, the lives, the actions, and the battles of illustrious men and heroes of the greatest celebrity. Thus, for instance, among the Heathens, Suetonius Tranquillus described the house of Cæsar; Valerius Maximus, dedicating his work to Tiberius, discoursed upon memorable actions; Tully described the deeds of Catiline, and Sallust of Jugurtha. In like manner, so did Homer depict the arms of Hector, so was Virgil the author of the Æneids. In the same way, too, among those of our religion, did the venerable pope, Saint Gregory, relate, under the becoming form of Dialogue, the most holy actions of the blessed father, Benedict; and then, in a similar manner, did your holy bishop, Sulpicius Severus, in his Dialogues, describe the life of Martin, your most holy bishop. So too, in former days, did Saint Hieronymus extol his Paula; and so, more recently, did Saint Bernard sing his Malachias.

"You too, who are the equal of these, who beyond all others of the present day have a relish for the honied words of Tully, and who, exalted by your most distinguished reputation for wit, most deservedly hold the highest rank in the royal presence,—of you I now beg, as you have lately promised me to do, that you will grant me the favour of transferring the hallowed life of the most holy Guthlac, the confessor of Christ, and our patron Saint, from the humble platter of Saint Felix, the bishop of the East Angles, into the golden goblet of your own language, and so, seasoning the same with your honied eloquence as usual, place it in a worthy vessel upon the lesson table[27] in the temple of the Lord, for the faithful in Christ who enter there. For that most holy patron of ours dwelleth in the midst of us, being distinguished by the Lord with signs innumerable, and, by the grace of God, mightily glorified by many miracles hitherto unheard-of and unseen. Therefore it is, that I have devoutly prayed your nectareous tongue to launch forth in his praises; and we do, all of us, your suppliants at Croyland, having ourselves contracted the lengthy and involved periods[28] of Saint Felix, and having laboured to reduce it to a style more concise and better suited to weak understandings, if so it please you, from the very inmost recesses of our hearts entreat you, that you will with your holy eloquence, adorn his most hallowed deeds.

"In the great confidence that I feel, I will go still further in placing care and labour on your shoulders; for I will, with all earnestness of heart, entreat and call upon you, by that friendship which has ever shewn itself most devoted to me, to correct this history of our house which we send unto you, wherever you shall see that it requires correction; and request that you will, from our memoranda and deeds sent to you, together with the same, continue unto these our times, the series and narrative of the said history: for it expresses itself both openly and in graceful language, and enquires into many of the obscure points in history.

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[27] The lectern at which the lessons were read.

[28] Literally, the "hyperbaton," meaning "a complex and involved style of writing."

"I trust also, that before long, I shall visit the royal court on certain business, when I shall bring with me certain charters and muniments, which, in order for your assistance herein, Wulsin, the lord Prior of our house, Ansgote, our Sub-prior, and the lord John of Freston, our Proctor, who, beyond all others, are intimately acquainted with the state of our monastery, as well as all your intimate friends, saluting you with the greatest affection, have thought necessary to be introduced in this history; still, these are all to be inserted, as well as the various events of the times, entirely according to your own judgment thereon. Farewell, my best Master and friend."

### *The Answer of Peter of Blois.*

"To his most reverend father and lord, noble both in body as well as in spirit, Henry de Longchamp, by the grace of God, abbat of the most holy monastery of Croyland, and all his holy convent, his humble servant, Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, his powers and abilities, humble and insignificant as they are, in the Lord Jesus Christ—

"When I was lately staying for some time among you, I was pleasured with so many enjoyments, I was presented with so many gifts, I was enriched with riches so numerous, and I was edified with devoutness so extreme, that at length, when the king's business called me away from your most holy monastery, on my departure thence I was greatly disturbed in spirit and troubled in mind. Full oft upon my road did I picture to myself your features, full oft did I recall to my recollection the benevolent feelings manifested by each of you towards my humble self; and so often did I call to remembrance each passing day the remarkable delightfulness of the spot, naturally inborn to it as it were, that, quite contrary to my usual habit, I was affected with a kind of womanish softness. Before I reached firm ground, I pulled bridle in the middle of the marshes seven times or more, looking back in the body upon your most holy monastery, and in my inmost heart, heaping blessings upon the same; while, at the same time, I grieved, that, like another Adam, I was expelled from Paradise, except that in my case, the angel of the Lord did not, with flaming sword, prevent my return Still, however, the business of the king will not at present allow of my return to you.

"However, after I had reached firm ground, and had ascertained by experience, that the woods impeded the possibility of any further looking back upon your much-loved spot, pourtraying to myself all your countenances as if you were then present, to the best of my ability, as God is my witness, I embraced you each with my heart, and, kissing you all with the most ardent embraces, I showered upon you most plenteous tears. Thus, most pleasurably and most continuously weeping, and ever and anon looking back towards Croyland, my servants at last seized the reins, and led me unwillingly away, and so tore me from that much-loved view; but my inner eyes, my Masters all and most worthy lords, neither woods nor servants, mountains nor walls, can ever, by any possibility, withdraw from the contemplation of you.

"Now the fact may evidently be gathered from history, that Saint Felix, the bishop of the East Angles, did not, as you assert, write the life of your most holy father and patron, the most blessed Guthlac; for the truth is, that he did not reach the time of Saint Guthlac, and as he came first, he could not, except by way of prophecy, have any knowledge of one who came after him; but it was another Saint Felix, one of the disciples of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, as may clearly be perceived by the reader, from the Greek idiom that pervades its style; a man probably of holy life, but one who imitated his master in his style of writing; still, however, a person most devoted and most attached to the Saints of God, and to Saint Guthlac in especial.

"But Saint Felix, the bishop of the East Angles, of whose relics, which lie buried at Ramsey, you lately obtained a precious portion at the gratuitous presentation of the lord abbat and his convent, departed unto the Lord in the year of our Lord, 646, being the fourth year of the Indiction, and the first year of the nineteen year cycle, Penda, the pagan, being then king of the Mercians. In the revolution of eight-and twenty years after his holy burial, Saint Guthlac was born, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 674, being the second year of the Indiction, the tenth year of the nineteen year cycle, and the last year of Wulpher, king of the Mercians.

Your said holy father also departed unto the Lord, after completing the fortieth year of his age, on the fourth day in Easter week, in the year of our Lord, 714; it being the twelfth year of the Indiction, and the eleventh year of the nineteen year cycle, Celred, son of Ethelred, the former king of the Mercians, then reigning, it being the sixth year of his reign At this time, pope Constantine was pontiff of the Roman See, and Brithwald, archbishop of Canterbury, was pontiff of the Mother Church of the English; Anastasius was the emperor who was guiding the reins of the Roman empire; and Pepin the Elder, the son of Ansegisus, was mayor of the royal palace among the Franks.

"Since, then, it is evidently apparent that Saint Felix, the bishop of the East Angles, did not compose the said life, I felt myself the more emboldened to obey your commands, and to relate, with becoming neatness of diction, and according to the best of my humble ability, such of your most sacred annals as are preserved by truth in the pages[29] of history.

"I shall, therefore, watchfully devote my best attention to the continuation of the history of your most holy monastery, compiling the same with the greatest diligence, digesting it with the most appropriate diction, and observing the same style of language, so far as I shall find myself enabled by searching your archives to collect honey from out of a rock: although I should not presume to compare my rude language with the highly eloquent style of the venerable father, Ingulph, nor could I in any way equal the finger even of such a most holy prelate. But where the said history has been, as very frequently happens, perverted or falsified by unskilful writers, there, in accordance with your wishes, I will use my utmost endeavours to correct the said errors, and to make them accord with the strict line of truth, and will, to the best of my humble abilities, cause what follows to harmonize with what precedes, by striving to maintain an equality in gracefulness of diction. The other book, therefore, I will set to work to continue where the before-named venerable abbat Ingulph has left off; so that his work may form the first part of this history, while my work, coming after it, though deserving to be placed far behind it in estimation, may be styled by its readers the Second

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[29] "Omnibus" seems to be a misprint here for some other word.

Part. Instead of an Introduction thereto, I would have your letter precede the work and this of mine succeed it, until such time as, having visited you and looked over all your charters, I shall be enabled to arrange everything in its proper order, and, the Most High prospering my path, to establish each particular in the rightful track of truthfulness. Fare ye well, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, all my lords and masters most dear."

William Rufus reigning over the land, and having with a powerful arm conquered all his adversaries, so much so as to have brought all his foes beneath the yoke, while there was no one who dared in any way to murmur against his sway, Ranulph, the bishop of Durham, was his especial adviser in affairs of state. This Ranulph proved a most cruel extortioner, and being the most avaricious and most abandoned of all men in the land, wofully oppressed the whole kingdom, and wrung it even to the drawing of blood; while at the same time Anselm, the most holy archbishop of Canterbury who had succeeded Lanfranc, dragging out a weary existence in exile beyond sea, mercy and truth with him had taken to flight from out of the land, and justice and peace had been banished therefrom. Confession and the fair graces of repentance fell into disesteem, holiness and chastity utterly sickened away, sin stalked in the streets with open and undaunted front, and facing the law with haughty eye, daily triumphed, exulting in her abominable success

Wherefore, the heavens did abominate the land, and, fighting against sinners, the sun and the moon stood still in their abode, and spurning the earth with the greatest noise and fury, caused all nations to be amazed at their numerous portents. For there were thunders terrifying the earth, lightnings and thunderbolts most frequent, deluging showers without number, winds of the most astonishing violence, and whirlwinds that shook the towers of churches and levelled them with the ground. On the earth there were fountains flowing with blood, and mighty earthquakes, while the sea, overflowing its shores, wrought infinite calamities to the maritime places. There were murders and dreadful seditions; the Devil himself was seen bodily appearing in many woods; there was a most shocking famine, and a pestilence so great among men, as well as beasts of burden, that agriculture was almost totally neglected, as well as all care of the living, all sepulture of the dead.

The limit and termination at last of so many woes, was the death of the king, a cause, to every person of Christian feelings, of extreme grief. For there had come from Normandy, to visit king William, a very powerful baron, Walter Tirel by name. The king received him with the most lavish hospitality, and having honored him with a seat at his table, was pleased, after the banquet was concluded, to give him an invitation to join him in the sport of hunting. After the king had pointed out to each person his fixed station, and the deer, alarmed at the barking of the dogs and the cries of the huntsmen, were swiftly flying towards the summits of the hills, the said Walter incautiously aimed an arrow at a stag, which missed the stag, and pierced the king in the breast.

The king fell to the earth, and instantly died; upon which, the body being laid by a few countrymen in a cart, was carried back to the palace, and on the morrow was buried, with but few manifestations of grief, and in an humble tomb; for all his servants were busily attending to their own interests, and few or none cared for the royal funeral. The said Walter, the author of his death, though unwittingly so, escaped from the midst of them, crossed the sea, and arrived safe home in Normandy

William was succeeded on the throne by his brother Henry, a young man of extreme beauty, and, from his acquaintance with literature, much more astute than his two brothers, and better fitted for reigning: his brother Robert being at this time in the Holy Land, most valiantly fighting in the army of the Christians against the Turks and Saracens He was crowned by Thomas, the archbishop of York, because, at this period, Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, was in exile. Receiving royal homage and the oaths of fealty from all, he immediately gave liberty to the Holy Church, and forbade depraved customs and injurious exactions to prevail; besides which, he threw the said Ranulph, who was the author of them, into prison, and, dispatching a messenger, recalled the most holy archbishop Anselm from exile.

Led astray and seduced by the bad counsels of the said most wicked Ranulph, king William, on the day of his death, held in his own hands the archbishopric of Canterbury, besides four other bishoprics, and eleven abbeys, all of which were let out to farm. He was the first of all the kings who placed the receipts on account of rent of all the vacant churches in his treasury; whereas his father invariably, and with the greatest piety, in the same manner as all the other kings of England, his predecessors, had been in the habit of repaying all rents and profits of that nature, in the case of vacant churches, to the prelates who were the first to succeed, and had to the very last farthing accounted, through faithful servants, for the whole thereof. But as for him, after keeping all these dignities for a long time in his own hands for no good reason whatever, and frequently making grants of them to farmers and usurious Jews, under colour of employing long deliberation in the choice of a proper pastor, he repeatedly put them up to auction among the most ambitious and most wealthy of the clergy; and at last, on finding a well-filled purse as the result, asserting that all sanctity lay in that, he openly declared that that was the only deserving prelate. In this state of things, it was a matter greatly to be commended that, being confined to his bed and almost despairing of his life, on the decease of Lanfranc, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, a man of most holy life, as well as skilled in all branches of literature, he appointed the venerable Anselm, abbat of Bec, in Normandy, to the archbishopric of Canterbury, in a devout manner, and without any imputation of simony.

The before-named Ranulph, however, made his escape by certain iniquitous means from prison, and repaired to Normandy, and in every way encouraged the duke thereof, Robert, the king's brother, who on hearing of the death of his brother William had immediately returned from the Holy Land, to invade England. Accordingly, after the duke had levied a large army, and had come to the sea-shore, while the king, on the other hand, had strengthened the southern coasts of his kingdom with troops innumerable, (being determined, once for all, to conquer and reign, or else to lose the kingdom and perish), archbishop Anselm and other men of character, who were promoters of peace, acting as mediators between them, brought about an arrangement upon the following terms; that the king should pay each year a compensation of three thousand pounds of silver, and that lasting peace should thenceforth be established between them. However, in after years, the duke, ill-advisedly, forgave this annual payment; and besides, he acted unwisely towards the natives [of Normandy], and those subject to him; upon which the king repaired to Normandy, and taking his brother prisoner in a pitched battle, kept him in prison to the day of his death, and united the whole of Normandy to his own kingdom.

The king, having gained this victory, and being instructed by the repeated exhortations of the holy archbishop Anselm, remitted for ever his right of investiture of churches by ring and pastoral staff, a question which had for a long time harassed the Holy Church; while he retained in his own hand and excepted solely his royal privileges. This I think is enough as to the kings.

In these days also, the temporal powers militant, under the command of Godfrey and Baldwin, the most illustrious sons of Eustace, earl of Boulogne, Robert, duke of Normandy, and Raymond, earl of Toulouse, together with Boamund, duke of Apulia, and their armies and troops from the rest of Christendom, having subjugated all Lycia, Mesopotamia, and at last the whole of Syria, rendered subject to their dominion and to the Christian faith, first, the city of Nicea, then Antioch, and after that, holy Jerusalem.

At this time also, the spiritual powers militant of the monastic order, springing up from the monastery of Molisme, sent forth so many offshoots, that, through its first-born daughter of Cisteaux, at this day innumerable monasteries, abodes of the servants of God, exist, which were produced by the Divine power under their original fathers, Robert, Alberic, Stephen, and Bernard; from the last of whom an idea may be formed as to the multitude of the rest. For the said father Saint Bernard saw sons of his go forth from his monastery of Clairvaux, over which he presided for the space of forty years, one as pope of the see of Rome, to wit, Eugenius, two as cardinals, and sixteen as archbishops and bishops in different parts of the world; of whom we had one at York in England, archbishop Henry, and two in Ireland, who proved themselves Christians both in name and deed; together with two hundred monasteries and more which he produced from his own of Clairvaux, and which themselves were daily bringing forth others innumerable unto the Lord.

At this period also, the venerable Ingulph, the lord abbat of Croyland, was greatly afflicted by multiplied maladies which wearied and harassed his declining years to such a degree, that he was unable to continue the history of his monastery to the close of his life: for many are the inconveniences which surround the aged man. Nevertheless, after he had laboured most zealously in the restoration of his house, which had been lately destroyed by fire, and in the rebuilding of his church, as well as in replacing the books, vestments, bells, and other requisites, the old man, having served his time in the warfare of this life, and being full of days, departed unto the Lord, after having completed thirty-four years in the most laborious discharge of his pastoral duties as sole abbat, during ten of which abbat Wulketul, his predecessor, was still surviving, while, during the remaining twenty-four years he was much harassed and annoyed by the adversaries of the monastery, as well as by other misfortunes, but had been always wondrously supported by the Lord. At last, however, bidding farewell to the maliciousness of the world, he was received in Abraham's bosom with all the Saints, being thus relieved from the affliction of gout, under which, in his later years, he had languished, and received to the eternal joys of Paradise, on the sixteenth day before the calends of January, in the year of our Lord, 1109, being the ninth year of the reign of king Henry. He was buried in his chapter-house, on the feast of Saint Thomas the Apostle.

At the repeated suggestion and frequent entreaties of Alan Croun, who was Seneschal of the royal mansion, and dear to the king beyond all the other barons of the palace, and admitted to all his counsels, (being a man who excelled all others in industry and probity, in wisdom and sanctity, so much so, that by his fellow-knights he was called "the King's God"), king Henry following his advice, invited from the monastery of Saint Evroult in Normandy, Joffrid, the lord prior of the said place, who was closely related to the said most illustrious Seneschal of the royal palace. This he did by his epistle directed to the venerable father Manerius, the abbat of the said monastery, in which he invited the said venerable man, the prior Joffrid, noble in the flesh, but much more noble in spirit. For he was the son of the marquis Herebert, by Hildeburga, sister of Guido Croun, the father of the before-named Alan, but was born and educated at Orleans, and from his infancy destined by his parents for a monastic life: him, on the death of

Ingulph, the venerable abbat of Croyland, the king most beneficially appointed in his place, as pastor of the said monastery. The abbacy had been vacant at this time for the space of three months and a few days, the king, after the most abominable example of his brother William, continuing to hold it during the vacancy; still, through his affection for the said Alan, he liberally and in full paid over to the said abbat, on his appointment, all the profits that he had received.

The said venerable abbat Joffrid arrived at Croyland on Palm Sunday, C being the Dominical letter, and was joyously received. Immediately passing thence to Lincoln, he received the blessing from bishop Robert in his chapel there, and was installed on the Lord's day, upon which "*Quasi modi geniti*"[30] is sung. That he might not at the beginning be looked upon as a useless pastor, or as sluggish and pusillanimous, he began to look about him on every side in his monastery, and, as well became[31] a man of such a character, did not indulge himself in snoring in bed, or lying concealed; but in private taught in mild accents the masters of the earth to fear God, while in public he reverently besought[32] the people subject to him, devoutly to pray on all occasions, at the entreaties of the priests expounded the Holy Gospel, and in all his discourses ever preferred the honor of God and the saving of souls, far before all things temporal.

For he was more learned than any of his predecessors, abbats of Croyland, having imbibed literature of every description with his mother's milk from his very cradle. Seeing his convent, which still remained half burnt, and had been plucked like a brand from the burning, in some measure rebuilt, but still in a hasty manner, and far from replaced in becoming splendour and restored to its proper vigour, he resolved to found a new church, and to rebuild the whole monastery with walls of stone instead of walls of clay, and upon a marble foundation, if his means would allow thereof.

First sitting down, therefore, and calculating the necessary outlay, on examining the whole of the substance of his monastery, he found that it would by no means suffice for a work of such magnitude; upon which, in order that the words used by our Lord,[33] "This man began to build and was not able to finish," might not be said of him, he obtained of the venerable archbishops of Canterbury and York and the other bishops of England, their suffragans, an indulgence of a third part of the penance enjoined for sins committed, the same being graciously granted to every one who should be a benefactor of his monastery, and should assist in the promotion of the works of the church. Thus, if in a week a fast of three days was imposed upon any persons for the punishment of their sins, a penance of one day was by the said indulgence remitted. and again, if two days' penance were imposed upon any person by the Penancer, that for one of them was remitted.

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[30] "As new-born babes." The beginning of the introit for the first Sunday after Easter.

[31] "Dicebat" is clearly a misprint for "decebat"

[32] In the text, the punctuation of this passage appears to be defective.

Having obtained this indulgence, he now opened the foundation of his new church, and sent throughout the whole of England, and into the lands adjoining beyond sea, letters testimonial of the said indulgence, entreating all the faithful in Christ to give their kind assistance for the promotion of his undertaking, granting in return to every one who should assist him the favour of the aforesaid indulgence in presence of God. In order zealously to carry out the same, he sent the venerable men, brothers Ægelmer and Nigel, his fellow-monks, with relics of the Saints, into the southern parts, namely, Flanders and France. To the northern parts and into Scotland he sent the brothers Fulk and Oger, and into Denmark and Norway the brothers Swetman and Wulsin the younger; while to Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland he sent the brothers Augustin and Osbert. All of these were his brother-monks, industrious men, most prompt and ready, and well fitted to carry out such a work; these he sent with letters recommendatory directed to the kings and princes of countries and provinces, to the following effect:

"To the most illustrious ——, by the grace of God (king of the Franks, Scots, or the like, as the case might be), the earls, barons, archbishops, bishops, abbats, priors, as also to all rulers of churches, and their priests and clerks, and to all the faithful of Christ in the kingdom to them subject, and to the rich and poor brethren living under their rule, Joffrid. abbat of the Church of God and of the glorious Mary, ever a Virgin, and of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle and of the most holy Guthlac the Confessor, the son of noble kings, and of Saint Waldev, the late Martyr, and of the whole convent of the brethren entrusted unto him by God, the everlasting blessing Apostolical and ecclesiastical from our Lord Jesus Christ and from ourselves. O sirs, and would that it may prove most true friends of God, night and day for our sins and those of all Christians, and in especial for all who do good unto us, do we cheerfully serve those whose names we have written above; that is to say, our Lord Jesus Christ and His glorious Mother, Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, the holy Confessor Guthlac, and Waldev, the late holy Martyr. Know, O sirs, and friends of God, that we have lately levelled to the ground the church of the friends of God, whom we have named, inasmuch as it greatly threatened to fall; but the same now lies immersed in quagmires, and of ourselves we are not able to rebuild it, unless the good and kind Jesus, through you and others of His people, shall grant us His assistance. We do therefore direct unto your dignity these our humble letters, to the end that your most powerful aid may come to our assistance, and that we may be enabled to re-erect the church of God and of His Saints. It is also profitable and becoming that you should hear what reward you will in this world receive at the hands of God. We are living under the royal sway of the English land; and unto the two archbishops, besides other bishops, the holy Church is subject in all matters of holy ordinance. In these the Divine goodness has inspired such love towards us, in the extreme affection which they entertain towards our said Church, that they have remitted to penitents the third part of their penance, and together with us take the same on themselves; that is to say, if a fast of three days in the week has been imposed on a sinner, one of them is to be remitted to him, and one mass is to be celebrated for him; and if a fast of two days has been imposed on him, still, one is to be remitted to him, and in like manner, mass is to be celebrated for him; and further, twelve poor shall every day be relieved on behalf of those who give aid to our church. Farewell."

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[33] Saint Luke, xiv. 30.

Moreover, the before-named monks, in strenuously carrying out the duties enjoined on them, not only brought worldly substance and perishable money to their church, but also conducted many souls unto heaven, as well as induced the bodies of some to enter the monastic order, not only among the natives but among foreigners as well. For this reason it was, that in his letter to the king of Norway, in favour of a certain merchant of that land, Thorwy by name, who had assumed the monastic habit at Croyland, and whom he recommended, he subjoined after the word "Farewell," words to the following effect:

"As for what remains, I bespeak your favour; for a pilgrim, one of your country, has joyously turned his steps unto us for the sake of supplicating God, and so greatly has he become attached to the holy place in which we live, that he has, upon the words of the Evangelists, entirely devoted himself and his unto us, and by the kiss of peace confirmed the promise he had made. Wherefore we do suppliantly entreat the most pious kings and their subjects, rich and poor, that they will assist in carrying out the good things, the performance of which he hath promised unto us and himself, and be ready to aid in reaping the advantages of the same. But if any person shall knowingly injure him in any way, the existing Church of England excommunicates that person, and may he be rooted out of the land of the living, and may his name be blotted out of the Book of Life before the face of the Saviour. His name, as he has informed us, is Thorwy."

He also sent to his manor of Cottenham, near Cambridge, the lord Gislebert, his fellow-monk, and professor of Sacred Theology, together with three other monks who had accompanied him into England; who, being very well instructed in philosophical theorems, and other primitive sciences, went every day to Cambridge, and having hired a public barn there, openly taught their respective sciences, and in a short space of time, collected a great concourse of scholars. For in the second year after their arrival, the number of their scholars from both the country as well as the town, had increased to such a degree, that not even the largest house or barn, nor any church even, was able to contain them. For this reason, they separated into different places, and imitating the plan of study adopted at Orleans, brother Odo, who was eminent in these days as a grammarian and a satirist, early in the morning, read grammar according to the doctrine of Priscian, and the comments of Remigius thereon, to the boys and younger students assigned to him. At the first hour, brother Terricus, a

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[34] Seven in the morning, according to our mode of reckoning.

most acute sophist, read the Logic of Aristotle, according to the Introductions of Porphyry and Averroes,[35] to those who were somewhat older. Then, at the third hour, brother William read lectures on the Rhetoric of Tully, and the Institutions[36] of Quintilian. Master Gislebert, being unacquainted with the English language, but very expert in the Latin and French, the latter being his native language, on every Lord's day and on the festivals of the Saints, preached to the people the word of God in the various churches. On feast days, before the sixth hour, he expounded to the literates and the priests, who in especial resorted to hear him, a text from the pages of Holy Scripture. Some who had hitherto remained unbelievers, and who were still blinded by Jewish perfidiousness, being smitten with compunction at his words, utterly abandoned their former errors, and ran to take refuge in the bosom of the Church; whereby, the Christian faith waxed more and more firm every day.

The consequence was, that through their industry, great profit accrued to the monastery, so much so, that in no way burdening the manor, but greatly improving it, in some years they reckoned that they remitted from those parts as much as one hundred marks towards the building of their church. In especial, when the venerable abbat Joffrid himself visited his sons in those parts, and delivered his discourses to the people, distinguished by the lucidness of their style, men and women innumerable came flocking from all parts of the town; who, although they were far from understanding him, as he spoke in the Latin or the French language, still paid the most profound attention to him, and, being many a time moved to tears by the power of the Word of God, and the gracefulness of his gestures, contributed alms innumerable towards the rebuilding of his church, which had been lately burnt, and which he always, at the conclusion of his discourse, petitioned for. There were also, on all occasions, three or four, who, at the close of the discourse, would follow his footsteps, and never turn away therefrom, and whom he would incorporate as laics or as literates, either in his own convent, or else in the neighbouring monasteries of Burgh and Thorney, and sometimes send, recommended by his letters, to become monks in more distant places. From this little spring, which has increased into a great river, we now behold the city of God made glad, and the whole of England rendered fruitful by many teachers and doctors going forth from Cambridge, after the likeness of the most holy Paradise.

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[35] There is a mistake here. The works of this writer were not in existence at this period He died in 1198.

[36] Literally the "Flowers."

At this time also, he sent to his manor of Wridthorp, near Stamford, some fellow-monks of his, but Englishmen by birth, the brothers Elsin, Fregist, and Harold, of whom the lord Elsin, a man of shrewd intellect and profound learning, was made prior. These often repeated the words of instruction in the ears of the people of Stamford, and greatly prospered; and strengthening the Christian faith against the Jewish corruptions, after making a full statement, both of the condition of their monastery, which had so lately been burnt and required with their assistance to be raised once more from the very foundations, obtained very considerable alms from the merchants and the other faithful of Christ, throughout the whole of the adjoining country. And thus, to the best of their abilities, did they frequently relieve their desolate mother, that is to say, their burnt monastery, with a most bounteous hand: but still, not with the same abundance with which the men at Cambridge comforted their mother, because their district was more opulent, and the spot more favoured; the people too, were more liberally disposed, their virtues were greater, and the grace of God was bestowed upon them in greater abundance.

Upon this, the venerable abbat Joffrid seeing that his sons who were staying at Wridthorp were always mindful of their mother to the best of their humble means; and that they were watchful among their neighbours with all possible diligence, for the purpose of ensuring her relief, and, in the obedience enjoined on them, did not shew themselves slow but distinguished for activity; and that, what was still more, they often, from love for their own place, most patiently endured extreme want of all necessaries; he granted them power to hear the confessions of those in their vicinity, as also of the other faithful in Christ, and of the nuns, their sisters, who lived near them, as well as to absolve those who confessed, and to enjoin canonical and healthful penance for sins committed. He also gave them liberty to receive alms given unto them, and to convert the same to their own necessary uses, seeing that it is most just that he should be partaker with the altar, whom the Lord hath willed to wait at the altar.[37] At the same time, he also assigned unto them, for their sustenance, the whole of his aforesaid vill of Wridthorp, that is to say, three virgates of land in demesne, and four acres of meadow land, together with three holms[38] in the place of two acres, and one water-mill, together with piscary in the water and at all the banks thereof, and fourteen serfs in the said vill, each of whom held one virgate of land, being in the whole twenty-eight acres of arable land, and two acres of meadow land; and each one of whom was to pay fourteen shillings for his land, as also carriage of corn and carriage of hay, or else one penny for carriage of corn, and one obol for carriage of hay; each was also to pay Gerson[39] unto his lord for the marriage of his daughters, and Ourlop[40] for the debauchery of his daughters, and Stoth,[41] and other aids and services, which are more fully described in the charters of the monastery. All these, the before-named father, the venerable abbat Joffrid, assigned to his monks before-named, together with the whole court of the said vill, and all the proceeds and profits thereof. He also granted to them all the other emoluments whatsoever of the said vill, or of the court thereof, arising in the said vill, or in its fields, including therein, right to waste lands, projecting lands, arable lands abutting on the highway, head-lands of meadow, and lands abutting on the dykes around the mill thereof, and its dam.

The said monks, in later years that proved more fruitful and more abundant, nobly applied themselves to the work imposed upon them, and, with due holiness, always keeping the consciences of their neighbours and sisters, the nuns, as well as their own, in a state of purity from the world, sent many most becoming gifts of the faithful ones in Christ to their monastery; which were the results both of their own industry as well as of the compassion of the faithful ones of Christ, and thus in the building of their abbey did they most manfully assist the said abbat and their brethren.

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[37] Alluding to 1 Cor ix 13

[38] "Holm" may mean either an "island," or "ait," or else merely a hilly spot

[39] A fine or amerciament.

[40] A fine paid to the lord by the inferior tenant, when his daughter was debauched.

[41] Perhaps the same as "stock," a forfeiture where any one was found taking wood from the forests.

At the same time, he also sent to his manor of Wendlyngburgh his fellow monks, the two brothers Waldev (who succeeded him as abbat of that monastery) and Lewin; who were in like manner appointed to manage the affairs of their monastery at Hiham and throughout all the adjacent country, and sometimes at Northampton, and trustily to collect the alms of the faithful; but in what way they carried out the task imposed upon them, and what was assigned for their sustenance, shall afterwards be more fully set forth in the acts of the said abbat Waldev, under their own proper head.

The aforesaid monks, being thus sent into different lands, provinces, districts, and nations situate around England, as well as into the adjoining towns and vills, wherever in the neighbourhood they possessed places of refuge belonging to their own monastery, suitable for dwelling in, preached throughout all lands, and, from their narratives, an account of the services done to the Church by all the benefactors of their most holy monastery penetrated even to the extremities of the earth. The consequence was, that every day they transmitted to their monastery, from different parts of the world, vast heaps of treasure, and great masses of the yellow metal daily increased, and were accumulated by the venerable abbat Joffrid, for the purpose, with the blessing of God, of commencing the intended works of his church; and abundantly encouraged him with sanguine expectations that, with the aid thereof, he should be enabled to bring the same to a prosperous conclusion.

To the prosperity of the said venerable abbat, the Lord added in these days the working of most wonderful deeds at the tomb of Saint Waldev, His Martyr. For there, by the mercy of God, the blind received their sight, the deaf their hearing, the lame the power of walking, and the dumb the power of speech; while each day troops innumerable of other sick persons were arriving by every road, as though to the very fountain of their safety; and while, the Lord opened the hand of His mercy to all, by the offerings of the pilgrims, who came flocking thither from all parts, He increased the revenues of the monastery in no slight degree. The pilgrims continuing to arrive day after day, and admiring the works of God in His

Saints, and giving due praises unto the Lord; they were on one occasion discoursing in the presence of the brethren of the monastery about their Saint, the Martyr Waldev, who, guiltless as he was, had been impiously beheaded, when a certain monk, Audin by name, and a Norman by birth, but a member of the monastery of Saint Alban's, and temporarily residing as a monk at Croyland, on hearing these words was much offended thereat, and in his wrath laughed at the pilgrims, and then with exceeding harshness spake ill of the said holy Martyr, saying that he was a most wicked traitor, was most justly beheaded for his misdeeds, and richly deserved a more disgraceful death.

When the venerable abbat Joffrid heard this, he gently expostulated with him, and made answer that it was a most dangerous thing to detract from the works of God, and to speak ill of His Saints, and that He would never pass over an offence of that nature without punishing it. And besides, God had promised to His faithful ones His presence, even to the end of the world, promising His ever-unfailing mercy to all who should be truly penitent. While the said venerable father was inculcating these precepts, and endeavouring to convince his folly by the authority of Holy Scripture, and by fair words to wean him from his erroneous path of obstinacy, he in the meantime became more and more abusive; and launching out into invective beyond measure, he irritated the Lord Almighty, and on the spot, in presence of the said father, was seized with a sudden pain in the stomach; and the disease gaining the ascendancy, a few days after his return to the monastery of Saint Alban's, he departed this life.

On the following night, while the said abbat was in bed, and was reflecting upon the above-mentioned events, in a vision of the night he beheld the Saints of God, Bartholomew the Apostle, his patron Guthlac, and Saint Neot, the Confessor, resplendent in their albs, standing by the shrine of the before-named earl. The Apostle seemed to be taking the head of the Earl and replacing it on the body, while he said these words, "*Acephalus non est;*"[42] in answer to which, Saint Guthlac, who was standing at his feet, added the words, "*Noster comes est;*"[43] while Saint Neot completed the monody or verse thus begun, as follows, "*Modo rex est.*"[44] Abbat Joffrid, the next day, thinking on these matters, and disclosing them to his brethren, rendered them all joyous thereby, and, with becoming praises, in common with them he glorified the Lord of Majesty, who thus magnified His Saints, and who at all times had proved Himself a most merciful protector to those who believed in Him.

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[42] "He is not without a head."

[43] "He is our earl."

In the same year, also, in which the Divine hand began to work so many of its miracles at the tomb of His most precious Martyr, Waldev, that is to say, in the third year of abbat Joffrid, the death of the venerable father Walter, the abbat of Thorney, contributed to the felicity of these times; for the venerable abbat Joffrid made most unremitting intercession with king Henry, that the most reverend man, the lord Robert, his own brother, but much his senior in age, who had in like manner been a monk at Saint Evroult, might be appointed successor of Walter, the pastor of the said neighbouring monastery of Thorney, and at length, through the especial mediation of the most illustrious adviser of the king, Alan de Croun, was successful in obtaining a favourable result.

Accordingly, a message was sent by the king into Normandy, to the monastery of Saint Evroult, for the said most religious monk, and he was immediately brought over. On his arrival in England, and appearing before the king, he was sent without delay, accompanied by a royal letter, to Thorney; and immediately on his most graceful person being beheld, accompanied with the praiseworthy testimonials of his brother, the venerable abbat Joffrid, he was joyfully elected, with the unanimous consent of the whole convent, and then sent to Hervey, the first bishop of Ely, his diocesan, by whom he was solemnly blessed at Ely; his brother Joffrid, the venerable abbat of Croyland, assisting him in all things, and from his first arrival in England, providently guiding him on his journey, and directing all his actions throughout. Upon his return to his monastery of Thorney, on the feast of the Assumption of Mary, the Holy Mother of God, he was solemnly installed, and he skilfully performed the duties of the pastoral office of the said convent for a period of nearly thirty-six years; being acceptable to God and to man, and doing many good works for his monastery. For the new church which his predecessor had commenced, he at length, after laying out a vast sum of money thereon, brought to a conclusion, and after it was completely finished, had it dedicated with the greatest solemnity. When an old man and full of days, in order to receive his reward in heaven for labours so indefatigable, he departed unto his Lord Jesus Christ, with whom he shall dwell for ever and ever.

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[44] "Now he is a king." The three sentences make an hexameter line

Shortly before these times, on the decease of the lord Richard, the last abbat of Ely, king Henry, being a man of most sagacious understanding, and seeing that the Isle of Ely was a most dangerous place in case any sedition should arise in the kingdom, both on account of the extreme wealth of the monastery and the natural strength of the place, made it his endeavour, as far as he possibly could, to divide the place, as well as its resources, and, withdrawing the ecclesiastical property from the simplicity of a monastic foundation, to bring the same more under his control by attaching it to an episcopal see. Accordingly, having consulted Pascal, the Lord Apostolic, upon the matter, who commended his design, he established at Ely an episcopal see, enlarging the diocese from the adjoining bishoprics, and assigning it jurisdiction at the expense of the diocese of Lincoln in especial, which appeared to be the most extensive of all. To prevent the church of Lincoln from complaining that it had been subjected to mutilation, satisfaction was made to that church out of the possessions of the church of Ely; and thus, both by the exercise of the Apostolic as well as the royal authority, all occasion for disputes between them at a future period was entirely cut off.

The venerable abbat Joffrid, in the fourth year after his arrival at Croyland, sent to his manor of Beby two monks, the lord Benedict and brother Stephen, at that time a youth of great capacity; exhorting and entreating them on no account to neglect the benefit of their convent, and to preach unto the ears of Robert, the renowned earl of Leicester, a most valiant youth, and of the burgesses of his said city, of the affairs of their monastery, and thus show themselves not inferior to their other brethren who had been sent to the other places before-mentioned on the same business, in obtaining the alms of the faithful. This command of their father, like excellent and obedient sons, they vigilantly, and, with the favour of the said earl, the grace of God co-operating with them in all things, obtained numerous gifts for their monastery. Nevertheless, at the same time they most attentively provided for the welfare of their brethren, and most abundantly supplied their manors of Beby, Sutton, and Stapilton, with all kinds of cattle, ploughs, carts and other necessary implements.

In the fifth year after he had undertaken the duties of the pastoral office, the venerable abbat Joffrid being most abundantly enriched with the plentiful alms of the faithful of Christ from all lands and from the neighbouring provinces, and being amplified with immense heaps of gold and silver, and supported by promises of assistance from all his neighbours and fellow-countrymen; after collecting vast heaps of stone of various kinds, with great labour, from all the quarries far and near, and preparing iron and steel, cement and lime, and other necessaries sufficient for the performance of his work, he appointed a day on which, with due solemnity, his kinsmen and friends being called together, to lay the foundation of his new church, the Lord always prospering his work, not on a rock of offence, but on the stone of assistance granted by the Most High.

Accordingly, just at the commencement of spring, the day at last arrived so much longed for by all, being that of the Holy Virgins Perpetua and Felicitas. There had already collected immense crowds of the people of the neighbouring country, besides the friends and kinsmen of the abbat, who did not come with empty hands. These were his brother Robert, the before-named venerable abbat of Thorney, as also the said renowned Robert, earl of Leicester, besides Simon, the noble earl of Northampton, a kinsman of the holy Martyr Waldev. There came also the most illustrious baron, the kinsman of the said abbats, Alan de Croun, together with Muriel his wife, and Maurice their eldest son, and Matilda their eldest daughter. There came also the most noble baron Walter de Cantilupe, and Emicina, his wife, a most illustrious lady. There came too the most valiant knight Joffrid[45] Riddel, and Geva, his wife, and his sister, the lady Hawise. There were, besides, many other knights and noblemen from out of the whole province, who brought various presents in the greatest abundance, and who most benignantly assisted in the holy work with the greatest devoutness, each in the proper order assigned them. They first invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, while the venerable abbat Joffrid, with many tears, repeated the collect[46] "*Actiones nostras,*" in presence of the Lord.

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[45] This name was probably the original form of our "Geoffrey."

The venerable abbat Joffrid himself laid the first corner-stone on the eastern side, facing the north. The renowned knight Richard de Rulos, who had proved a most devoted friend to the monastery from his earliest years, laid the next stone on the eastern side, and placed upon the stone twenty pounds for the workmen. The next stone on the eastern side was laid by the before-named knight, Joffrid Riddel, and upon it he presented ten marks. The next stone on the eastern side was laid by his wife, the lady Geva, who made offering of one quarryman to work in the quarry of Bernak for the space of two years at her own expense, in behalf of the said building; and the next stone on the eastern side was laid by the lady Hawise, the sister of the said knight Joffrid, who offered another quarryman's services in like form.

The before-named Robert, abbat of Thorney, laid the first corner-stone on the eastern side facing the south, and upon it placed ten pounds for the workmen. The next stone on the eastern side was laid by the most illustrious baron and kinsman of the abbats, Alan de Croun, who offered on the stone the title to the patronage of the church of Freston. His wife, the lady Muriel, laid the next stone on the eastern side, and offered upon it the title to the patronage of the church of Tofts. The next stone on the eastern side was laid by Maurice, their eldest son, who offered upon it the title to the patronage of the church of Butterwick; and the next stone on the eastern side was laid by their daughter Matilda, who offered on the stone the title to the patronage of the church of Burton in Kesteven. After collecting these titles, the before-named Alan offered them unto God and Saint Guthlac, placing them in the hands of the abbat Joffrid, in presence of all, for the purpose of building a cell of the monks of Croyland, in such one of the said churches as the venerable abbat Joffrid should think most proper and desirable.

Alan himself, and the lady Muriel, his wife, as well as the said Maurice, their eldest son, promised that they would execute their charters relative thereto, and would make still further additions, at such time as upon more mature deliberation it should please the abbat. The circuit of the frontage[47] of the said church was occupied from corner to corner by the two earls Simon and Robert, before-named, and their knights. The first stone on the eastern side, towards the south corner of the altar,[48] was laid by the before-named Robert, earl of Leicester, who offered for the workmen upon the stone, the sum of forty marks. The next stone on the eastern side, towards the south, and on the right hand side thereof, was laid by the renowned baron, Walter de Cantilupe; his wife, the lady Emicina, laying the next, and each of them offering thereon the sum of twenty marks. The next stone to that, on the south, was laid by the illustrious knight, Alan de Fulbek, who gave for the workmen one hundred shillings. The knight Theodoric de Botheby laid the next stone to that, on the south, and his wife Lozelina the next to that, they giving towards the works of the church of Saint Guthlac, one toft and two acres of land. The next stone towards the south was laid by Turbrand, the knight of Spalding, who offered towards the building of the church of Saint Guthlac the tithes of all his sheep each year. The first stone on the eastern side, to the left, towards the north corner of the altar, and next to that of Robert, earl of Leicester, was laid by the before-named Simon, the most noble earl of Northampton, who placed thereon for the workmen one hundred marks. The next stone on the eastern side, towards the north, was placed by Ralph de Bernak; and the one next to it, by the lady Boassa, his wife, who offered for the works of the church two quarrymen for the space of four years. The next stone on the eastern side, towards the north, was laid by Helpo, the knight, who gave the tenths of his church at Kyrkeby The next stone on the eastern side, towards the north, was laid by the knight Simon, and his wife Gizlana, who offered to the church the tenths of Mortor and of Scapwick. The next stone to these on the north, was laid by the knight Reynerius de Bathe, and his wife Goda, who offered to the work the tithes of Houton and of Birton.

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[46] Or prayer after Mass, beginning "Actiones nostras, quæsumus, Domine, aspirando præveni et adjuvando prosequere.'

The two abbats before-named, the two earls, and the two barons and their wives, as also the above knights, Joffrid, Maurice,

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[47] From what follows it would appear that this "frons" was the apse, or rounded portion of the eastern front, in which the altar was situate.

[48] This is probably the meaning of "in cono capitis," the word "caput" being used for "capitium," the place where the altar was situate. The term is left untranslated in Dugdale and Gough.

Richard, Radulph, Alan, Theodoric, Helpo, Simon, Reynerius, and Turbrand, with their wives, occupied the whole eastern front of the church, and with bounteous hand presented the gifts above-mentioned for the building of the said church.

The foundations of the northern wall of the church were laid after the stone laid by the venerable abbat Joffrid, in squared stones, by that part of the convent which belonged to the abbat's side of the choir; while the foundations of the southern wall of the church were laid after the stone laid by the venerable abbat Robert, in squared stones by that part of the convent which belonged to the prior's side of the choir.

The base of the first column of the northern wall was laid by Uctred, the priest of Depyng, and the other men of that vill, one hundred and four in number, who offered their labour for one day in every month until the completion of the said work. Next to them, John, the priest of Talyngton, and the men of the said vill. sixty in number, laid the base of the second column of the northern wall, and offered their labour one day in every month until the said church should be finished. Stanard, the priest of Uffington, laid the base of the third column of the nothern wall, and with him forty-two men of the same vill, who in like manner offered their labour one day in every month, until the said work should be brought to a due conclusion.

On the other side, and opposite to the men of Depyng, Turgar, the priest of Grantham, and with him the two deacons, Giva and Edward, and two hundred and thirty other men of the said vill, laid the base of the first column of the southern wall, offering to the workmen for the completion of the said column ten marks. The base of the second column of the southern wall was laid by Turkill, the priest of Hocham, and Elwy, the deacon, and the other men of the said vill, who offered for the workmen twenty quarters of wheat, and thirty quarters of malt. The base of the third column on the south side was laid by Godescal, the priest of Routzeby, and John the deacon, and the men of the said vill, eighty-four in number, who offered six marks for the workmen, two quarrymen in their own quarry, with carriage of the stone to the ship, and from the ship the services of two carriers[49] to the church.

The venerable abbat Joffrid, after finishing his discourse to all, while they were each laying their respective stones, granted to all the persons above-named the brotherhood of his monastery, participation in all their prayers and devotions, and communion in the other spiritual blessings, then or in future to be obtained in the said church. He likewise gave a portion of the indulgence before-mentioned, which had been most graciously granted by the bishops of England; the same being a remission of one third part of the penance imposed upon each penitent by his penancers for the sins committed by him; and in conclusion, after giving God's blessing to all, he invited the whole of them, men as well as women, to dinner.

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[49] "Baiardours."

For the venerable father, abbat Joffrid, together with his brother the abbat Robert, kept open refectory for all the monks who had that day resorted thither from various monasteries, being nearly four hundred in number. The two earls and the two barons, with their wives and the knights, and all the rest of the gentlefolk, were feasted in the abbat's hall. The six bodies also who had laid the six columns, together with their wives, sat down to dinner in the cloisters; while the rest of the multitude ate in the open air in the court-yard. There were counted on this occasion, of nobles and of common people, more than five thousand, there assembled together. But the Lord had given His blessing, and all, both great and small, glad and exulting, rejoiced in the Lord, and considered it a great miracle that the Lord should smile upon so mighty an assemblage of people, the sun shining most serenely, and that the feast should pass off without any murmuring and strife: so abundant was the love, which the Lord in His indulgence manifested to all from heaven, so diligently did the monks with their own hands supply those whose office it was to distribute, and so earnestly did they entreat their guests to have patience, if there was any thing which in any measure tended to displease them.

The feast being thus happily concluded with joyousness and satisfaction on the part of all, and all the lords, with the other families, dismissed to their respective homes, the venerable abbat Joffrid, and all his holy convent, with active solicitude applied themselves to the work which they had commenced, until it should arise aloft upon the earth, and shew to the skies its august and spiritual form;[49] to the end that, the Dormitory and Refectory being completely finished, the more lofty Church, looking down upon the trees around it, might be seen by those who approached, overtopping all the woods throughout the whole marsh. The especial superintendence of the whole work was at length entrusted to prior Odo, and brother Arnold, a lay monk of the said monastery, but a most skilful master in the craft of building; and the venerable abbat Joffrid, turning his attention to other matters, repaired to London, where, through the intervention of many of his friends, and, in especial, the noble baron, Alan de Croun, at this time the king's Seneschal, he obtained a grant of confirmation to his monastery, to the following effect:—

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[49] "Et quasi motabilem spiritum et nitentem ad æthera concepisset."

"Henry, king of England, to the bishops, barons, and sheriffs of England, and to all his faithful French and English subjects, greeting. Know ye, that I have granted and confirmed unto Joffrid, abbat of Croyland, and all his successors, and to the monks there serving God, all the possessions and liberties set forth in the charter of the lord Edred, the late king of England, of which charter, the most illustrious king William, my father, has made mention in the charter of his confirmation to the said monastery made thereof. I do therefore order, that they shall hold all their tenures and possessions free and absolved from all secular services, that is to say, from Scot, Geld, all aids to sheriffs and all their servants, Hidage, Danegeld, suit of Court of Shires, Hundreds, Wapentakes, Trithings, trials and causes, and from all buildings of castles, fortresses, bridges, and harbours, and from all repair of roads, and from all toll for carriage by cart, by horse, or by ship; and from the building of the royal palaces, and all worldly burdens whatsoever they are to be exempt.

"I do also grant unto the said abbat and his monks, that they shall have Frank Pledge[50] in all the Demesnes in their keeping, and I do forbid that any one shall intermeddle therewith, except themselves and their bailiffs; and I do grant unto them right of Soch, Sach, Thol, Them, Infangthefe, Hamso-

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What this passage really means, as applied to a building, it is difficult to say.

[50] Right to call upon the freemen in decennaries or bodies of ten, to be sureties for the good behaviour of each. It was also called "tenemental," or "tementale"

ken,[51] Gridbrege,[52] Blodwit,[53] cognizance of concealment and treasure trove, Forestal,[54] Flem and Flitte,[55] and Ordel,[56] together with the other liberties which the royal power has been accustomed to give to certain other monasteries. I do, in like manner, forbid that any one of another demesne shall take toll, passage, or any kind of tribute whatever, within the boundaries and limits of their vills, that is to say, Croyland, Langtoft, Cappelade, and Wendlingburgh, without leave and license of the abbat and monks aforesaid, under pain of forfeiting ten pounds, payable to my treasury or that of my heirs, as often as such persons shall presume so to do, if they shall be convicted thereof. To this my grant, these underwritten have been witnesses on my behalf. Robert, bishop of Lincoln, Hervey, the first bishop of Ely, Warner de Lusors, Hugh de Essarts, and many others, at Oxford. In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1114, and in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Henry. Under the seal of the king himself."

While this royal proclamation, which had been lately signed, was yet passing through the hands of the treasurer and chancellor, there came to the king's court, from France, two most illustrious lords, who were, through his sister, closely related to king Henry, their uncle, namely; my lord Theobald, the most noble count of Blois, and his brother Stephen, then a most handsome youth, afterwards king of England, both of them in their scholastic studies formerly disciples and pupils, at Orleans, of Master Joffrid. They embraced their old teacher and much-loved instructor with most affectionate fondness; and on finding that he was extremely sad and much perplexed at the demand by the king's officers of a certain sum of money which they required for the confirmation which had been lately granted, and learning that his monastery had been destroyed by fire, and that the rebuilding thereof had been so strenuously attempted by him, with the most liberal disposition they gave ten pounds to assist him, and so obtained the said deed from the king's servants, and sent him away with it greatly rejoicing. I shall have occasion to speak much more at length in the sequel of these two brothers, but first I must treat of a few events that occurred in the intervening time; after which, in their proper order, their wondrous and most mighty deeds shall be treated of by my pen with the most becoming diligence, and so brought before the notice of posterity.

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[51] The privilege which a man had to hold his house or his castle.

[52] Or "Grithbreche," right to hold inquisition on breaches of the peace.

[53] Amerciament of court for bloodshed.

[54] Offences committed in the highway.

[55] Or "Flemenefrit," the royal privilege of receiving or relieving outlaws.

[56] Power of trying by ordeal.

A few years before this, there had fallen asleep in the Lord, at the monastery of Evesham, the venerable Anchorite, Saint Wulfsy,[56] formerly a monk of Croyland, and a professed inmate of the church of Evesham. He had first, for the love of Christ, lived the life of a recluse, in extreme abstinence, at Pegeland, in Croyland, but, afterwards, through the annoyance caused by the resort of people to Croyland, who frequently came to consult him on their affairs, and daily disquieted the peace of his soul, had retired to Evesham, in the time of the war between the two brothers, the sons of king Cnute, who were contending for the kingdom of England; as their dissensions threatened before long to create the greatest tumults throughout the whole country. During the whole journey, he had his eyes covered with a bandage, so that he might not again look upon the vanities of the world which he had forsaken, and incur any taint therefrom in his heart, and afterwards have to repent thereof; for this reason it was that he turned away his eyes from the vanities of the world, so as not to behold them. The holy man, on arriving at Evesham, served the Lord in the chapel of Saint Kenelm, the Martyr, which he himself had constructed, in all holiness of life; and, in the seventy-fifth year of his seclusion, perceiving that he was hastening towards the close of his life, is said, in his last moments, to have delivered a sermon of exhortation to his fellow-monks, to the following effect:—

"My lords and most dearly beloved brethren in Christ, both you, venerable father, lord Mauricius, as also all others you my brother monks and fellow-soldiers—take it not amiss that I, illiterate as I am, and utterly ignorant, should teach you, who are so much more learned than myself; but, as I am far more aged than you all, and am now standing at the gates of death, I am, as my conscience bears witness, attracted by the bonds of charity thereto, and do make my endeavour to give healthful advice to those who are younger than myself. Although, as you well know, I am not acquainted with learning, still I am well versed in the book of long experience; I know that the commandments of God are holy, and I believe that love of one another will in a future life be deemed most meritorious. I warn you always to exercise long-suffering in adversity, while, at the same time, I teach you to preserve prudence in prosperity; I enjoin you to observe continence, I commend all good works, and all evil ones I forbid. And with you, my lords, it matters little, learned as you are, whether the words be written on the skin of goats, or of sheep, or of calves, so long as those words contain learning that is holy and edifying; therefore, my fathers, though my learning be but simple, and savouring of the humble rank of the ass, still, it was an ass that bore the Lord into the Holy City, and in a triumphant entry so glorious, God deigned to use no other beast of burden. The ass, the nearer he approached the walls of the city, the more truly did he listen to the cries of Hosanna, the more readily did he meet the multitudes, and the more boldly did he step upon the vestments laid by the children. Even thus have I determined the more truly to relate to you the things which in my prolonged life I have learned by experience as to the state of our monastery, the more nearly that I find myself approaching the close of my life; feeling assured that I shall be, before long, by the favour of the Lord, a fellow-dweller with angels, there to pray that, at a future day, they may go forth to meet you, and may, for your good husbanding of evil Mammon,[57] receive you as well into eternal habitations.

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[56] See pp 116 and 117.

"I was born of parents of no ignoble rank, and was brought up in this district; but, making choice of exile, in order to gain a heavenly life, I embraced the spiritual training of the monks in a remote region, at the famous and holy monastery of Croyland, the special habitation of Saint Guthlac, there to wage war against the Devil; and I declare that, after the lapse of a year, I professed obedience to the rule of Saint Benedict. Being really as ignorant as a layman, and not skilled in literary pursuits, and quite unsuited for joining in the choir of the monks, while, at the same time, I was utterly unacquainted with the ministering of Martha, and the knowledge how to cater in the market, I addressed repeated prayers to the venerable abbat of that most holy monastery, Brithmer by name; and at length obtained his permission to lead the life of an anchorite, a thing which had always been my wish, and for that purpose to be shut in a cell among them, that so I might, both day and night, pray unceasingly to God for the negligences of the whole community, as well as for my own sins. I was fortunate enough to obtain the fulfilment there, for some time, of my earnest wishes, and full many a time, as it then seemed to me, did I take part in the heavenly choirs, conversing daily with the citizens of heaven, and comforted by God in revelations that afforded me the greatest delight. But, behold! amid the tumults which in those times brought great tribulation upon the whole land, in the contest which took place after the death of the renowned king Cnute, between Harold and Hardecnute, as to which of them should seem to be the more mighty and the more deserving of their father's sceptre, there was such a concourse of the natives of Croyland, in consequence of their fears of impending war, and such a din of men and women every day rushing in to me, in order to consult me upon their various necessities, that each day an immense multitude of people might be seen lying before the little door of my humble cell, just as though it had been the portals of some royal palace. The consequence was, that I was hardly able to run through the duties of the Holy Office that had been enjoined me, and very often had hardly leisure to snatch a moment for a single mass in the day; very seldom in the night-time, even, was I able to observe the silence imposed by rule, but I began day by day to fall away from the state of perfection to which I had formerly attained. As though one cast out from before the face of the Lord, I now began to be styled the legal adviser and the counsellor of the necessitous, to be pronounced a most holy and most esteemed man; and I should in consequence, when I recall to mind [the shortness of] my years, have rushed headlong into the depths of wickedness and utter desperation, had not the most holy Lord, of His grace, which is ever most readily granted unto a sinner, inspired me with a resolution to seek the advice, in relation to my state, of my lord Aricus, the then prior of this monastery, who was my kinsman in the flesh, a most highly esteemed adviser of the king and all the nobles of the land, and a most holy searcher into their consciences; him I resolved to ask what course I should adopt. That I might not chance to run, or to be likely to run into a course of vanity, I sent a message to him, on which he sent back word requesting me to come to him with all speed, and assuring me that I should thenceforth enjoy all the counsel and assistance that he could afford me; which would ensure me the most abundant peace and the greatest tranquillity to which my desires could possibly aspire, for obtaining sure repose for my soul. With what urgent entreaties I obtained leave to depart from my most holy brethren, with how many tears I parted from my holy abbat and other much-loved brother monks, with what reluctance at heart I left that most beautiful place, it is not for me now to enlarge upon: but at last I did take my departure, and, coming hither, have passed many years in this cell, a poor creature of a man, who enjoys, I confess it, a greater name with the world than he merits before God; but still, to the best of my small abilities, a great ensample to all my brethren, and to the neighbouring people to whom I am known.

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[57] This is perhaps the meaning of "Qui pro bene administrato iniquo Mammona."

"Now as regards the state of our monastery, which has ever been mutable and most unstable, we have never remained long in a state of prosperity; but what one abbat has with much industry obtained, the same has the first or second in succession to him, through shameful slothfulness, squandered away: and still further, I do most assuredly prophesy unto you, that much tribulation will, before long, befall this monastery; so much so, that the hands of all shall be lifted against you, and each and all shall take delight in either sweeping you from off the earth, or crushing you down thereto. Still, I hope that I may be found to be a lying prophet, and that truth may not abide in my words. At the beginning, this abbey, as my seniors have often informed me, was founded and built by Ecgwin, the most blessed bishop and our abbat; and many in succession prosperously held the same office until the time of one Edwin by name, on whose decease the monks were expelled, and a few clerks, called 'canons,' introduced."

But for me to insert in this history of Croyland the many ancient immunities and possessions of the monastery of Evesham, things which bear no reference whatever to Croyland, the many expulsions of the monks from Evesham by the tyrants of the province of Wiccia,[63] with their restoration by the most pious princes and prelates of the land, the many acquisitions of vills and states throughout the whole of the Vale, and the frequent alienations of the same, I think would be quite unnecessary and utterly improper, seeing that they bear no reference whatever to Croyland; and besides, all matters relating to the state of Evesham are fully contained in the collection of Discourses of the holy man [Wulfsy], which was formed for the instruction of posterity, and which collection is generally called "the Testament of Saint Wulfsy." I think it more becoming therefore, and more convenient, for the present, to pass by matter of this nature, and I deem it expedient here, in its order, to state such of the matter inserted therein concerning the manor of Badby as bears reference to Croyland, setting forth word for word how this most holy Anchorite in his last moments discoursed thereon at length, and what was the advice which, from his inmost convictions, he gave.

After treating of many other subjects, then, he at last proceeds to speak of the manor of Badby to the following effect: "At last the lord abbat Walter was succeeded by the lord Robert, your late predecessor, O lord Maurice, who was formerly a monk of Jumieges; how many lands of the monastery he bestowed on his kinsmen you know better than I do, as you have daily to lament so shocking a spoliation. You, my venerable father, lord Maurice, who now preside over this monastery, are in peaceful possession of Neuhamp, which was formerly a manor of my parents, and of the lease of Badby there are a few years still remaining unexpired; I do advise you and do charge your consciences, immediately your term is expired, to restore the said manor in full to its just possessors, the abbat and monks of Croyland, and with due diligence to keep the other manors of this monastery, and all the rest of its goods which with a just title you possess; that so, for the faithful keeping of the same, you may obtain of God an everlasting reward at the time when, as we all hope to do, we shall meet in the kingdom of heaven. Amen."

The above discourse, some few words being added thereto by way of embellishment, is said to have been delivered by the holy man Wulfsy to his brethren in his last moments; immediately after delivering which, he fell asleep in the Lord.

[63] Worcestershire.

The before-named Mauricius, abbat of Evesham, was succeeded in the pastoral rule of the said monastery of Evesham by the lord Reginald, a monk of Gloucester. In the early days of this abbat the term of the lease of Badby for one hundred years expired; on which Joffrid, the venerable abbat of Croyland, although he was busily engaged in rebuilding his church, as well as other great and sumptuous edifices which had been lately consumed by fire, held consultations with those learned in the law, and considered with long deliberation what his convent was to determine to do with regard to the manor of Badby. Although the original charters had been burnt, and he was utterly at a loss to know in what place the charter of restoration containing the said manor had been deposited by his predecessor abbat Ingulph, still, all the monks of Croyland were of opinion and agreed that they ought to go to Evesham, and make demand of the manor of Badby in right of the monastery of Croyland, and put forward in support of such demand the royal roll, known as Doomsday. If they, like truly religious men, had well-regulated consciences, they would at once give it up, but if, putting trust in their money or their exemptions, they had seared and avaricious consciences, and struggled to hold it even though wrongfully, then they would have to go before the king's justices, and manfully strive for the maintenance of the rights of their monastery.

This step was accordingly adopted, and the venerable abbat Joffrid proceeded to Evesham, and, making demand of restitution of the manor, produced a copy of the charter of restoration of Croyland, and, among other things, alleged the authority of the said royal roll of Doomsday in support of his demand. On the other hand, Reginald, the abbat of Evesham, relying on his kinsmen and friends, and especially on the counsels of Milo, earl of Hereford, who was at this time staying at Evesham, and in whose might and words he put the greatest confidence against all his adversaries, briefly made answer (for he was very talented, and a young man particularly well skilled in temporal matters), that the manor of Badby was the property of his place, and had been acquired through the lord Avicius, who was formerly the prior of that monastery, and his kinsman, the lord Wulsin, the Anchorite, who lately died there, it having formerly been their patrimony by inheritance, and having from remote times belonged to their ancestors.

To this was added the presence of the said earl Milo, who most pertinaciously opposed the venerable father, the lord Joffrid, and engaged himself and all his to defend the said monastery in the king's court against the monks of Croyland. The venerable abbat of Croyland, seeing that there was no fear of the Lord in this place, and that he was entirely at a loss, through want of the charter of restoration as well as the deed of the original donation, left the matter unsettled, and returned to Croyland, and explaining before his community the most offensive answer both of the earl of Hereford and of the abbat of Evesham, despaired of successfully exerting himself any further in relation to the said manor. Accordingly, he devoted his whole attention to his church which he had lately commenced, and with the greatest diligence urged on the same, and anxiously promoted the building thereof as long as he lived.

At the same time, also, king Henry confirmed the manor which had been formerly given to us by the sheriff Thorold, and our late cell, situate at Spalding in the same manor, unto the monks of Saint Nicholas, at Angers. This confirmation was granted to them by king Henry in the following words: Henry, &c. * * * *[59]

In the year following died Ivo Taillebois, who had always been a most bitter enemy to Croyland, and had proved in every place its stoutest foe, as well as a sacrilegious spoliator of all the monasteries and the churches of Christ. He was so much given to magic, that, during the siege of the Isle of Ely, he even induced the most victorious king and conqueror of the English, reluctant as he was, to place a certain sorceress at the head of the army, and by his false promises made him believe that his adversaries could not resist her charms and direful incantations. This, however, was seen and ascertained by all to be utterly vain and untrue. For, being carried aloft in a kind of wooden tower, upon the bridge which the soldiers were forming for the purpose of crossing the marshes, she was quickly put to death; for, when the soldiers and workmen had made some little progress, that most skilful baron Hereward of Brunne, attacked them in flank, and setting fire to a bed of dry reeds close at hand, not only cut off the enchantress as well as all the soldiers with the heat and flame thereof, but reduced to ashes all those portions of the work which they had commenced that appeared above the surface of the marsh. Thus did the most victorious Hereward, by his wisdom, confound that which the most foolish Ivo had with great pride devised against God and man.

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[59] There is an omission in the MS. here.

The same person also proposed, with his usual pompous verbosity, to Thorold, the abbat of Burgh, by the aid of a body of troops, to expel Hereward from the adjoining forests and woods; but while the venerable abbat and nobles of higher rank were dreading to enter the defiles of the forests, and Ivo, taking with him all the soldiers, had entered the woods on the right, Hereward and his men made an onset on the left, and instantly took and carried off the abbat with all the noblemen who had been left thus unprotected, and kept him in great tribulation, confined in secret spots, until he had paid three thousand marks for the ransom of himself and the others. In such manner did Ivo make abbat Thorold fall into the pit, and force him to pour forth all the money of his monastery into the hands of the enemy. He was a most assiduous flatterer of the kings, both William, the father, as well as his sons, but was at the same time a most fickle turncoat, and constant in his adhesion to none; for at one time he would favour the side of William the Second, and then shortly after, he took the side of Robert, his elder brother, and created a great tumult, on which he was at last outlawed from England, and went over to Robert altogether. Then he forsook him in his turn, and joined the side of his younger brother, when he saw that he was more powerful, found that he had more money, and considered him more prudent in ensuring a successful result of their contest.

On a final triumph being gained by the renowned king Henry, and his brother Robert being placed in close confinement, all his army was disbanded and allowed to return home; on which the said Ivo returned greatly elated to his wife, the lady Lucia, who was holding her court at Spalding Here he died a few years after, of an attack of paralysis, and his wife buried him in the priory of Spalding with some little sorrow on her part, but amid the loudly-expressed exultations of all their neighbours.

Hardly had one month elapsed after his death, when she married that illustrious young man, Roger de Romar, the son of Gerald de Romar, and received great honour from William de Romar, earl of Lincoln, the elder brother of her husband, while she entirely lost all recollection of Ivo Taillebois. Their only daughter, who had been married to a husband of noble rank, died before her father. Thus, in order that his bastard slips[60] might not take deep root in the world, did the accursed line of this wicked man perish, the axe of the Lord hewing down all his offspring. What, then, does it now profit thee, O Ivo, ever most blood-thirsty, thus to have risen against the Lord? Unto the earth hast thou fallen, numbered with the dead; in a moment of time hast thou descended to hell, a successor of the old Adam, a frail potsherd, a heap of ashes, a lump of potter's clay, a hide of carrion, a vessel of putrefaction, the nourishment of moths, the food of worms, the laughing-stock of those who now survive, the refuse of the inhabitants of heaven, and the avowed enemy of the servants of God; and now, as we have reason to suppose, an alien and an exile from the congregation of the Saints, and, for thine innumerable misdeeds, worthy to be sent into outer darkness.

The noble baron, Alan de Croun, seeing that king Henry had confirmed the cell of Spalding to the monks of Anjou, while, through the might and influence of Milo, earl of Hereford, the manor of Badby still remained in the hands of the monastery of Evesham, was afflicted with such violent grief of mind, that he took to his bed, and his life was despaired of. Through the goodness of God, however, he at last recovered, and bade farewell for ever to the king's court; and having been carried in a litter drawn by horses to his manor of Freston, he sent a swift messenger to fetch the venerable abbat of Croyland; on whose arrival, making him his most especial confessor, as to forsaking the vanities of the world, he consulted him relative to the gifts of churches, which he had formerly promised to God and to Saint Guthlac; besides which, he entirely confided his soul to his care, and commanded the whole management of his court to depend upon the expression of the will of the holy abbat in all things.

The parsons of Toft, of Freston, and of Butterwick, were still alive; still however, calling together his most intimate advisers and friends, after invoking the Holy Spirit, he assigned to the monks of Croyland, as a sevenfold assistance in building a cell for monks in the church of Freston, seven churches to be held by them to their own use; and at the same time executed and delivered his charter as to the said churches and his other gifts to God and the holy church of Saint Guthlac, into the hands of his reverend instructor and confessor, Joffrid the lord abbat, to the following effect:

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[60] Alluding to Wisdom iv. 3.

"Know all, both present as well as to come, that I, Alan de Croun, and Muriel, my wife, do give and do grant unto the church of Saint Guthlac, at Croyland, freely and quietly to hold the same as a perpetual alms-gift, the church of Freston, together with all the tithes and customs which belong thereto, that is to say, the lands of the church and the croft adjoining the church, as also five tofts at Freston, and four bovates of land, together with the meadow land, free from our demesne rights and acquitted of all services, geld, and customs. Also, the church of Butterwick, and all things that pertain thereto; and in like manner, the church of Toft, with all the tithes, land, and other things pertaining thereto, as also the toft of Blanchard, and the land of our own demesne. Also, the church of Warneburn, together with all things pertaining thereto, that is to say, with the lands and shrubberies thereof. Also, the church of Stonnesby, with all things pertaining thereto; and in like manner, the church of Claxeby, with all things pertaining thereto. Also, the church of Burton, with the tithes and other things pertaining thereto, that is to say, three bovates of [arable] land, with meadow land, and one bovate of our demesne, with the meadow land. These churches, with all that belong thereto, and with the repairs which we shall make thereto, we do give for ever, to find food and clothing for the monks who shall serve God in the church of Saint James, at Freston; in the first place, in behalf of the souls of the father and mother of the king, and for the life and health of them and theirs, and then in behalf of the souls of our fathers and mothers, and kinsmen, and ancestors, and for our own health, and that of our souls. We do also grant unto them the tithes of the pennies of our fair at Botulphston,[61] and pasturage for their cattle together with our own beasts in all places. Witnesses hereto," &c. His seal of wax being appended thereto.

At this period, Henry, the mighty king of the English, a prosperous victory having been granted to him over his brother Robert and his other adversaries, with deep devotion gave and returned manifold thanks for the same; and holding a very full council at London, of the bishops and abbats of all the clergy throughout England, as well as of the earls, barons, nobles, and men of high rank of his whole kingdom, at the entire and most holy prompting of his own heart, in presence of all those who were gathered together, resigned from this time forward for ever all claim to the investiture of churches by ring and pastoral staff, and freely granted to all communities the election of their prelates, and promised to restore in full the sums received during the vacancies of bishoprics and abbacies to those who should succeed thereto; and with royal munificence granted all other things for which Holy Mother Church had long sighed, his own royal rights alone being sacred and excepted. How great were the joys which the clergy then felt, how delighted were the devout people, how solemnly and with what holiness did each and all extol the king's disposition to the skies, no one could say, nor could even Tully himself have expressed. For on this occasion, Anselm, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, assisted by Gerard, the reverend archbishop of York, on one day consecrated six bishops, who had been canonically elected by their respective churches.

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[61] Now Boston.

In addition to this, for the further promotion of the service of God, this most devout king at great expense founded a most beauteous monastery at Reading, and giving it into the charge of religious monks, bestowed upon it many lands and tenements, numerous estates and possessions, with extensive liberties and privileges; and, last of all, he cherished it with the royal favour, and put it upon a footing of equality with the other greater abbeys.

Just at this time also, Gilbert de Gaunt, the illustrious and devout earl of Lincoln, refounded the most ancient monastery known as Bardeney, which had been formerly burnt by the fury of the Danes, and had for a period of many years lain utterly deserted, and only frequented by flocks and wild beasts; it is situate not far from Lincoln, towards the east thereof, upon the banks of the river which we call the Withmum.[62] To this, besides many other possessions and revenues, he most graciously granted the tithes of all his manors situate everywhere throughout England. Numerous other persons, also, induced by the example of the most noble baron,

[62] Now Witham.

Alan de Croun, founded monasteries, enriched and beautified them. Some constructed cells of the monks of Bec, and bestowed on them many churches Others, again, introduced communities of Clugniac monks, and endowed them both with churches and other possessions in the greatest abundance.

The venerable father, abbat Joffrid, hastening from the king's council to Croyland, published a most healthful enactment for his brother monks, at all times to be observed by them, on account of various negligences and omissions of what was their duty. To employ his own words, it was in form as follows.—

"I, Joffrid, a sinner, appointed abbat of the church of the glorious Confessor and most pious Anchorite, Guthlac, by the Divine counsel, and with the consent of my brethren, entrusted by God unto my charge, have enacted for the health and repose of our fathers and mothers, our brothers and sisters, our kinsmen, and all our benefactors, and for the sake of all those to whom we are under obligations and indebted, and to whom we have promised alms-gifts, masses, and prayers, and whose alms we have received, that we will, on the last day of the month of May, perform the Maundy of the poor, and will feed them, and will, for the love of Christ, give to each of them one penny, to the end that they may feed and refresh us in our extreme necessity. For we know that we have entered into many promises of fastings, prayers, and masses, to God and our benefactors, of which we have not been thoughtful, nor have all been careful to perform the same, but have, like miserable and negligent creatures, neglected the most thereof, and have performed but few. Wherefore we have, by the mercy of God, determined to perform the said good Maundy which we have mentioned, to the end that we may not be found to be liars towards God and our own souls by those to whom we are indebted, as being false promisers. I do, therefore, with a devout heart and most kindly words, pray my brethren and successors, that they will keep and observe this good enactment, that so their souls may ever find repose in Christ, the Lord. From the tithes of Morburne, bread shall be received for the performance of the said Maundy, and the pennies to be given with the bread shall be taken from the tithes of Elmington."

Robert, the venerable bishop of Lincoln, had shewn himself kind and favourably disposed in all affairs relating to Croyland; still, however, he was always most intensely execrated by the monks of Stowe, whom he had transferred to Eynesham. For, induced by cupidity alone, when he was the king's justiciary, he had by the royal authority removed their monastery, greatly beloved by the kings and the earls of the land, and enriched with many gifts, from a most fruitful spot, and the neighbourhood of a most beautiful river, Trent by name, to a barren place, that was destitute of all signs of opulence. After this, he presumed to boast, that his Eynesham was comparable with the royal foundation at Reading; on which, he incurred the king's indignation to such a degree, that he was deprived of the office of justiciary, and was afterwards afflicted with penalties and hardships, and could neither, according to his intended purpose, complete Eynesham, nor yet entertain his court with his wonted lavishness of expenditure.

Speaking of the life of this man, Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, thus expresses himself:—"As very great misfortunes are wont often to overtake many worldly men before their deaths, I would mention what befell our venerable bishop, Robert, before his end. As justiciary of England, he had been very greatly dreaded, but towards the close of his life, had been twice put on his trial by the king, before a certain justiciary of ignoble birth, and had twice, to his great grief, been visited with the most severe penalties. He was consequently afflicted with such a profound stupor, that when, on one occasion, (dining with him, as archdeacon,) I beheld him shedding tears, and asked the cause, he made answer, 'In former times, those who waited on me, were arrayed in costly apparel; but now, the penalties inflicted by the king, have obliged them to be clad in vestments of lamb's wool' So great indeed, after these events, was his despair of ever being able to regain the king's esteem, that, when the especial commendations of him were repeated, to which the king, in his absence, had given utterance, he said, with a sigh, 'The king praises none of his people except such as it is his intention utterly to ruin.' A few days after this, while the said bishop was at Woodstock, where the king had appointed a gathering for the purpose of hunting, conversing with the king and

Roger, bishop of Salisbury, who, next to the king, was at this day the most influential man in the kingdom, he was smitten with apoplexy, and was carried still living, but speechless, to his inn, and shortly after expired in the king's presence.[63] His epitaph was to the following effect:—

"Robert, the pride of pontiffs, whose great name,
Dead though he is, shall live in endless fame."

While the most glorious king Henry was prospering in his kingdom, and his fame was re-echoing in the ears of all the countries around, there were sent to England some envoys from Henry, emperor of the Germans, persons of tall stature, remarkable for their polished manners, of noble rank and surpassing wealth; their object being to request the king's daughter in marriage for their master. He accordingly held his court at London, making the most splendid preparations and surrounded by the most refined luxuries, and in a very numerous assemblage of his barons, demanded and received the oaths as to the marriage of his daughter from the envoys of the emperor during the celebration of the feast of Pentecost. In the following year the lady was sent, sparkling with such an abundance of jewels, and accompanied by such a noble retinue of envoys, and such vast sums of money, that to defray the expenses of all this, three shillings had to be paid for every hide of land throughout England.

In the meantime, there had died that most holy philosopher of Christ and most excellent archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm, a most distinguished doctor, a most stout wall of defence of the Church, the patron of all the oppressed, a most devout preacher of the Christian faith, and a most persevering imitator of Angelic purity. He was succeeded in the archbishopric of Canterbury, at the king's nomination, by Radulph, bishop of Rochester.

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[63] This event is mentioned more fully in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:—"It fell out on a Wednesday, being the fourth day before the ides of January, that the king rode in his deer-park, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, was on one side of him, and Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, on the other. and they rode there talking. Then the bishop of Lincoln sank down, and said to the king,—'My lord king, I am dying,' on which, the king alighted from his horse, and took him in his arms and bade them bear him to his inn, and he soon lay there dead."

At this time, the emperor Henry, who, throwing aside all scruples of reverence and natural affection, had incarcerated and put to death his own father, then a decrepit old man, was also devising crafty and most horrible machinations against the Church. For, proceeding to Rome with a royal escort, that he might be duly anointed and consecrated to the imperial dignity by our lord the pope, when he had arrived at the gate of Saint Angelo, and our lord the pope, suspecting nothing sinister, had gone forth to meet him with all due honor, attended by the cardinals and clergy bearing crosses and numerous torches, he suddenly seized the pope and all the cardinals, and put them into close confinement, where he kept him most rigidly shut up, until the Church had conceded to him a new privilege as to the investitures of churches by the ring and pastoral staff, and the same had been handed over to him signed with the papal bulla. He was likewise anointed emperor, a thing that his father had not been able to obtain during the fifty years of his rule of the empire, so greatly did he exult in having commenced this career of error; however, it was all in vain.

For, in the following year, the most holy pope Paschal, having convoked a general synod at the Lateran, in the Basilica of Constantine, with the consent of all the archbishops. bishops, abbats, and the whole of the clergy there assembled, quashed this, not so much "privilege," as "pravilege,"[64] which in the preceding year, the emperor Henry had extorted from him; on which, Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, the then legate of the Apostolic See in Aquitaine, openly read the decree of the Holy Synod in the hearing of all, and proceeded to pronounce sentence of excommunication for ever against all who should give or receive ecclesiastical dignities from lay hands, with the acclamations of all then present, who cried aloud,—"So be it! so be it! Amen! Amen!" This pope Paschal granted to the abbey of Saint Botolph, at Colchester, great Absolution on the feast of Saint Denis and the octave following, to be granted to all pilgrims for sins of which they made true confession and were really contrite, the same to last to all future time. The said Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, while at this time he was a zealous and devoted champion against the said "pravilege," so, on the schism of Peter Leonis against Innocent, the catholic pope, did he prove a most determined enemy of the Church, died under sentence of excommunication, and utterly cast out.

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[64] He puns on the resemblance, and invents a word, which would signify "bad law."

The above-named Gerard, archbishop York, was succeeded by Thomas, who, after a short tenure of office, was followed by Turstan, the best of them all, except that, for a long time, he declined to pay obedience to Radulph, the archbishop of Canterbury. After Radulph, Arnulph, abbat of Burgh, was appointed to the see of Rochester, and consecrated by that archbishop.

Just at this period of time, the venerable abbat Joffrid introduced a most devout observance, to be thenceforth continued at Croyland, on the feast of the Preparation[65] For he enacted, and enjoined that obedience to the same should be always observed by his successors, that, on the day of the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, to which the holy Page gives the name of "Parasceue,"[66] the abbat of that house should, in presence of all, strip himself in the chapter-house, and, according to rule, receive stripes upon his own flesh; and that the whole convent should, each in his order, do the same; to the end that, in the same way that the Lord Jesus, after his denial, mercifully looked back upon Peter the Apostle, and he, grieving for his offence, bitterly bewailed his sin, so He, in His mercy, may look down upon us, and make us bitterly to lament our sins; and that as, by so doing, we are made partakers of His Passion, so we may be rendered partakers of the joys of His Resurrection Amen, Amen.

At this time there was a very mighty earthquake in Italy, so much so, that many walls fell down, strong fortifications were overthrown, and a great town was removed from one spot to another at a considerable distance. At this time, the following miraculous event happened at Milan, and rendered the philosopher Solo famous in the eyes of many. For, while several men of Patrician rank were discoursing on the affairs of state of the city of Milan beneath a certain tower there, one was called by name, and invited to come forth, and on his delaying so to do, a person came, and with entreaties begged him to leave his companions in council for a few moments, and, immediately after he had heard the matter, return. Accordingly, he came forth, and hardly had he gone thence, when the tower fell down and crushed all the rest beneath its ruins.

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[65] "Parasceue," or "Good Friday"

[66] Or "Preparation." St. Matthew xxvii. 62; St. Mark xv. 42.

Many parts of England, also, were most dreadfully afflicted with this earthquake, and the new work of the church of Croyland, which as yet was weak in consequence of having no roof to hold it together, split asunder, most shocking to relate! in the southern wall of the body thereof, with horrible yawnings, and threatened immediate ruin as the consequence, had not the industry of the carpenters been exerted in firmly keeping it together, with timbers of great length and beams laid transversely, until such time as it had gained the support given by the formation of the roof, which, after that, firmly held it together.

At this time died Matilda, the queen of the English, and the glory of the Scots, the foster-mother of the poor, the refuge of all the wretched, and the most especial patroness of the abbey of Croyland, and of abbat Joffrid. She reposes at Westminster, as your records say. Her epitaph was to the following effect:—

"Great queen! sprung from the line of England's kings,
The Scots thou didst ennoble by thy nobleness"—

Then, after enlarging on the worth of her character, it proceeds—

"No pleasures pleased, no sorrows made her sad;
Adversity she lov'd, joy was her dread—
No honors made her vain, no sceptre proud,
Humble in power, in lofty station chaste.
The first of May, of day for us the night!
Snatch'd her from us to everlasting day."

But the revolving wheel is hurrying me away from the fulfilment of my promises made as to matters previously mentioned. At the time at which this most pious queen put off mortality, in order that evils might not come alone, but, multiplied in numbers, might be enabled to say, "Bow down thyself, that we may pass over thee," a most grievous dissension had proceeded to great lengths between the two kings of France and England. The cause of this discord was my lord Theobald, the renowned count of Blois, previously mentioned. He had been held in great contempt by Louis, king of the Franks, on account of his sanctity, and had been often provoked by derisive insults on the part of the youths about the court. This did not escape the king of England, who, feeling vexed that the high-born station of his kindred should be thus subjected to maltreatment, sent envoys to the said illustrious earl, ever to be mentioned as my lord Theobald; namely, Gilbert, abbat of Westminster, and Joffrid, abbat of Croyland, both of them born and bred in France, both of them Doctors, remarkable for their skill in the seven liberal arts, celebrated for their understanding, venerable for their old age, held most dear by my lord before-named, and well known and much beloved by all in Belgic France.

Being presented by the king with a large sum for their expenses, they proceeded, not as royal envoys, but like natives of the country about to visit their fellow-countrymen, and to pay their compliments to the learned men, their contemporaries, at Paris and Orleans. On their road, without any noise or pomp they turned aside to pay a visit to the count, and speedily telling him their business, took their departure; but, setting out on their return to England, they crossed the sea by ship, and brought an answer to the king, that the count would with all speed repair to Normandy, for the purpose of having an interview with him. Both of the envoys, receiving his commendations, returned to their monasteries, but they were almost drained to the very last farthing of the immense sums of money which each had taken with him from his monastery.

It is proper that I should now set forth the most holy character of my lord before-mentioned, the most renowned count Theobald, show what were his alms-deeds, how devout an imitator he was of our holy father Job, whom Satan afflicted with every kind of tribulation, and thus, to the best of my humble ability, hand down the same to posterity.

Stephen the Elder, count of Blois, by his wife, the countess Ada, daughter of king William, the most glorious conqueror of the English, had three sons, Theobald, the first-born, afterwards count of Blois, of whom mention is made above; Stephen, the second son, afterwards count of Moretuil, and king of England; and Henry, the third son, afterwards a monk, then bishop of Winchester, and Legate in England of the Apostolic See. Of the two latter brothers, mention shall be made more at length hereafter; at present, the object of my pen is to treat of Theobald, the first-born. With reference to him, Geoffrey, abbat of Clairval, in his second Book on the miracles of Saint Bernard, writes to the following effect:—"The Lord did set free, in a manner not less wonderful than merciful, that most faithful prince, count Theobald, after he had been proved by great tribulation. Though the most powerful man in the kingdom, and second only to the king, he entirely devoted himself to alms-deeds, and was intent upon objects of piety, while he showed himself a most devout lover of all the servants of God, and of [Saint] Bernard of Clairval in especial. Still, God suffered him to be harassed and afflicted to such a degree, that, in consequence of the king, as well as nearly all the neighbouring influential men, entering into a combination against him, his escape was nearly despaired of; he was publicly insulted, his piety was arraigned, and his alms-deed impugned, while his knights and arbalisters were styled monks and useless religionists. And not among strangers only, but even in his own cities and castles as well, were blasphemous remarks of this nature to be heard repeated."

Arnold, also, abbat of Bonneval, after enlarging upon this subject, writes to the following effect:—"That man [of God], count Theobald, while intent on heavenly things, was not without temptations of great weight and of a terrible nature; for the king, as well as the nobles, attacked him, and the earth was moved and trembled: and, as though God were enraged against him, nearly everything that belonged to him was exposed to the ravages of conflagrations, while the armies of the king covered the face of the earth, and laid waste the land in all directions. Nor was it safe for him to oppose or face his persecutors, for even his own friends had forsaken him, and had openly joined in harassing him; while those who remained with him were of no advantage in being able to afford him assistance."[67] * * * *

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[67] The narrative abruptly terminates here.

END OF PETER OF BLOIS' HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

# A SECOND CONTINUATION

# OF THE

# HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

* * * * [1]denouncing their impiety, [blood] gushed forth from the walls.

After the lapse of several years, king Stephen, being extremely desirous to grace his son, Eustace, with the crown, our lord the pope, by his letters, forbade it; on which he placed the archbishop and all the bishops who opposed him in strict custody, and mercilessly seized many of the nobles of his kingdom in their respective castles, and reduced them to a state of famine. Induced to do so by the necessities of the oppressed, Henry, duke of Normandy, hastened over to England with a great army, at a moment when his arrival was least looked for. King Stephen, on the other hand, collecting troops from every quarter, met him with all speed near Malmesbury. At length, however, a truce was concluded between them; and Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, after frequently conferring with the king thereon, and appealing to the duke through messengers, at last effected a reconciliation between them, on which the king adopted the young duke as his son, and, binding himself by oath, appointed him heir to his kingdom: while the duke promised to pay all due honor and fealty to the king as long as he should live.

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[1] We learn from Hoveden and Henry of Huntingdon, that the following circumstance is here referred to —While the church of Ramsey was being held by the impious Geoffrey de Mandeville as a castle, blood gushed forth from the walls of the church and adjoining cloisters, in manifestation of the Divine displeasure, and foreboding the extermination of the wicked. A.D. 1144. The MS. is defective at the beginning

This same king Stephen, being besought by abbat Edward with urgent entreaties, graciously granted him a confirmation of the boundaries of the abbey, which was to the following effect:—"Stephen, king of England, to his archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, justices, sheriffs, barons, officers, and all others his faithful Franks and English throughout all England, greeting. Know ye that I have granted and confirmed unto God and the church of Saint Guthlac, at Croyland, and the monks there serving God, all the lands and tenures, and other the possessions to the said church belonging, as also the marsh in which the said church is situate, together with the boundaries thereof by name, as follow:—From Croyland to Asendyke, thence to Aswyktoft, and so along Shepee to Tydwarthar, thence to Nomannesland, and so through the river Nene to Fynset, and so to Greynes, and thence to Folwardstakyng, and thence along the course of Southlake, as it falls into the river Welland. Thence, on the other side of that river, to Aspath, and thence to Werwarlake, and so to Harenholte, and thence upwards through the waters of Mengerlake, and thence along the course of Apynholte, as it falls into the Welland. Wherefore, I do will and strictly command that the before-named church, and abbat, and monks, shall hold and for ever possess whatever is contained within the said boundaries, and all other their lands, tenures, and possessions, fully, peaceably, freely, honorably, and quietly to enjoy the same, in wood and in plain, in meadows and in pastures, in waters and in marshes, in preserves and in piscaries, in mills and in mill-dams, and in all other things, as also places, with right of Sach and Soch, and Thol and Them, and Infangethefe, and with all other free customs and acquittances, as fully, freely, and quietly as any church in my kingdom holds the same. Witness myself, the queen, and earl Simon, and others, at Stamford"

After king Stephen had had a most toilsome and unfortunate reign of nearly nineteen years, he departed this life, and was buried at Feversham, near his wife and son.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1155, Henry the Second, duke of Normandy, was crowned by Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury. on the seventeenth day before the calends of January.

In the time of this king, Thomas, archdeacon of Canterbury and prior of Beverley, was created archbishop of Canterbury. But, a disagreement afterwards arising between him and the king, on certain customs of the kingdom, which militated to the utter subversion of the liberties of the Church, he withdrew from the council held at Northampton, and, with great sorrow of heart, remained in exile for a period of seven years.

In the sixteenth year of his reign, king Henry had his eldest son, Henry, [crowned] by Roger, archbishop of York. * * * * [Archbishop Thomas] was received [in the name] of the Lord, while all cried aloud, and said, "Blessed is he, who cometh in the name of the Lord." On his arrival, the Supreme Pontiff suspended Roger, archbishop of York, and some other bishops, from all their duties; while others he placed under the ban of excommunication. * * * * * * * cruelly slew with their deadly swords the man of God[2] who was struggling for justice, in the church of Canterbury, like another Zacharias;[3] on which occasion, a person composed the following rhyme:—

> "In eleven hundred and seventy-one,
> The primate Thomas his course had run."

In the meantime, Abbat Edward ably ruled this church, and greatly amplified it with decorations, books, and extensive possessions. But, still further to prove his endurance, a great misfortune happened; for, in his time, the church of Croyland, with its outbuildings and most of its furniture,[4] was again burnt, on the Nativity of Saint Mary. But, by the aid of the right hand of God, he almost immediately rebuilt it magnificently, in great part, with the active assistance of his brethren. After enduring many hardships for thirty years, as boldly as manfully, in behalf of the rights of his church he at last fell asleep in the Lord.

He had for his successor Robert de Redinges, prior of Lemster,[5] who was appointed to the office by king Henry the Second, son of the Empress, and archbishop Richard. He carefully completed the building of those parts of the church which remained unfinished at the death of abbat Edward; and, hiring artificers for the purpose, had the front of the shrine of Saint Guthlac constructed of work of remarkable beauty. Upon this occasion, he suppliantly besought of the said king Henry a confirmation of the boundaries of his abbey, and obtained the same, by royal charter, in the following words.—"Henry, king of England, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to his archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, officers, and all other his faithful Franks and English throughout all England, greeting. Know ye, that I have granted and confirmed unto God and the church of Saint Guthlac, at Croyland, and the abbat and monks there serving God, all the lands and tenures, and other the possessions to the said church belonging, and, in especial, the site of the said abbey, together with the boundaries thereof, herein named, which extend as follow: A distance of five leagues, being from Croyland to the place where the Asendyk falls into the waters of the Welland, and thence along the Asendyk to Aswyktoft, and thence to Shepee, and thence to Tydwarthar. Thence through Fynset, upwards to Greynes, and thence to Folwardstakyng, and thence along the course of the Southlake, as it falls into the river Welland. And so across the Welland, towards the north, as far as Aspath, and thence to Werwarlake, and so to Harenholte, and thence upwards through the water as far as Mengerlake, and so through the Lurtlake as far as Oggot, and thence along the course of Apynholte as it falls into the Welland; together with all piscaries to the said boundaries belonging. Wherefore, I do will and strictly command that the before-named church, and abbat, and monks shall hold and for ever possess all their lands, tenures, and other their possessions, and all the gifts which, since the death of king Henry, my grandfather, have been reasonably given to them, fully, peacefully, freely, quietly, and honorably to enjoy the same, in wood and in plain, in meadows and in pastures, in waters and in marshes, in preserves and in fisheries, in mills and in mill-dams, and in all other things and places, with right of Sach and Soch, and Thol and Them, and Infangthefe, and with all other free customs and acquittances, as fully, freely, and quietly as the said church, and abbat, and monks held the same in the time of king Henry, my grandfather, or other my predecessors, kings of England, and as fully, freely, and quietly as any church in my kingdom of England have held the same. Witness * * * at Lincoln."

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[2] Archbishop Thomas á Becket.

[3] Alluding to 2 Chron. xxiv. 21; and St. Matt. xxiii. 35.

[4] This seems to be the meaning of "necessaria."

[5] Or Leominster. The abbey of Redinges, or Reading, was endowed by Henry the First with the possessions of this abbey.

King Henry, the son of king Henry, son of the Empress, twelve years after his coronation, and while his father was still alive, was seized with a severe fever; and being afterwards attacked by a flux of the bowels, departed this life,[7] and was interred at Rouen.

In the year of our Lord, 1186, being the thirty-second of his reign, king Henry, son of the Empress, gave to Hugh, prior of the house of Witham, of the Carthusian order, the bishopric of Lincoln; on which he was consecrated by archbishop Baldwin.

The before-named abbat Robert carried on a very heavy suit, in behalf of his church, against the Prior of Spalding, and the men of Hoyland, who had, with a large force, made an irruption into the precincts of Croyland; this, the following case, drawn up at full length by him, relative thereto, will show:—

"The abbey of Croyland was begun to be built by Saint Guthlac the Confessor, who is also buried there, four hundred years since, or more. It is of the proper alms of the kings of England, having been granted by their especial donation from the ancient times of the English, when it was founded by king Ethelbald, who gave the marsh in which it is situate; as we find stated in the Life of that Saint which was formerly written. The abbey, being situate in the midst of the marsh, stands at a considerable distance from the rest of the mainland. Now, the men of Hoyland, who are our neighbours on the northern side, greatly desire to have tenancy in common of this marsh of Croyland; for, as their own marshes, of which each vill had originally one of its own, have been dried up, they have converted the same into good and fertile arable land. Hence it is that they stand in need, beyond measure, of common pasture land for their cattle, in which they do not so greatly abound.

"Now, in the thirty-fifty year of king Henry, it being the last year of his life, while he was in his territories beyond sea, and busied in wars and other pursuits, there came over to England a false report of his death. On hearing this, the men of Hoyland considered how they might invade the marsh and by force obtain possession of it; imagining that they could easily overcome the poor abbat of Croyland and his little house, and confiding in their own prowess and the vastness of their riches. Accordingly, Gerard de Camville, Fulco de Oiri, Thomas de Multon, the father of Thomas, and Conan Fitz-Eloy, persons, who, for other reasons, entertained great animosity against the house of Croyland and its abbat Robert, after being joined by Richard de Flet, and Walter, and many others, called upon Nicholas, the prior of Spalding, to place himself at their head as the chief and principal actor in this piece of violence. Why enlarge? All the most powerful men of the wapentake of Ellow, a few only excepted, entered into a conspiracy against Croyland, and met together, sometimes in a barn belonging to the prior of Spalding, at Weston, and sometimes in the church of Holbeche.

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[7] The twelfth of May

"Accordingly, the abbat of Croyland, in conformity with his usual custom, put his marsh-lands in a proper state of defence, as is usually done each year about the time of the Rogation days; and proclamation was publicly made upon the bridge of Spalding, that the men of Hoyland and others should prevent their cattle from entering the marsh, in order that the crop of hay might have liberty to grow; upon which, they refused to listen thereto, and persisted in forcing an entrance to the marsh even more than before. Hereupon, the servants of the abbat, who had been, according to custom, appointed for the purpose, by his orders impounded the cattle, as they had been in the habit of doing in former years. The men of Hoyland, being very indignant at this, on a day named, the feast of Saint Nereus and Saint Achilles, came to the marsh of Croyland, armed, all of them, with all kinds of weapons; just as though in array for battle, and exceeding in number three thousand men. At the embankment of the Asendyk, where the boundary of the marsh of Croyland is situate, they were met by abbat Robert, and a few of his people, who suppliantly sued for peace; for both he and the others supposed that they had come for the purpose of levelling the whole abbey with the ground. On this, they gave him a haughty answer, and made a show of resistance to his face. God, however, wrought a change in their malicious intentions, and in some degree mitigated the evils which threatened the abbey; but, armed as they were, they proceeded through the middle of the marsh, and divided it among themselves, according to the situation of their respective vills, although located at a considerable distance around the marsh. They then encamped around the abbey, erecting their tents and taking up their quarters just like so many hostile nations, and placing men-at-arms to act as sentinels in each division of their encampment. Accordingly, they dug up turf, cut down the greater part of the wood and alder-beds of Croyland, and depastured upon the meadow land; while they carried off fire-wood, and committed other acts of violence for fifteen days, just like so many armed men in camp.

"In the meantime, the abbat and monks of Croyland with their servants were placed in great straits, and were affected with profound grief, as they hardly dared venture beyond the gates of their church. The monks accordingly determined to lay their complaints before the justices of our lord the king, and sent a message to the one whom they found nearest at hand, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter by name, who was then staying at Clive, in Northamptonshire; whereupon, he sent six knights of Northampton to see and fully learn the extent of this incomparable outrage. On their arrival at the eastern side, they first met with the tents and quarters of the men of Sutton, the liegemen of Gerard de Camville, and found them provided with all kinds of arms. Upon being questioned by them, these men answered, that they were there by the orders of their lord; and so, in like manner, throughout each of the quarters, until they came to the quarters of the men of Spalding, which they found to be the most remote, did each party name its respective lord as its authority for so doing.

"In the meantime, however, abbat Robert secretly hastened to London, and sought the presence of Hubert Fitz-Walter, who then occupied the place of Ranulph de Glanville, who was staying with our lord the king, in the parts beyond sea. Accordingly, he made complaint before him and his fellow-justices, of these many injuries committed against the peace of our lord the king, and shewed to them the great charter of our lord the king, which sets forth by name the boundaries of the marsh: upon which, they exceedingly condoled with him, and, being greatly surprised and moved to anger, sent word in the king's name to the before-named Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, commanding him at once to summon before him the prior of Spalding and all the men of Hoyland, and give the abbat full redress against them. On hearing this, the armed men, who had now kept ward in their quarters for a period of fifteen days, burned their encampment and returned home.

"Accordingly, upon the summons of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, the men of Hoyland, together with the prior of Spalding, came to meet him at Depyng; and, in the week of Pentecost, on the sixth day of the week, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter arrived, bringing with him many men of rank, and members of the king's household. Upon this, those parties were there charged by abbat Robert with breaking the king's peace, and with all the violence and injuries before-mentioned; and there arose on behalf of the abbat, seven of his men, who being tenants of his *in capite*, charged each of them, one of their adversaries, with doing injury to the abbat to the amount of twenty marks. Hugh Poll charged Gilbert de Peccebrig; Robert Bee, Elfric de Fulvey, his brother; Hugh Molende, Conan Fitz-Helye; Robert de Baston, Fulco de Oiri; Alfred de Leverington, Thomas de Multon; William de Ghat, Alger de Colevill; and Robin Robet, Alexander de Whappelode. Some of those who were thus charged, as well as many others, were taken and imprisoned: Gilbert, for instance, and his brother Elfric, at Northampton; William Puley and Hugh de Whappelode at Rokingham,[8] and others at other places. After this, the judge appointed a day named for either party to come and appear before the chief justice at Westminster, at the feast of Saint Michael.

"In the meantime, our lord Henry, king of England, departed this life; upon which, our lord Richard was crowned king, on the third day of September, and the justices were changed; in consequence of which, the men of Hoyland took courage, for they had feared that had the king survived, they should be condemned. Accordingly, on the day named, the abbat of Croyland came with his friends and champions to support his accusation and the charges made. There was also present, the prior of Spalding, with his accomplices; but

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[8] A town and castle in Northamptonshire.

Thomas de Mulet[9] being ill, sent his seneschal in his stead. At this period, Hugh, the lord bishop of Durham, was sitting as chief justice. Upon this, Conan Fitz-Helye, Fulco de Oiri, the seneschal of Thomas de Multon, Alexander de Whappelode, and Alger de Colevill, became greatly alarmed, and through the intervention of friends, entreated the abbat to grant them peace and reconciliation, and that his appeal might be put an end to. They further, with their friends, pledged their faith to the abbat, that they would never from this time prefer any claim to the marshes of Croyland, and that they would throw themselves upon the king's mercy for the injuries they had committed, and would, according to the arbitration of [mutual] friends, make good the damage which they had done. Accordingly, they appeared before the justices, and confessed themselves guilty; on which, they were amerced, Thomas de Multon in five pounds of silver, Fulco in five marks, and Conan in the same; while the two others, who were poor men, at the entreaty of the abbat, were not, on this occasion, visited with a penalty. The prior, however, and his liegemen, Gilbert and his brother, Elfric, persisted in their contumacy.

"Accordingly, another day was named; upon which the abbat, and the prior, and their respective followers appeared. The abbat preferred his complaint against the prior and his men, that they had come in arms to the marsh of Croyland, which is held of our lord the king, and had so broken the king's peace. To this the prior made answer, that he certainly had come with an armed force to his own marsh, which belonged to the priory of Spalding, as of the fee of William de Romar; and promised the king that he would prove this, or forfeit forty marks at the next grand assize held. As for the abbat of Croyland, he had not on this occasion taken due precaution, as he had neither brought with him the king's charter, nor yet had he come attended by any stout young men, who could offer wager of battle and fight on the abbat's behalf, to assert his right of property in the marsh; with the sole exception of Hugh Poll and Robert Bee, who had respectively charged Gilbert and his brother Elfric. As he could not[10] make choice of wager of battle, he was obliged to submit to the matter being brought before a jury, although a course attended with danger to himself. For the knights of that county live at a very considerable distance from the marsh of Croyland, and know nothing about its boundaries; and besides, there is no one hardly to be found in the county of Lincoln, who is not in some way or other connected either with the house of Spalding, or with William de Romar, or else has laid some claim to the marsh. And, although the persons before-named withdrew their claim, they still secretly gave aid and counsel, * * * and pay a sum of money to the prior and his people. Accordingly, knights of the county[11] were chosen in the king's court, whose names were set forth in a writ, for the purpose of trying the cause; upon which, the men of Hoyland rejoiced at their victory, as they imagined that they would now be enabled to settle the matter with money.

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[9] Clearly a mistake for Multon.

[10] Probably for the following reason · because, in the trial by battle, on issue joined in a writ of right, the battle could only be waged by cham-

"Accordingly, our lord the king directed his mandate to the sheriff of Lincoln, to the following effect:—'Greeting. We do command you to summon Roger de Huntingfield, Conan de Kirket, Walter Maureunard, Radulph Fitz-Stephen, Alan de Wichet, William de Foleteb, Alan de Marc, Richard de Bracebrigg, Alveram de Hugwell, Robert de Thorp, Alan Merscou, Hugh de Noville, Hugh de Bobi, Robert Fitz-Henry, Radulph de Reping, Geoffrey de la Mar, and Robert de Guing, who have been named by four knights chosen for that purpose, to make view of the marsh as to which there has been a dispute in our court, between the abbat of Croyland and the prior of Spalding; and they are there to make view of the said marsh, on the Monday next before the Nativity of our Lord; and you are to be there, with four or six of the lawful knights of the county. And, after view made thereof, you are to summon the said knights to appear before us on the fifth day after the octave of Saint Hilary, wherever we may chance to be, or else before our justices on the same day at Westminster; there to try upon oath which party has the better right to the said marsh, in which the encampment has been so made, and the burning

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pions, and not by the parties themselves; as, in civil actions, if any party to the suit died, the suit of necessity instantly abated, and no judgment could be given. Probably Poll and Pee were looked upon as parties to the suit, and could not act as champions

[11] "Comitibus" seems to be an error for "Comitatu."

of the turf and alder-bed have taken place, the abbat of Croyland or the prior of Spalding, according to the seisin which the same persons have had thereof since the first coronation of our father, king Henry. And you are to have there this writ and a summoner. Witness, the bishop of Durham.'

"Accordingly, on the Monday next before the Nativity of our Lord, Nigel, the sheriff of Lincoln, did not come in person to make view of the marsh, but sent in his stead Walter de Sart, who was a supporter of the men of Spalding. A very few came of the knights named; who, having made view, caused their verdict to be written to the following effect:—

"'This is the verdict of the knights, on view made of the marsh as to which there has been a trial between the abbat of Croyland * * it being averred that the marsh where the encampment was made, and the fire, and the rooting up of the alder-bed took place, is his own, and of the fee of the abbey of Croyland; by reason whereof the said abbat hath this year, and every year since he has been abbat, received rent for the same,[12] as he alleges. The men of Hoyland say that the said marsh does not belong to the abbat, but is their own property, from Munechelade towards the east, and that they are not answerable for the burning or the uprooting which took place below Munechelade. The men of Hoyland, on being questioned whether they would or would not be answerable for the burning and uprooting that took place beyond Munechelade, said that they would not give an answer thereupon, because the justices of our lord the king have cognizance of those questions, by virtue of the king's writ.'"

In the mean time, the men of Hoyland, by favour of the sheriff, changed such of the knights named as they pleased, without consent of the abbat; such, for instance, as Roger de Huntingfield, Hugh de Bobi, and Geoffrey de la Mar. On the approach of the day of trial, the abbat of Croyland, intending to proceed thither, was detained by sickness; on which he had himself essoigned for illness on the road,[13] and another day was named at Westminster, after the Purification of Saint Mary. Abbat Robert accordingly set out for the purpose of going thither, but became so extremely ill at Cottenham, that he had himself essoigned for illness, which confined him to his bed.[14] Upon this, four knights, by precept of the justice, came to view him; and appointed another day after the octave of Easter. His malady still increasing, abbat Robert died, on the vigil of Easter; upon which Croyland was seized in the name of the king and of his chancellor, whom, when he crossed beyond sea, he had left to act as chief justice of the whole of England. The abbacy of Croyland being thus vacant and held in the king's hands, there was a lull in these tempests.

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[12] This appears to be the meaning of the sentence, which seems to be in a very corrupt state.

[13] The essoign *de Malo viæ* was an excuse made for him who had been summoned to appear and answer to an action, on the ground of falling sick on the road. It was a kind of imparlance, or craving of a longer time.

This same king Richard, in the first year of his reign, deafforested[15] all the marsh lands of Hoyland and Kesteven, between the river Welland and the river Witham, which had been previously deafforested in the time of kings Henry the First, Stephen, and Henry the Second; and he granted to the men on both sides thereof, to whom, before, it had of right belonged, leave to build upon the said marshes, and to till the same, and to enjoy all their easements upon the same, according to the metes and boundaries in their charter contained.

In the mean time, William de Longchamp, the lord bishop of Ely, chancellor to our lord the king, and at this time legate from the Apostolic See, sent messengers to the king in Normandy, where he was anxiously making arrangements for his expedition to Jerusalem, and obtained leave from him to appoint an abbat for the abbey of Croyland. Accordingly, with the consent of the king, and on the election of the brethren of Croyland, the lord Henry, a monk of Evesham, and brother in the flesh to the before-named chancellor, was chosen abbat of Croyland.

So long as the chancellor continued to sit as chief justice, the men of Spalding made no mention of any claim upon Croyland: but afterwards, through earl John, and by means of the conspiracy entered into against the chancellor, or rather against our lord the king, who was now in Judæa devoting himself to the service of God, the chancellor was expelled from England, and his brothers Henry and Osbert, and many others of his kinsmen and friends, were taken and thrown into chains of iron, and the strictest confinement.

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[14] The essoign *de Malo lecti;* on which, as Bracton informs us, the defendant was by writ viewed by four knights.

[15] Freed and exempted from the forest laws.

And now, William de Romar, who was a devoted adherent of earl John, and had already taken the oaths of allegiance to him, commenced a persecution of Henry, the abbat of Croyland, upon strength of the hatred entertained against his brothers; and, taking the opportunity, caused the before-named abbat to be summoned by the justices on the king's writ, to appear on a certain day named at Westminster, against the abbat of Saint Nicholas at Angers, (for the before-named Nicholas, prior of Spalding, had previously been deposed), to hear the verdict upon the view made of his marsh. Upon this, he was full of anxiety, and quite at a loss which way to turn, as he foresaw danger impending on every side; and he did not dare to step beyond the precincts of his monastery, lest he might chance to be seized like his brothers, or even killed; for threats to that effect had been recently uttered against him, as he had been informed by many persons. Accordingly, he had himself essoigned on the first day for illness on the road, and on the second for being confined to his bed.

Upon this, orders were sent from the king's court by the justices to Gerard de Camville, the sheriff of Lincoln, an enemy of the chancellor, and the especial leader of the opposite faction, immediately to send four lawful knights of the county to make view of the abbat on a certain day named. Accordingly, four knights were appointed, whose names were as follows: Walter de Braytoft, and Reginus de Beniton—the names of the others have not been preserved. These, however, did not come on the day named, but only one of them, Reginus de Beniton, and some low retainers of the prior of Spalding, together with some other persons. Abbat Henry, however, thinking that they would not come, had, the previous night, embarked in a vessel at the gates of Croyland, though he had not yet fully recovered from his illness, and caused himself to be carried to a manor of his in Cambridgeshire, on his way to court. As for the before-named Reginus, summoning the prior of Croyland to appear, he said that he had come to make view of the illness of the abbat, according to the king's precept: but as he did not find there those who had been named as his associates in making such view, he would by no means alone demand view of him. However, they named a day for the abbat according to the precept, as those who came said that the justices

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The day now approaching, and the abbat of Croyland feeling more anxiety on account of the perpetual spoliation of his church than of his own peril, set out for London, where he arrived on the day of the Ascension; and here he found gathered together against him the princes of the land, namely, earl John, Walter, archbishop of Rouen, Hugh de Novant, bishop of Chester, William de Romar and his accomplices, Gerard de Camville, and Roger de Stikelwald, his under-sheriff, and the abbat of Angers, together with others innumerable, who took part against him through hatred of his brothers. For William de Romar, and the abbat of Angers, who at that time were great in the land, had, through many prayers and great gifts, and by means of evil suggestions, moved them against the abbat and the house of Croyland; so much so, that it did not seem to them that they had gained a full and complete victory over the chancellor and his party, so long as the abbey of Croyland, over which he had appointed his brother to be abbat, should remain in peace and free from spoliation. Indeed, William de Romar strained every nerve to add to his own barony and to the possessions of the prior of Spalding, the seat of the before-named monastery, which is the property of our lord the king, and has been that of his predecessors, the kings of England, in right of the crown; for, in the hearing of many persons, he said that the abbey of Croyland was situate in his fee; whereas it was founded by royalty long before any one of his family was known, and before Spalding existed, which is said to have once been a manor of Croyland. On one occasion, when earl John was entreated by this William to show him favour, the earl is said to have made answer, "My dear lord William, for a hundred pounds, and out of my love for you, I might act contrary to justice."[16]

At length the abbat of Croyland was summoned to the exchequer, in presence of all the persons before-mentioned, who there sat in council against him, he being attended by three monks only and two knights of middle rank, as no one dared venture to take his part. The seneschal of William de Romar, who was a fluent but very insolent person, began his address against him, skilfully enough, but in a very overbearing and flagrant manner. For this reason, he seemed especially to please the archbishop of Rouen, earl John, and the others. After having, amid deep silence, and with the earnest attention of all, spun out his address with repeated charges, invectives, and slanders against the chancellor and his friends, the person whose duty it was to reply for the abbat could hardly be heard, for the tumult which arose. At length, however, he made answer for the abbat in very brief terms, and asserted that he held the marsh, which was the seat of the abbey, as of the demesne of our lord the king, and the property of the crown, and that he was holding the same peacefully and quietly, when his lord and patron the king set out on his expedition for Jerusalem; and that he further persisted in calling his lord the king his especial protector,[17] and, in order to have a temporary cessation of hostilities, offered forty marks for the king's use; a thing, however, which they would not hear of or even understand. At last, the abbat produced the charter of our lord the king, in which were set forth the limits of the before-mentioned marsh, as also another charter, in which the king forbids the abbat of Croyland to be put upon his trial before any one except himself; which last charter was read. First, however, he produced the charter of king Richard in the very same words; but earl John made answer, that his brother, the chancellor, had made that charter for him entirely at his own will and option. However, after he had heard the charter granted by his father read, he blushed for very shame. On reading and fully understanding these charters, his adversaries were confused beyond measure, hardly knowing what to say in rejoinder.

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[16] This seems to be the meaning of this passage, but it appears to be in a corrupt state; "iste" is clearly a misprint for "isti," as the avaricious earl John is evidently the speaker.

Robert de Fenteteld, one of the justices, and a supporter of theirs, upon seeing this, enquired in a loud voice if the knights, who had made view of the abbat, were there? Upon this, they produced four very low fellows, whom, according to general report, they had suborned for the purpose, namely, Geoffrey de Thurleby, who was a tenant of the abbat of Angers,[18] William Fitz-Alf, Walter Rufus de Hamneby, and Gilbert Fitz-Just de Benington, who were neither knights nor holders of a knight's fee. Upon this, the abbat made answer that they were not the knights named, and that neither they nor the others had come to make view of him, and offered to make proof thereof. They professed their readiness to hear him, but caused the false testimony which others bore against him to be set forth in writing, while not a word of the truth which the abbat stated would they have committed to writing. However, all who were present, with the exception of his adversaries and other evil-wishers, pitied the abbat, and sympathized with him on this oppression; being of opinion that the judgment given could not be other than favourable to the abbat, seeing that those who called themselves his viewers were neither of knightly rank nor yet girt with the sword, while the third one of them [that was questioned], did not so much as know how to speak French. However, another day was appointed for him, after the octave of Pentecost, to hear judgment.

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[17] This seems to be the meaning of "vocavit dominum regem gavant." The last word is probably derived from the Flemish word "gave," a "gift," and we learn from Charpentier that there was an officer appointed by the earl of Flanders, whose duty it was to protect the churches, on consideration of an annual fee or gift.

The abbat of Croyland, accordingly, returned on that day, and found his adversaries and evil-wishers making themselves quite sure of a judgment in their own favour. Judgment, however, was again put off on the succeeding Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday; and at last, the abbat, being summoned to hear judgment given, a first, second, and third time, came and made appearance, attended by Benedict, abbat of Burgh, and Baldwin Wake. The before-named Robert de Fentefeld then pronounced judgment; to the effect that the abbat of Croyland, who had essoigned himself against the prior of Spalding, as being confined by illness to his bed, but was not found in bed when view ought to have been made of him, should for a time lose his seisin, but not his right, or, in other words, possession, but not the right of property; and that the prior of Spalding should have the seisin which was the subject of dispute between them. On hearing this, the abbat did not dare utter a word, but departed sorrowful and in confusion.

Upon this, his adversaries returned home in all haste, and by the hand of the sheriff of Lincoln received seisin of the whole marsh of Croyland below Muncechelade, to which they had never laid claim, as well as two leagues beyond Croyland, as far as Namansland, only leaving a little plantation of alders standing around the abbey, as its own property. They also carried off the gibbets on which were hanged such thieves as were taken in the vill of Croyland on judgment given by the abbat's court, and erected them on the other side of Spalding, as an everlasting disgrace to Croyland.

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[18] Who was superior of the priory of Spalding.

However, when it became divulged throughout all lands that our lord, king Richard, was a captive in Germany, and detained in confinement by the emperor, the abbat of Croyland set out on his toilsome journey, in the middle of winter; and, departing for Germany, found the king, his master, at Spires, fifteen days before he was liberated. Accordingly, he made complaint to him on the injuries and losses which had been inflicted, not so much on himself, as on the royal crown; and, at the same time, showed to him the charter granted by his father. At length, on the second day after his liberation, our lord, king Richard, confirmed to him the charter of his father, and ordered letters to be directed to Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was then sitting as chief justice, directing that the abbat of Croyland should have seisin of his marshes, in conformity with the charter of his father, and in such manner as he held the same when the king set out for Jerusalem. This was accordingly done, to the following effect:—

"Richard, king of England, to the archbishop of Canterbury, greeting. We do command you, without delay, to let the abbat of Croyland have seisin of his marsh of Croyland, in such manner as it is testified by the charter of king Henry, our father, that he ought to have the same; of which he has been disseised since our departure beyond sea. Witness, myself, at Spires, on the twenty-second day of January, in the fifth year of our reign."

Accordingly, on his return from Germany, abbat Henry found the archbishop at London, and presented to him the king's precept; upon which, he immediately ordered it to be carried into effect, and directed it to the sheriff of Lincoln, whose deputy was at this time Eustace de Ledenh[all]. The under-sheriff, Eustace, therefore, on behalf of the king and his justiciary, caused solemn reseisin of their marsh to be made to the abbat and house of Croyland, at the beginning of Lent: and the abbat held them peacefully and quietly all that year and the next.

However, about the calends of July, the abbat of Saint Nicholas at Angers, above-named, obtained against us letters revocatory of our lord the king, and sent them to Jocelin, the then prior of Spalding, to the following effect:—"Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, to the archbishop of Canterbury, greeting. The abbat of Saint Nicholas at Angers has complained unto us, that, under pretext of certain letters, which the abbat of Croyland did, on truthful grounds, as he alleged, obtain from us while we were in captivity in Germany, he has been unjustly and without trial disseised of a certain marsh between Croyland and Spalding, which belongs to the priory of Spalding, a branch of the house of Saint Nicholas at Angers; and of which the said abbat of Saint Nicholas recovered seisin in our court by judgment of our said court, and gave unto us forty marks of silver for having the judgment of our said court as to the said marsh. Wherefore, we do command you to have diligent enquiry made hereupon, and if you shall find that such is the fact, then you are to let the said abbat of Saint Nicholas have such seisin of the said marsh as he had by judgment of our court; and when he has had such seisin, you are to receive from the said abbat twenty marks, which he has promised to us on receiving seisin thereof. Witness, myself."

Upon this, the men of Spalding were overjoyed, and thought for certain that they should immediately gain reseisin, as they made many promises to many helpers of theirs. Accordingly, they brought this mandate to the archbishop at Westminster; upon which, he enquired into the truth of those who had sat as judges: and they reported that the abbat of Croyland had been disseised for a certain default, that seisin had been given to the abbat of Saint Nicholas, and that the abbat of Croyland, without judgment given by the king's court, had again recovered seisin. Hereupon, some were of opinion that seisin ought at once to be given again to the men of Spalding. But, as the precept had only been made on certain conditions, and the abbat of Croyland was not present, the archbishop postponed the consideration of it, until the expiration of fifteen days after the feast of Saint Michael. The abbat, upon hearing this, went to the archbishop to learn his intentions; who made answer to him, that unless he should hear of another precept before the day named, he should give seisin to the people of Spalding, in conformity with the king's precept. Upon this, the abbat, being full of anxiety, in conformity with the advice of his convent and his friends, made preparations for crossing the sea. For he had been summoned, not to plead his cause, but to hear the king's precept, in the following form:—"Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, to the sheriff of Lincoln, greeting. Summon by two summoners the abbat of Croyland to appear before us at Westminster, at the end of fifteen days from the day of the feast of Saint Michael, that he may hear the precept of our lord the king, concerning the marsh situate between Croyland and Spalding, as to which there has been a dispute between him and the prior of Spalding. And you are in the meantime to see that the said marsh, together with all the profits arising therefrom, is kept free from ravages or waste. Witness, Simon de Pattishill."

Accordingly, on the day[19] of Saint Hippolytus the Martyr, being the Lord's day next before the Assumption[20] of the blessed Virgin Mary, the lord abbat of Croyland, bidding adieu to the brethren, took his departure amid the blessings of all, and set out with a most resolute mind on his intended journey; having first directed them to put up prayers both individually and in common, and duly to celebrate masses.[21] When he had arrived near Winchester, he heard that archbishop Hubert, so often named, the primate of all England, and legate of the Apostolic See, and chief justice of our lord the king of England throughout the whole kingdom, was at that place on the king's business. He therefore waited upon him, and stated to him the necessity he was under of crossing over, upon which, he obtained his permission, and on asking for his blessing, received it, and then hastened onwards to the sea-shore at Portsmouth.

Here he found a vast concourse of the nobles of England, of earls namely, barons, and knights, who were waiting for a calm, and were extremely desirous to cross over, in consequence of a most urgent summons on part of the king

[19] Thirteenth of August.

[20] Fifteenth of August.

[21] To promote the success of his suit.

their master. For, at this period, there was a mortal hatred and a dreadful rupture between him and Philip, king of France, who, by fraud rather than by violence, had wrested from our lord, king Richard, the greatest and best part of Normandy, while he was detained a prisoner in Germany. Our lord the king, being consequently desirous to avenge himself, had summoned the chief men of England, and these making preparations to cross over, the abbat joined them. Accordingly, they embarked, and making a prosperous voyage, landed at Barbeflet,[22] on the feast[23] of Saint Augustin the Doctor. Being still in the company of the said nobles, who paid him every mark of respect, he arrived at the city of Rouen. The king of France, having led an army into Normandy, had almost entirely laid waste those territories; in consequence of which, the king of England was so crippled and reduced to such straits, that he was able to attend to nothing else but expeditions, encampments, and the garrisoning of castles. The abbat, therefore, deferred mentioning, for the present, to the king the business upon which he had come.

In the meantime, the bishop of Ely, the chancellor of our lord the king, returned, by way of England, from Germany, whither the king of England had sent him to carry tribute[24] to the emperor. On hearing of his return, the abbat went to meet him, and disclosed to him the purport of his mission. A short time having elapsed after this, on the day of Saint Lambert, the king arrived at a manor of his called Ponsarche. The abbat, hastening thither, found the chancellor with the king, and being unwilling to put it off any longer, besought his lord the king to give his attention to the business upon which he had come. Accordingly, he began humbly, but emphatically, to state to him the cause of his journey; the chancellor, however, took the word from his mouth, and explained the whole circumstances of the case. Upon this, the king made answer, that he very well remembered that he had come on the same business to him when in Germany, and that he would with pleasure grant him a full measure of justice: "But follow me," said he, "until I can give you my entire attention." Accordingly, the chancellor, with the abbat, and others who were his well-wishers, returned him thanks; and the chancellor, once more, set out on his road for Germany, to visit the emperor.

[22] Harfleur. [23] Twenty-eighth of August.

[24] A portion of his ransom money, probably.

As for the abbat, and those who were with him, they followed the king through villages, and castles, and cities, until the king at last arrived at Falaise. Here the lord abbat earnestly and suppliantly entreated him, and at the king's command briefly and succinctly stated with his own lips the whole circumstances of the case. Upon this, the king seemed to be much pleased both with his firmness of determination and the succinctness of his address; at the same time, seeing that his adversaries, as above stated in the king's writ which they had brought over, had promised him a payment of twenty marks, he promised that he himself would pay the same number to his lord the king. On this, the king briefly made answer, that he wished to discuss the matter with his council. These events took place on the day of St. Mauricius[25] the Martyr.

After this, the abbat followed the king for several days through numerous places, until at last he came to Gorham, on the vigil of the feast of Saint Michael. On the following day, during the solemnization of the holy mass, he approached the king as a suppliant petitioner, and was favourably heard. Calling to him Master Eustace, the keeper of his seal, "Make haste," said he, "and despatch the business of this abbat, and send our mandate to the archbishop of Canterbury, in the following words: 'Richard, by the grace of God, king of England, to the venerable father in Christ, Hubert, by the same grace, archbishop of Canterbury. The abbat of Croyland, coming to us while we were in Germany, stated unto us, that, under pretext of default on his part, when, on account of his brother, he did not dare appear, he had been disseised of a certain marsh situate between Croyland and Spalding: upon which we made enquiries of him and others, and found that through fear on account of his brother * * he had taken to flight and concealed himself, and had thereby committed default; which default we did forgive him. Wherefore, we did, by our letters when we were in Germany, command that the said abbat should have full and entire seisin of the said marsh, in such form as the charter of Henry our father testifies. Again commanding the same, we do will and have hereby commanded you to carry out that which is stated according to the tenor of the charter of our father and in conformity with the customs of England relative to the said marsh; and we do warrant to him our charter hereupon, as also our forgiveness for his said default. And if it shall so happen that the prior of Spalding has paid the twenty marks into our Exchequer, which he promised unto you for receiving seisin of the said marsh, you are to cause the same to be returned to him; and if he shall not have paid them, then you are not to receive them; seeing that he obtained the said letters from us by means of a false suggestion.[26] Nor yet is he to remain in possession on account of the letters which the abbat of St. Nicholas, at Angers, has obtained relative to the said marsh. And this you are to do, when you shall have received the commands of William de l'Eglise Saint Mary, hereupon. Witness myself, at Gorham, this thirtieth day of September."

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[25] Twenty-second of September.

To the said William he also wrote as follows: "Richard, by the grace of God, &c. To William de l'Eglise Saint Mary, greeting. We do command you, that as soon as the abbat of Croyland shall have given good sureties for payment to you of fifty marks, payable within a certain time which we name to him, you are to signify the same to the archbishop of Canterbury, that he may then do for the abbat those things relative to the marsh of Croyland, which, by our letters, we have commanded him Witness, myself, at Gorham, this thirtieth day of September"

Accordingly, the abbat, on receiving these commands, departed in all haste from the court, and made for the sea-coast, in order that he might arrive by the fifteenth day after the feast of Saint Michael, and appear against his adversaries. But when he had arrived at Barbeflet, he had to wait there for some time, being unable to cross over for the boisterousness of the sea and waves; consequently, he was unable to appear at London before the justices, on the appointed day beforementioned. His deputies, however, whom he had left in England, the monk Nicholas, and William the clerk, appeared in court on the day named, and essoigned their abbat for detention on the road beyond sea; upon which, a further period was granted him, according to the custom of the kingdom, of one and forty days.

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[26] The words "Episcopi conventum" occur here, but they are capable of no translation Probably the meaning is, "a false suggestion that his appeal had been approved of by the bishops."

On the day of St. Wulfran, the abbat landed at Portsmouth, and, fatigued as he was, hastened with all possible speed to London, to bring the business to a conclusion. On finding the archbishop, he presented to him the mandate of our lord the king; after looking at which, or hearing it read, he inquired whether William de l'Eglise Saint Mary, of whom mention was made in the king's mandate, had the requisite evidence; and, because he was not present, declined to take any further steps on that occasion. In a short time, however, the said William arrived; and the abbat on learning his arrival, being in no degree forgetful of his cause, immediately waited upon him, and saluting him on the king's behalf, presented his mandate: on reading and understanding which, the said William asked if he could find sureties in conformity with the king's commands, for payment of the fifty marks at the times named for payment. Upon this, the abbat produced the lord William d'Aubigny, and Master Stephen, archdeacon of Buckingham, as his sureties. This took place before the solemn festival of All Saints, and the before-named William appointed as the period for payment of the first half, the ensuing Easter, and as the time for the second payment, the feast of Saint Michael: after which, he wrote to the lord archbishop a letter, containing the precept of our lord the king, directed to himself, and stating that he had satisfied him by finding most unexceptionable sureties, and earnestly entreating him no longer to put off the consideration of the abbat's business.

When the lord archbishop heard this, he said that he was desirous to confer with his brother justices on the subject. Accordingly, the abbat waited there ten days, urgently entreating the archbishop, every day when he could find the opportunity of approaching him, and until he was quite weary, to give his attention to him and his suit. The prelate, however, was so much engaged with a multiplicity of affairs, that he could give no attention whatever, to the conference. Still however, in consequence of the importunity of the abbat, he at last sent with him two of his private advisers, to appear with the king's mandate before the justices on the Bench, in order that they might hear, understand, and pronounce what ought to be done in the matter. Accordingly, after reading the abbat's charters as well as the letters from our lord the king, it appeared to them that the seisin of the marsh ought to remain peaceably in the abbat's hands. But as, in the king's mandate, a direction was contained, that the trial respecting the marsh should be carried on in conformity with the customs of England, the archbishop desired especially to be informed as to that expression, and what was requisite to be done. To this question the judges made answer that as the abbat had been disseised for his default, and the king had forgiven him that default, and had warranted to him his charter and his pardon for the said default, he was said to recover his seisin according to the custom of England, which through the said default he had lost. The persons who had been sent, on their return, stated to the archbishop what they had heard from the justices. This took place on the day of St. Germanus. The archbishop, however, sent word that it was his duty to make enquiry of the abbat, whether he had been guilty of such default through fear, as our lord the king had stated in his letter, or whether through contempt of the king's court. In this way did his lordship put off the business until the morrow of All Saints.

At length he took his seat in court, on the day of All Souls, and the justiciaries being seated on either side of him, the abbat made his appearance, indefatigably entreating him to bring the business to a conclusion. Upon this, the archbishop ordered the king's precept to be read aloud. This having been read in the hearing of all, he began to enquire of those who at the time were seated on the bench, which cause, fear or contempt of the king's court, had given rise to this legal default. After the judges had conferred together privately on the subject, one of them, a most worthy and prudent man, Richard Heriet by name, arose and said to the archbishop, that the enquiries which our lord the king, in his present letter, testified that he had made, ought to be quite sufficient for their purpose, just as the fact was openly stated among other matters in the royal mandate. The archbishop, as well as the other judges, concurred in this opinion; their names were as follow:—Roger Bigot, William de Warenne, William de Brinner, Richard Harte, archdeacon of Ely, Richard Heriet, Simon de Pateshill, Osbert Fitz-Herney, and Henry de Chastell.

Upon this, the archbishop wrote to the sheriff of Lincoln, to the following effect:—"Hubert, by the grace of God, &c.,

to the sheriff of Lincoln, greeting. Know that our lord the king grants unto the abbat of Croyland his pardon for the default which he made at the time when our lord the king was upon his pilgrimage, and in consequence of which default he was disseised of his marsh, which lies between Croyland and Spalding; and has commanded that he shall have full seisin thereof. Wherefore, we do command you, without delay, to let him have such seisin as he had thereof before that, by reason of the before-mentioned default, he was disseised thereof."

Accordingly, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1193, abbat Henry returned with full seisin of the marsh. However, on the day named, as before-mentioned, for his deputies to appear, he wished, for the sake of additional precaution, to be present, and on the morrow of Saint Edmund, the king and Martyr, made his appearance at London. The prior of Spalding, however, was unwilling that all his labour should be in vain, and though he understood for certain the success which had attended the abbat of Croyland in his suit, he sent thither one of his monks, Hugh, surnamed Grull, who used every exertion in his power to our disadvantage. However, when he appeared before the justiciaries, he was informed by them, that the abbat of Croyland, in conformity with the king's precept, and the common opinion of themselves, was entitled to possession of his marsh, and ought quietly and peaceably to hold the same, unless our lord the king should command otherwise. Upon this, Grull departed in extreme sorrow and confusion, thereby illustrating the words, "Let them be confounded and put to shame who wish me evil."[28]

In the following year, being compelled by necessity through the debt due to the king, the abbat had to sell the greater part of a plantation of alders, a considerable portion of which he had only begun to plant in the preceding year. In the same year, being the sixtieth from the first removal of the remains of our patron, Saint Guthlac, the Confessor, another having taken place, for the purpose of bestowing additional honor and glory upon his shrine and the workmanship by which it was distinguished. Accordingly, on the fifth day before the calends of May, being Saturday, after matin lauds were ended, the shrine was moved from its place and placed in another quarter, the community and many other persons with due reverence standing around and chaunting psalms. The body of the blessed man was then placed in a coffin, sealed down with iron and lead in six different places, and set upon a new altar, which had been built in the meantime above the steps. On the Monday following, being the morrow of the day of[29] Saint Vitalis the Martyr, the workmen began to excavate beneath the great altar, for the purpose of repairing it. This work of the altar was finished on the day of the Apostles Saint Philip and Saint James; upon which, our workers in marble set to work at the erection of the slabs of marble, and placed columns beneath for their support. After the marble casing had been completed, the most holy [body] was placed thereon, upon the calends of June, being Thursday. On this day there was great rejoicing among all the people: as vast multitudes had assembled together from every quarter, upon hearing reports of the intended removal of the body. The abbat and the convent, amid joyous chaunts and with becoming pomp, and with the greatest manifestations of gladness on part of the clergy and the populace, placed the relics of the holy body in its shrine upon the marble slabs, in manner to be seen at the present day. And, in order that this day might thenceforth be distinguished, it was by the common consent of all ordained, that on that day the sequence[30] should be sung at the celebration of high mass in the convent in honor of Saint Guthlac, the occasion being such that the sequence might appropriately be sung. For, though from ancient times, Thursday had been assigned at Croyland to their patron, and the monks wore their copes in the choir; on this occasion in especial, the veneration shewn to him was redoubled, adding thereby to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[28] Psalm xl. 14.

After this, the lord abbat Henry and the church of Croyland, entrusted to his charge, held their marsh, so often mentioned, in peace and quietness for nearly nine years, to the great sorrow and indignation of the prior of Spalding, Nicholas by name, and his monks, as well as many others who were partisans of Hoyland: who, however, awaited and pondered over the time that was to come for taking their revenge. At last, after king Richard had departed this life, and his brother John had succeeded him, they thought that their moment of good fortune had arrived, and that luck smiled more auspiciously upon them; because, as has been already mentioned, it was through the same John, then earl of Mortaigne, that they had contrived to gain seisin of the marsh.

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[29] Twenty-eighth of April

[30] The sequence was the hymn of praise sung on the principal festivals before the Gospel.

Accordingly, in the year of grace, 1202, which was, if I am not mistaken, the third year of the reign of king John, they sent envoys beyond sea, the above-named Hugh the monk, with some others; who paid a visit to Jocelyn of Angers, their abbat, and stated to him the cause and design of their journey. Upon this, attended by them, he appeared before king John, and by a careful relation of the facts endeavoured to recall to his recollection how, in his presence, he had, by judgment of the court of king Richard, obtained seisin against the abbat of Croyland of a certain marsh; adding, that afterwards the same abbat had, without trial, and through the violent conduct of his brother, the chancellor, recovered seisin thereof. At last, he promised our lord king John that he would give him forty marks to have judicial record and reasonable judgment upon the matter: upon which, the king wrote to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who was then sitting as chief justice in England, and whose grace and favour the men of Spalding had, by many acts of great obsequiousness, obtained, to the following effect:—

"John, by the grace of God, king of England, to his dearly-beloved and faithful Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, greeting. You are to know that the abbat of Saint Nicholas, at Angers, has come unto us and has promised to us forty marks for gaining seisin of a certain marsh between Croyland and Spalding, relative to which there was a trial between his prior of Spalding and the abbat of Croyland in the court of king Richard our brother at Westminster; and which was by record and reasonable judgment of the said court awarded to the said prior, as he says. Wherefore, we do command you, after taking security from him for the payment of the said forty marks at fit and proper times, to hear read before you the record of the said trial, and, according to the record and reasonable judgment of the said trial, without delay to let him have full seisin of the said marsh in conformity with justice, and according to the customs of England Walter."

Upon this, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter directed this mandate under his seal to Gerard de Camville, the then sheriff of Lincoln, and wrote to the following effect:—"Geoffrey, &c. to the sheriff of Lincoln, greeting. Know that the prior of Spalding has given us security by Simon de Lima, that he will pay forty marks unto our lord the king, which he has promised to him for having seisin of the marsh between Croyland and Spalding; as to which a trial took place in the court of our lord the king, between him and the abbat of Croyland. Wherefore, by trusty summoners, you are to summon the said abbat to appear before us at Westminster, on the octave of Saint Martin, to hear record and reasonable judgment thereon, and are there to have the summoners, and this writ."

This summons was made at Croyland, on the morrow of the Apostles, Saint Simon and Saint Jude, before the ninth hour; but the lord abbat had departed from Croyland early in the morning. The writ of summons was sent after him; on hearing which, he waited upon Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, that he might obtain his advice; and was, among other things, recommended by him to cross the sea to our lord the king.

Accordingly, the abbat appointed as his deputy to appear throughout the suit, before the said Geoffrey, John de Sandon, who was then seneschal of the abbey of Croyland. Before the day named, he also presented him at London before the justices on the Bench, whose names were Richard Heriet, Simon de Pattishill, John de Cestling, Walter de Crepinges, Eustace de Fautub, and Master Godfrey de l'Isle. After this, the abbat proceeded to wait upon the lord archbishop of Canterbury, because it was while he was sitting as chief justice of England, that he had, in conformity with the precept of king Richard, as above stated, recovered seisin of his marsh; and upon Eustace, the lord bishop of Ely, who was the then chancellor of the same king; and, as they were both acquainted with the circumstances of the case, he asked their advice upon the matter. They both condoled with him on this unjust and vexatious conduct, and bringing to their recollection, as well as they could, the true circumstances of the case, gave testimony thereto, and wrote letters in his favour.

The lord archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the following effect:—

"Hubert, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, earl of Essex, greeting. We send unto you a most truthful copy of the letter sent to us by king Richard, of happy memory, on behalf of the abbat of Croyland, as to a certain marsh, which lies between Croyland and Spalding, and relative to which there is a dispute between the said abbat and the prior of Spalding. We believe that if it had come to the knowledge of our lord the king, that his said brother sent unto us such letter, you would [not][31] have received from him such commands as you have now received against the above-named abbat. Wherefore do you make it your care to come to such conclusion as, in your discretion, you shall consider to be consonant with what is reasonable and just." The tenor of the letter written by the king will be found set forth at length above.

The lord bishop of Ely also wrote to the following effect:—"Eustace, by the grace of God, bishop of Ely, * * * to his friends, the justiciaries of our lord the king, on the Bench seated, greeting and brotherly love. As we do well recollect, while king Richard, of happy memory, was still living, the abbat of Croyland appeared before him at Gorham, upon which the king fully pardoned him for the default of which he had been guilty on the trial concerning the marsh between him and the prior of Spalding. This we have thought proper to notify to you, in order that the truth relative thereto may be fully known and ascertained."

In this year died, at London, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, of holy memory: upon which, his body was carried to Lincoln, where it was buried with great pomp by king John, who had lately come over to England, together with the archbishops, and bishops, and other dignitaries of the kingdom.

In the meantime, the octave of Saint Martin, the time named to the abbat of Croyland for hearing the cause, drew nigh; upon which, the before-named John, the abbat's deputy, had himself essoigned for illness on the road; and the justices, in conformity with the precept of Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, gave him another very short day to appear at the end of fifteen days, being the day after the feast of Saint Andrew. Upon hearing of this, the abbat and his friends were reduced to still greater straits; for they had hoped that a longer time would have been granted them, a day, namely, after the octave of Saint Hilary; that so, in the meantime, they might be enabled to cross over to our lord the king, and make known to him the true state of the case. Indeed, he had made every preparation for crossing over, the last time that he had left Croyland before the feast of All Saints; and consequently, the convent of Croyland thought that he had already crossed over, as, in the meantime, he had neither returned nor sent any message home. It was quite unexpectedly, then, that a messenger arrived from him, ordering his prior, Nicholas de Toft, Geoffrey de Horva, the cellarer, and the proctor of the abbey, to meet the lord abbat at London, on a day named. Hastening thither, they found the lord abbat in the county of Cambridge, at his manor of Drayton: upon which they proceeded onwards together to London. Here they were met by Osbert de Longchamp, the brother of the lord abbat, and a certain wise and discreet knight, Reginald de Argent by name; by whose advice the lord abbat addressed his entreaties to each of the most powerful men in the court, namely, John de Gray, the then lord bishop of Norwich, and a great favourite with the king, and Simon de Pateshill, and Richard de Heriet, with many others, begging them to show a kind attention to his interests.

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[31] The negative is here omitted by accident.

Nicholas, prior of Spalding, also came, together with his supporters and many friends of high rank, for a rich man generally has many friends. Upon the day named for the trial, he appeared before the justiciaries on the Bench, and preferred his claims against the abbat of Croyland; who, on being called, immediately appeared, and, in conformity with the usual custom, demanded to hear the writ: upon which the writ of summons was produced and read. But the original could not be heard, as it only spoke of the abbat of Saint Nicholas at Angers: and to this the abbat of Croyland was not bound to answer, seeing that the abbat himself was not present, nor yet had appointed any one to act in his stead. In consequence of this, they decided that he was only bound to answer the last writ, the one which Geoffrey Fitz-Peter had directed, under his seal, to the sheriff of Lincoln. Upon this, the abbat of Croyland withdrew with his friends and counsel, and, after holding a short conference, returned. The prior, however, urged most strenuously that the precept[32] of our lord the king ought to be carried into effect, and that record should be granted to him and reasonable judgment as to a certain marsh between Croyland and Spalding. To this, a certain man, wise in the things of this world, who spoke in the abbat's behalf (John Gluccente by name, a citizen of London), made answer, that the lord abbat of Croyland had no wish whatever to avoid record of the court and reasonable judgment, but that he demanded the writ which contained the foundation of the trial. and from an examination of which the judgment and record ought to be formed; and, if he could in no way obtain that, he demanded view to be made of the marsh between Croyland and Spalding, as, in consequence of many former trials, many points were to be easily obtained upon the spot. Upon this, the judges enquired at what time this suit was first mooted; to which the men of Spalding made answer, in the time of king Richard, when Walter, archbishop of Rouen, was chief-justice of England, Robert de Whitefeld, of whom mention has been previously made, acting as his assessor. The abbat and his friends admitted that such was the fact, and were greatly rejoiced at it; both because, most unjustly and contrary to all forms of civil law, he was dragged to trial by that writ by which abbat Robert, his predecessor, had been summoned, as also, because the forgiveness of his default which king Richard had granted him, and the charter confirming possession of the marsh to the abbat was posterior thereto in time, and, of two mandates, the one that comes last prevails. The justiciaries, on hearing this, arose from the bench and held conference with the barons of the Exchequer, and the faithful servants of our lord the king who were there sitting.

On the morrow they took their seats on the Bench, and both parties made their appearance: upon which, Simon de Pateshill stated that the question required still further consideration, and several of his brother judges were not then present, as the Advent of our Lord was just then being celebrated, and no other trial, except the one in question was going on; in consequence of which, it would be necessary to postpone the trial for the present, that it might be heard more at length, and time might be gained for due deliberation. Accordingly, they appointed another day, eight days after the octave of Saint

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[32] The king's letter or precept to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter.

Hilary; in order that, in the meantime, the original writ, the foundation of the whole cause, might be searched for, and those persons might be enquired after and summoned, under whose care the matter in dispute had been enquired into, seeing that not one of them, except the said Simon [de Pateshill], was then sitting on the bench; and he was unwilling alone to give judgment, from a feeling that he ought not to do so. The abbat and his friends were much pleased at this delay, as he was quite ready to cross over; but he first gave the letter of his lordship of Canterbury, and that of his lordship of Ely, to John de Sandon and his friends who stayed behind, in order to strengthen their cause, in case he should not be able to return to England by the day fixed for the trial: immediately after which, he set out, but was delayed some time at Portsmouth, waiting for a fair wind and a smooth sea. The prior of Spalding also sent an envoy in his behalf to act against him, a very shrewd monk, Godfrey by name, who then held the office of cellarer in his monastery.

At this time, also, his lordship of Canterbury, and his lordship of Ely, having been summoned by the king's most urgent mandate to come over, were at Shoreham, waiting for a fair opportunity of crossing. The abbat of Croyland, however, embarked on the feast of Saint Lucia at Portsmouth, and making a prosperous voyage, landed the next day at Barbeflet; his lordship of Canterbury having arrived in Normandy four days before. On landing, the abbat immediately proceeded towards Montfort, as the king and the archbishop had just arrived there. On the vigil of Saint Thomas the Apostle, the abbat had an interview with the king, in presence of the archbishop, and in a suppliant and simple narrative related his story in the hearing of the king; briefly stating how that he had been disseised of his marsh, on account of a default which he had made through fear, as he did not dare appear before a court of justice, his brother the bishop of Ely having been just expelled from England, and his other brothers thrown into prison, while our lord king Richard was tarrying in the land of Syria; how, too, that the same king, when he had waited upon him in Germany, and made his complaint, had fully forgiven him his default. He also stated how that the lord archbishop had, in conformity with the king's mandate, restored him to seisin and possession. The archbishop, who was present, on hearing this statement, testified to the truth thereof, and supported the prayer of the abbat addressed to the king, to the effect that he would ratify and grant forgiveness for his default, in the same manner that the king his brother had granted it to him. Upon this, the king very graciously promised that he would shew unto him a full measure of justice; but gave orders that he should attend him until he could give more leisure to the consideration of his case.

At the same time, one Godfrey, a monk, and a very crafty, forward man, who had been sent by the prior of Spalding to act against the abbat of Croyland, offered every possible opposition, resisted him to his face, both in presence of the king and elsewhere, and in every way impeded the transaction of his business. The consequence was, that it was protracted for a very considerable time. Still, however, the abbat of Croyland, following the king about through castles and villages, unweariedly persisted in the prosecution of his suit. In the mean time, king John determined to celebrate the approaching festival of our Lord's Nativity in a style of kingly magnificence at Argenton, convoking the princes and nobles of his territories for the purpose. Being, among the rest, and before all others, invited by name, the earl of Chester came; a man who was the patron and advocate of the people of Spalding, and diligently promoted their suit. Accordingly, he earnestly entreated the king, and his friends and advisers, to favour the interests of his monks; for, as he said, what was done for them would be considered as done for himself. After thus recommending to each and all the monk Godfrey and his suit, he departed from court. Upon this, gaining fresh courage, Godfrey often and earnestly entreated the king, by fresh letters to command the justices of England, without excuse or delay, to dispatch the business of the prior of Spalding, according to the tenor of the letters formerly written, and promised the king twenty marks of silver in addition to the forty marks that had been previously promised.

The abbat of Croyland, on hearing this, was extremely anxious, both because our lord the king had so greatly delayed the settlement of his business, as also because the courtiers did not, as yesterday and the day before, shew to him a favourable countenance. At length, however, being sensible that in this court hardly any business could be expedited, unless through the intervention of presents or promises, after holding counsel with his well-wishers, he offered the king no small sum of money, on condition that he would by his charter grant to him the same forgiveness for his default which king Richard had granted him; this, however, the king put off until he should have arrived at Saint Susanne. Here the abbat entreated the king, with his usual earnestness, that he would deign to listen to his prayers. The monk Godfrey, however, pressed the king with no less degree of earnestness. Upon this, the king, following the counsels of his prudent advisers, and desirous for the time to satisfy both sides, determined to accept the promises made by both. Accordingly, he gave to the monk Godfrey his letters, to the following effect: "John, by the grace of God, king of England, &c. to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, greeting. You are to know, that the prior of Spalding, besides the forty marks which he had previously promised us, has made a final arrangement with us, on payment of twenty marks of silver, to have record and reasonable judgment against the abbat of Croyland, in the suit between them relative to the marsh. Wherefore, we do command you, that if he shall give you security for payment of the said money, at the times which are known to you, then you are, without delay, to let the said prior have record and reasonable judgment, according to the custom of England, and according to the tenor of our former letters which you have received upon the subject, and according to the terms of the said suit which has been reasonably carried on between them. Witness, myself, &c."

He also gave a letter to the abbat of Croyland, to the following effect:—"John, by the grace of God, &c., to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, greeting. We command you forthwith to hear the cause between the abbat of Croyland and the prior of Spalding as to a certain marsh, and to award to the abbat of Croyland what, on hearing the said trial, ought to be awarded to him, and to the prior of Spalding the same. You are also by your letters to signify unto us the progress of the whole matter, and your determination hereupon. Witness, myself, at Feschamp, on the tenth day of January"

Godfrey, the monk of Spalding, on receiving his letter, departed from the court with exultation, and hastened to return to England, expecting that he would be able without any opposition to bring his business to the desired conclusion, before the abbat of Croyland should be able to return; as he was aware that he had hitherto made little or no progress with the king in the promotion of his suit. For the abbat had departed from court at the same period, but still remained for a short time in those parts, being occupied about this as well as various other business of his, as he had no wish to be in too great haste to return, a day having been given to him and his adversaries to appear before the judges in the [King's] Bench at Westminster,—the octave of Saint Hilary; and besides, he had prudently taken all due precautions before crossing over, appointing John de Sandon to act as his attorney in his stead, and to promote his suit. However, his attorney was not able to appear on the day named; upon which, he had himself essoigned until a future day, and another day was named, at the end of three weeks.

In the meantime, by the providence of God, the abbat of Croyland safely crossed over, and on the day named came to Westminster and presented himself before the judges. His adversaries also appeared, and with them many of the wise men of this world whom they had induced by entreaties and hired with fees, making sure beyond all doubt that they should, on this occasion, carry their entire wishes fully into effect. Accordingly, when the justiciaries had taken their seats on the bench, both parties appeared, and the prior of Spalding prayed the judges that the precept of our lord the king might be read aloud, and judgment given in his favour without delay, as the king had commanded. The abbat of Croyland, meanwhile, delayed producing his letters, thinking it neither a fitting time nor place for that purpose. While, however, the judges were discussing this matter with the nobles of the kingdom, the abbat of Croyland came before them and produced to them a letter written by the archbishop of Canterbury, and directed to the judges, to the following effect: "Hubert, by the grace of God, archbishop of Canterbury, &c., to Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, greeting. We send unto you a most truthful copy of the letter sent to us by king Richard of happy memory, in behalf of the abbat of Croyland, as to a certain marsh which lies between Croyland and Spalding, and relative to which there is a dispute between the said abbat and the prior of Spalding. We believe that if it had come to the knowledge of our lord the king that his said brother had sent unto us such letter relative to this matter, you would not have received from him such commands Wherefore, do you make it your care to come to such conclusion, as, in your discretion, you shall consider to be consonant with what is reasonable and just."

The lord archbishop of Canterbury also sent the letters which he had received in the time of king Richard, when he himself was justiciary of all England, relative to the grant of pardon for the default which the abbat had made; which were enclosed under the same impression of his seal with the last. When the letters of king Richard had been read, in which the result of the whole case was set forth, as well as the letters of his lordship of Canterbury, in which he testified that he had received them by command of king Richard, after much discussion, all the judges there present, together with the council of the wise men of the kingdom, were of opinion that a warranty thus made by the king ought to be confirmed and ratified; and that the abbat of Croyland ought not to incur any harm by reason thereof. The names of the justiciaries who were on the Bench are as follow: Simon de Patishill, Richard Heriet, John de Sestinges, Walter Crepi, Eustace de Fauconberg, and Godfrey de l'Isle. Besides these, many nobles also appeared in court, to support the interests of the realm, and were present at that day's deliberations. The names of these were as follow: John, lord bishop of Norwich, Roger, earl of Clare, Robert Fitz-Walter, Geoffrey de Bouchlande, William de Warenne, with many others, all of whom, without the slightest difference, were of the same opinion. Still, however, judgment was not publicly given on that day, because Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, who was then the chief justiciary of England, was not present; for it seemed proper to all, that, as the king's letters relative to the said business had been directed to the said Geoffrey as chief justice, judgment should be given in his presence Accordingly the abbat and the prior were called in, and a day was appointed for them, at the end of eight days from that day.

Accordingly, on the day named, the said Geoffrey Fitz-Peter appeared, and the other justiciaries with him. After the proceedings had been read before him, which had taken place between the said abbat and prior, he differed with them all, and wished to overthrow and nullify the judgment which the justiciaries and barons of the exchequer had given. However, they all with one voice made answer, that they neither would, nor ought to, have any fresh consideration of the matter, as it appeared to them that the judgment which they had given was right. After they had contended long and earnestly on the matters aforesaid, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, seeing that he could not, unaided, struggle against them all, put off the trial until the following day. The next morning, he ordered all the justices to appear before him, to discuss the matters before-mentioned. When they again differed on the same point, Geoffrey Fitz-Peter replied, that it seemed just to him that, as a difference on this matter had arisen between them, a statement of the whole case, from the very beginning up to that day, should be sent to Normandy, to the king, and that our lord the king would do what should seem to him to be just. This he said, because he favoured the side of the prior of Spalding. At last, however, all the justices agreed that the abbat of Croyland and the prior of Spalding should have letters to the same effect, and send their deputies to carry to the king the letters of the justiciary on the said matter, and that whatever directions the king should write in answer, they would willingly carry out the same.

The form of these letters was as follows: "To his reverend lord, John, by the grace of God, the illustrious king of England, &c., Geoffrey Fitz-Peter, greeting and faithful obedience in all things. You have ordered us to let the prior of Spalding have record and judgment of the trial which took place between him and the abbat of Croyland, relative to the marsh situate between Spalding and Croyland; which was to the effect, that in the time of king Richard, your brother, the prior of Spalding, in his court, claimed against the said abbat the aforesaid marsh. After summons, the abbat made essoign for being confined by illness to his bed, by reason of which he was detained at Croyland. When, by judgment of the court, four knights went to Croyland, to make view of the said abbat and his illness, they did not find him there, and so, through his default, the prior recovered seisin of the marsh by judgment of the court. After this, the abbat appeared before king Richard, your brother, and gave him to understand that it was through the banishment of his brother from England, and the imprisonment of some others of his brothers, that he had not dared to appear, but had taken to flight, and so prevailed upon him to warrant to him pardon for his default, upon which the abbat was reinstated in seisin of the said marsh. Wherefore, upon considering the said warranty, although it does not appear to your court in England, but that our lord the king, your brother, could lawfully enough grant such warranty, and that you have a similar power, we have been unwilling to give an express judgment hereupon, before you should be certified upon the before-mentioned record, and should have more expressly stated your wish hereupon. May our lord long fare well in the Lord."

When these letters had been written and sealed, one was delivered to each party. The abbat of Croyland, on departing from court, returned home; while the prior of Spalding immediately despatched his monk, before-named, to the king, that he might arrive before the deputy of the abbat of Croyland, and, by means of presents and promises, accomplish his object. On this, the monk of Spalding, making all haste, left London on the succeeding Saturday, before any of the others, hastened to the sea-side, and speedily arrived at Portsmouth, hoping to make a quick passage over, and to reach the king in a very short space of time. But, by the providence of God, whom the sea and the winds obey, it happened otherwise; for he had to stay there nearly forty days, and, although he repeatedly attempted it, was never able to cross. In the mean time, the abbat of Croyland had returned home, in order that he might take a little rest, after the fatigues of so long a journey: on which occasion he was met by his people, who received him with joy.

A few days after, the lord abbat dispatched his envoy to the king, John de Freston, who had crossed over twice before. Trusting rather to the goodness of God than his own wisdom, he commended himself to God and the prayers of his brethren, and immediately set out for the sea-side. On arriving at the port called Shoreham, he found there some of the nobles of the kingdom, who were intending to visit the king, and among them the bishop of Coventry; upon which, the monk attached himself to him, and begged that he would receive him in his retinue, so that he might pass over under his protection. Accordingly, the before-named bishop graciously received him, and showed the greatest kindness to him as long as he was staying at the before-mentioned harbour. At this time no one was able to cross over, either at Portsmouth or at Shoreham, in consequence of the badness of the weather and the fury of the winds; consequently, the said John stayed there a whole week, in a state of the greatest anxiety, being fearful lest his adversary, who had proceeded to the other port, should get to his journey's end before him, and appear first before the king, and so execute the commission of the prior of Spalding, there being no one to oppose him. One day, however, it so happened that the tempest was lulled, and the sea became pretty calm, upon which there was great gladness among the people who were desirous to cross over. Still, not one of the nobles who were there dared venture to make the passage, in consequence of the troubled state of the sea, and the uncertainty of the winds, which were not quite lulled. The said John, however, seeing one vessel, which had on board some poor people and pilgrims, ready to cross over, embarked among the rest, and, by the guidance of the Lord, landed the next day in Normandy; while all the nobles were still staying behind, at Shoreham, and the monk of Spalding as well, who had long preceded him, and had been detained at Portsmouth.

Directly the said John had landed he set out to wait upon the king, and found him at Rouen. On coming into his presence, he produced the letter of the justiciaries, and delivered it to him, and at the same time related to the king with his own lips the circumstances of the case, which were not so fully entered into by the letter. After the king had discussed the matter with the wise men of his court who were then present, and had enquired of them what he ought to do, they made answer that in such manner as he himself would wish his own warranty, if he should give one to any person, to be confirmed and held good, he himself ought to confirm the warranty that had been made by his brother king Richard, whose heir he was. Our lord the king, on hearing this, expressed his willingness, both to let the warranty of king Richard hold good, and to receive the sum of one hundred marks that had been promised him by the abbat of Croyland. Accordingly, he stated to the said monk of Croyland, that, if he would engage that the sum promised should be paid at the fitting time, he would by his charter confirm the warranty which king Richard had made to the abbat of Croyland; and would besides give a favourable ear to any other business of his which he might happen to have in his court. Upon this, the said John (reflecting how delay often brings with it danger, and fearing that even yet the envoy of the prior of Spalding might arrive at court, and by means of presents and promises throw impediments in his way), by advice of their lordships, the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Ely, whom he had found at court, acquiesced in the wishes of the king. Accordingly, our lord the king gave orders that the warranty made to the abbat of Croyland by king Richard should be confirmed by his charter, and that the marsh, relative to which the default had been made, should, under his seal, be confirmed to the abbat of Croyland in such manner as it had been by the charter of king Henry his father. This was accordingly done, in manner hereinafter stated.

When, therefore, the Lord guiding him, the said John had, by the king's permission, transacted this and the other business entrusted to him, he returned to England as quickly as he could, on his road home to Croyland, whence he had been sent; while the envoy of the prior of Spalding was still staying on this side of the sea. However, he afterwards crossed over, and waiting upon the king, made great promises; but effecting nothing thereby, he withdrew from court and returned home, in accordance with the words, "Let them be confounded and put to shame who wish me evil."[28]

The charter of our lord the king, John, as to the confirmation of the boundaries of the abbey, and of which mention is made above, was to the following effect: "John, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, and all his bailiffs and faithful subjects, greeting. Know ye, that we have granted and confirmed unto God and the church of Saint Guthlac at Croyland, and to the abbat and monks there serving God, all the lands and tenements, and other the possessions to the said church belonging, and in especial the site of the said abbey, together with the boundaries thereof herein named, which extend as follow; a distance of five leagues, from Croyland to the place where the Asendyk falls into the waters of the Welland, and thence by Asendyk to Aswyktoft, and thence to Shepishee, and thence to Tydwarthar. Thence to Nomansland, and so through the river called Nene to Fynset, and thence upwards through Fynset to Greynes, and so to Folkwoldstakyng,[30] and thence along the course of Southlake, as it falls into the Welland. Thence across the Welland, towards the north, as far as Aspath, and thence to Werwarlake, and so to Harenholte, and thence upwards, through the water, to Mengerlake, and so through Lutlake as far as Oggot, and thence along the course of the Apynholt as it falls into the Welland, together with all piscaries to the said boundaries belonging. Wherefore we do will and strictly command that the before-named church, and abbat, and monks shall hold and for ever possess all their lands, tenements, and other their possessions, and all the gifts which since the death of king Henry, the grandfather of our father, have been reasonably given to them, fully, peacefully, freely, quietly, and honorably, to enjoy the same in wood and in plain, in meadows and in pastures, in waters and in marshes, in preserves and in fisheries, in mills and in mill-dams, and in all other things and places, with right of Sach and Soch, and Thol, and Them, and Infangthefe, and with all other free customs and acquittances, as fully, freely, and quietly as the said church, and abbat, and monks held the same in the time of king Henry, the grandfather of our father, or other our predecessors kings of England, and as fully, freely, and quietly as any churches in our kingdom of England hold the same, in such manner as is by the charter of king Henry our father reasonably testified, &c. Given by the hand of Simon, archdeacon of Wells."

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[28] Psalm xl. 14.

[29] Twenty-eighth of April.

Not even thus, however, did the venerable abbat Henry gain the wished-for repose, but, like a stone out of the living rock to be placed in a heavenly house, was he squared, both on the right side and on the left, by repeated blows and numerous buffetings. For Acharius, also, the abbat of Burgh Saint Peter (not content with his own boundaries, but desirous, contrary to the prophetic warning, "to join house to house, and lay field to field, till there be no place,"[31]) first, by the royal writ, obtained of the king from beyond sea, impleaded the said abbat Henry, and without any good reason claimed against him our southern marsh called Alderland, of which our monastery had held undisturbed possession from its foundation until the times of our said father, just as the Assyrians did against the people of God. Upon this, Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, who was then chief justiciary of England, sent letters mandatory to the abbats of Ramsey and Thorney, directing them to make inquisition in his behalf upon the oaths of eighteen knights, mutually agreed upon, what right each of them had to the lands, meadows, pastures, and marshes, and all other things, between the river Nene and the river Welland, and which ought to be the boundaries between the abbey of Burgh and the abbey of Croyland, and fully to state the said inquisition under their seals and those of the knights to the before-named archbishop and justices. A dissension, however, arising between the inquisitors, they returned to their homes, leaving the matter unsettled.

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[30] Called previously "Folwardstakyng."

[31] Isaiah v. 8.

At length, however, after many conferences, discussions, delays, and expenses on both sides, the dispute between the two abbats having been enquired into at great length before the justices of our lord the king at Lexington, was finally settled, to the no small detriment of the church of Croyland, as will be seen at length in the following statement: "This is the final agreement made in the court of our lord the king at Lexington, on the Monday next after the Purification of the blessed Mary, in the seventh year of the reign of king John, before our lord the king, &c., between Acharius, the abbat, and the convent of Burgh, claimants, and Henry, the abbat, and the convent of Croyland, holders of, one virgate of land, with the appurtenances in Peykirk, and a certain marsh, of which the boundaries are as follow; from the river of Croyland, which is called Nene, to the place called Fynset, and from that place to Greynes, and from that place to Folwardstakyng, and thence to Southlake, where Southlake falls into the river Welland, and thence according to the course of the river Welland as far as Croyland, where it falls into the Nene. As to which, it was agreed between them in the said court, that the said abbat of Croyland acknowledged and conceded that the said land and marsh with the appurtenances were of the fee of the abbat and church of Burgh St. Peter;[12] and, for the said acknowledgment and concession, fine and agreement, the said abbat and convent of Burgh conceded to the before-named abbat and convent of Croyland the aforesaid virgate of land with the appurtenances in Peykirk, to have and to hold the same to themselves and their successors of the abbat and monastery of Burgh, and his successors in the said abbacy, by

[12] Peterborough.

the service which belongs to the said land, according as the same has been divided among those who hold it, to wit; as to the toft with the land in the field which Reginald the blacksmith has held of the same, by service of ploughing one day in the winter, and one day in Lent, with as many ploughs as he who holds the said toft and land shall possess, and of hoeing the same for one day; and of making and carrying] hay for one day in the meadow of Makesey, the same being meadow land, in demesne of the abbat of Burgh, together with the men of the said abbat. In autumn, he is also to reap one-half of the said land; and to bind the sheaves, and to gather in upon the said land, all which he is to be bonnd to do at his own cost. In autumn also, he is, together with one man, to reap the corn of the said abbat of Burgh for provision, either in the fields of the abbat at Peykirk or at Glynton. But if the abbat of Burgh shall not supply him with food on that day, he shall not be bound to reap beyond the ninth hour. As to the toft with the land in the field which Gocelm Fitz-Godwin has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which William Fitz-Ralph has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which Aver Fitz-Alwold has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which Peter Palmer has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which William Fitz-Sewen has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which Walter Fitz-Reginald has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which Reginald Carpenter has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated. As to the toft with the land in the field which Richard Fitz-Alwey has held of the same, he is to be bound to do all the services before-mentioned, and comply with the customs before stated: and in addition thereto, he is to be bound to plough twice in winter and twice in Lent; so that he shall plough three times in winter and three times in Lent at his own cost; and he shall be bound to lead one cart-load of brushwood from the marsh to the court-yard of the abbat of Burgh at Burgh, at the feast of Saint Michael. And further, all men who hold the said land shall be bound to pay suit at the hundred court of the abbat of Burgh for any fifteen days, and to pay six pence per annum for hidage. They shall also be bound to shew unto the abbat of Burgh or his bailiff their frank pledge. They are also to keep watch with the other men of the county at the due and appointed place, as they have been accustomed to do, between the feast of Saint Michael and the feast of Saint Martin. The abbat and convent of Burgh before-named and their successors shall have these services and customs as to the lands before-mentioned: and shall not be at liberty to increase or to change them, nor yet in any way to make further demands upon the said lands. The abbat and convent of Burgh have also granted to the said abbat and convent of Croyland the before-mentioned marsh, according as the same has been set out by the metes and boundaries before-mentioned, to have and to hold the same to themselves and their successors of the abbat and convent of Burgh and their successors, for ever, paying for the same each year, in the church of Saint Peter, at Burgh, four stones weight of wax, before the octave of the Apostles Saint Peter and Saint Paul, for all services and demands: and the abbat and convent of Burgh, or their successors, shall not be at liberty to demand from them anything beyond the said four stones of wax; saving, however, that the abbat and convent of Burgh shall have the right of herbage for all their cattle, as well as those of their tenants, as also for the cattle of any other persons which shall enter the said marsh besides the cattle belonging to the demesne of the abbat and convent of Croyland, and to their tenants at Croyland and Peykirk. It is also to be known that it shall be lawful for the abbat and convent of Croyland, without any let, or hindrance, or gainsaying, on the part of the abbat and convent of Burgh and their servants, to dig turf there, and where they shall dig turf, to take beneath the turf potter's clay and sand; and to cut in the marsh rushes, bulrushes, osiers, and withes; upon condition, however, that they shall not disturb the cattle that are feeding there. They shall also be at liberty to cut and take brushwood, and all kinds of trees which shall be in the said marsh. Also, as to the other marsh of Peykirk, which is situate beyond the said boundaries, it is agreed between the said abbats and convents, that it shall be lawful for the abbat and convent of Burgh, without hindrance or gainsaying on part of the abbat and convent of Croyland and their servants, to make meadow land of the same, according to the extent of their fees, which have right of common in the said pasture land: and, in like manner, it shall be lawful for the abbat and convent of Croyland to make meadow land on the same marsh, according to the extent of their fees, which have right of common there, without hindrance or gainsaying on part of the abbat and convent of Burgh, and their servants."

In the tenth year of king John, being the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1208, sentence of interdict was pronounced throughout all England and Wales; both on account of the expulsion of Master Stephen[33] from the kingdom, who had been consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by our lord [the Pope], and whom the king resisted with all his might, and pronounced all parties enemies who should so much as honor him with the name of archbishop; as well as on account of the expulsion of the monks from Canterbury, because either by tacit consent, or by publicly attesting the same, they had acquiesced in the election of the said Stephen. During the interdict, the king of England was excommunicated, and the only indulgence granted throughout his kingdom was, that the faithful, when at the point of death, might be fortified with the holy viaticum; which was to be sought by the hands of the priests of the conventual churches, to whom the indulgence was granted once in each week to perform Divine service.

At last, in the sixth year of this interdict, the king being inspired, as it is believed, by Him in whose hands are the hearts of kings, signified to the nuncio of his lordship the pope his acquiescence in his commands, and vowed that he would comply with the form of satisfaction to him * *[34] which he had sent with his own signature. He also added, by way of supplement to the satisfaction, that he himself and his heirs would, as a sign of their subjection, pay yearly for the two kingdoms of England and Ireland * * Upon this, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, William, bishop of London, Eustace, bishop of Ely, Giles, bishop of Hereford, Jocelyn, bishop of Bath, and Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, returned to England, as well as the monks of Canterbury and all others in general who had been in exile on account of this dispute; to each of whom, by the royal favour, full restitution was made of all their possessions. After this, the king was solemnly absolved at Winchester, in ecclesiastical form, by the lord archbishop of Canterbury, and was, at the same time, devoutly received by him and the other bishops with the kiss of peace, and admitted, as a son of the Church, into the bosom of his mother; and hearing the solemn service of the mass, he thereby gladdened the hearts of many of the people.

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[33] Stephen Langton.

[34] There is an hiatus here. The sum agreed on was seven hundred marks of silver for England, and three hundred for Ireland.

Having completed a reign of seventeen years and five months, the aforesaid king John, falling ill from an attack of dysentery, breathed his last at Newark, a castle of the bishop of Lincoln; upon which, his body was carried to Worcester, to be buried there. His entrails remained at Croxton,[35] where they were interred.

In these days, before the report of his decease was fully promulgated, some armed men, who had been previously sent by the said king to make enquiries and seize some knights and esquires, enemies of his, who were lurking in remote and secret spots, suddenly made their appearance at Croyland, on the morrow of Saint Michael. Not finding those of whom they were in search, they immediately forced an entrance into the monastery and church, where, rushing in their headlong course through the cloister and the offices, during the celebration of the mass, the troopers and men-at-arms mercilessly dragged the people from the church, and even from before the altar; while, at the same time, they plundered with the greatest violence whatever they took a fancy to, and wherever it was found: so much so, that, on their departure, they took with them an immense booty, collected from the herds of cattle and beasts of burden.

King John being dead, as above stated, his eldest son, Henry, then about nine years of age, was chosen king, and was elevated to the royal throne at Gloucester, the imposition of hands being made by the bishop of Winchester, with the assistance of the other bishops who were then in the kingdom, the archbishop of Canterbury being absent at the court of Rome. However, in the fifth year after this, by the mandate of our lord the pope, he was again solemnly invested with the royal robes and with the crown of the most holy king Edward, at Westminster, by Stephen, the venerable archbishop of Canterbury, who was then present, in presence of the prelates and nobles of the realm. In the same year also, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1220, the translation of Saint Thomas the Martyr was solemnly made by the before-named venerable father, Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury, in presence of the lord Pandulph, legate of the Apostolic See, of Henry, king of the English, and of three archbishops, and other bishops and nobles who had flocked thither from all parts of England, as well as nearly all quarters of the world; it being the fiftieth year from the passion of the said martyr. So great was the lavishness, and so munificent the bounty of the said archbishop, and so worthy to be proclaimed to the whole world, as being displayed towards all who devoutly attended the translation of the martyr, that no one then living in the flesh could remember any such solemnity being celebrated in such manner in England at any previous time. Among the rest whom the said archbishop thought proper to summon to the votive solemnity of his glorious translation, he deigned, by his letter, to invite the father so often mentioned, Henry, abbat of the monastery of Croyland; who, however, being precluded from attending by the urgency of numerous matters of business, was not able conveniently to appear in person; but still, wishing, to the best of his small ability, to make some offering in his honor, * * * he humbly sent to his excellency, the said venerable pontiff, a book on the Life and Passion of the said martyr, which had been skilfully compiled by a monk of his monastery of Croyland.[36] This compilation contains and distinctly sets forth the birth of the glorious martyr, his life, studies, deeds, exile, agony, passion, canonization, and, what is still more excellent, the Epistles of the said martyr, both those which he wrote to others, and others to him, or for him, or against him, becomingly inserted in their proper places, together with a list of the learned productions of the same martyr.

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[35] A house of canons regular in Lincolnshire, the abbat of which attended the king on his death-bed.

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[36] Roger of Croyland, prior of Freston.

At this time also, the Minorite[36] brethren first began to settle in England, two years before the death of Saint Francis. King Henry, at the instance of the venerable father, abbat Henry, graciously confirmed all the liberties of the abbey of Croyland, in the following terms; "Henry, by the grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and earl of Anjou, to the archbishops, bishops, abbats, earls, barons, justiciaries, sheriffs, and all his faithful subjects and bailiffs, greeting. Know ye that we have granted and confirmed unto God and the church of Saint Guthlac at Croyland, and to the abbat and monks there serving God, all the lands and tenures and other the possessions to the said church belonging, and in especial, the site of the said abbey together with the boundaries thereof herein named, which extend as follow; a distance of five leagues, from Croyland to the place where the Asendyk falls into the waters of the Welland, and thence by Asendyk to Aswyktoft, and thence to Shepishee, and thence to Tydwarthar. Thence to Nomansland, and so through the river called Nene to Fynset, and thence upwards through Fynset to Greynes, and so to Folkwoldstakyng, and thence along the course of Southlake, as it falls into the Welland. Thence, across the Welland, towards the north, as far as Aspath, and thence to Werwarlake, and so to Harenholt, and thence upwards through the water as far as Mengerlake, and so through Lurtlake as far as Oggot, and thence along the course of the Apynholt, as it falls into the Welland, together with all piscaries to the said boundaries belonging. Wherefore, we do will and strictly command that the before-named church, and abbat, and monks shall hold and for ever possess all their lands, tenures, and other their possessions, and all the gifts which, since the death of king Henry our grandfather, have been reasonably given unto them, fully and peaceably, freely, quietly and honorably, to enjoy the same in wood and in plain, in meadows and in pastures, in waters and in marshes, in preserves and in fisheries, in mills and in mill-dams, and in all other things and places, with right of Sach, and Soch, and Thol, and Them, and Infangthefe, and with all other free customs and acquittances, as fully, freely, and quietly as the said church, and abbat, and monks held the same in the time of king Henry our grandfather, or other our predecessors kings of England, and as fully, freely, and quietly as any churches in our kingdom of England hold the same, in such manner as the charters of king Henry our grandfather, and of king Richard our uncle, and of king John our father, reasonably testify as to the same. Witnesses hereto &c. Given by the hand of the venerable father R. bishop of Chichester, our chancellor, at Westminster, on the fifteenth day of March, in the eleventh year of our reign."

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[36] The Franciscan Friars.

In the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry, the before-named father Henry, abbat of Croyland, impleaded Hugh Wake, the lord of Depyng, to know by what right or title he claimed the impounding of cattle feeding in our marsh of Goggislound, which is within the boundaries of the abbey of Croyland; the same belonging both to those who have been accustomed to have common thereof, as well as to strangers who neither ought nor are wont to claim any right of common whatsoever in the said marsh. At last, after proposals made on both sides, and conferences held between the before-named abbat of Croyland and the said Hugh, on the morrow of Saint Luke they made a final agreement at Lincoln to the following effect:

"This is the final agreement made in the court of our lord the king at Lincoln, on the morrow of Saint Luke, in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry, the son of king John, before the abbat of Bardney, William de York, Robert de Fos, Ralph de Norwich, and Norman de Arsey, the justices itinerant, and the other faithful subjects of our lord the king then present, between Henry, abbat of Croyland, complainant, and Hugh Wake, deforciant, as to the keeping of the marshes from Aspath to Werwarlake, and so to Dedmanslake, and so to Croyland along the river Welland, with the appurtenances: as to which the said abbat has made complaint that the said Hugh has not observed a fine levied in the court of our lord the king before the justices itinerant at Lincoln, between the said abbat and Baldwin Wake the grandfather of the before-named Hugh, of whom he is the heir, and as to which a fine levied has been recorded between them in the said court; that is to say, the said Hugh hath remitted and quitted claim, for himself and his heirs, to the said abbat and his successors, and to his church of Croyland, as to all right and claim that he has had to the aforesaid marsh with its appurtenances for ever: saving however to the said Hugh and to his heirs and their tenants, common of pasture in the said marsh, and the right to drive to and fro therefrom their cattle of all kinds, without hindrance on part of the said abbat and his successors for ever. Moreover, the said Hugh hath granted, for himself and his heirs, that if the before-named abbat and his successors shall wish to enclose any part of the said marsh, the said Hugh and his heirs shall keep there a forester together with the forester of the said abbat and his successors, on the understanding that no one of the men of the said abbat or of his successors, or of the men of the said Hugh or of his heirs, shall take anything within the part so enclosed, unless with the common consent and wish of the said abbat and his successors, and of the said Hugh and his heirs; but both of them, the abbat and Hugh, shall take there for their own use as much as they shall think fit. The said Hugh hath also granted for himself and his heirs, that the before-named abbat and his successors and the church of Croyland shall be at liberty to have three boats in Harenholt for ever, and two boats for the sake of the said Hugh and his heirs. Also, by mutual agreement between the said abbat and his successors, and Hugh and his heirs, the gate on the bridge over the water at Harenholt shall mark the division of the marsh; and on the said gate there shall be two locks with two keys; of which a servant of the abbat and his successors shall keep the one, and a servant of the said Hugh and his heirs shall keep the other. The said abbat has also received the said Hugh and his heirs to partake of each and all the benefits and prayers hereafter of the church of Croyland for ever."

It ought also to be known that in the same court the said Hugh gave warranty to the said abbat for the charters of Baldwin Wake, the grandfather of the said Hugh, as to the said marsh.

On the same occasion also, before the said justices of our lord the king, a final agreement was mutually entered into between Henry, abbat of Croyland, and the prior of Spalding, that the one would not impound the beasts of the other in the marshes of Croyland, Depyng, Spalding, Pynchbeck, Langtoft, and Baston, in the following terms; "This is the final agreement made in the court of our lord the king, at Lincoln, on the morrow of Saint Luke, in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry, son of king John, before the abbat of Bardeney, William de York, Robert de Fos, Ralph de Norwich, and Norman de Arsey, justices itinerant, and the other faithful subjects of our lord the king then present, between the abbat of Croyland, complainant, and Simon, the prior of Spalding, deforciant, as to common of pasture in the marshes of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, Baston, and Depyng, which lie on the western side of the river Welland: as to which the said abbat has made complaint that the said prior has taken the cattle of the said abbat in those pastures, and has impounded the same, and detained them, contrary to justice; whereas the said abbat holds nothing of the said prior, nor owes him any service, as he says; and as to which it has been recorded between them in the same court to the effect that the said prior has, for himself and his successors, granted, that neither he, nor his successors, nor his men, nor any one through them or for them, shall henceforth take, drive, or impound the cattle of the said abbat, his successors, or his men of the vills before mentioned, from the said marshes of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, Baston, and Depyng. And for the said grant, fine, and agreement, the said abbat hath granted for himself and his successors, that neither he nor his successors, nor his men, nor any one through them or for them, shall hereafter take, drive, or impound the cattle of the said prior or of his successors, or of his men of the said vills of Spalding and Pinchbeck in the said marshes. This agreement has been made, saving to the before-named abbat and to his successors the services of the men of Slowe, which they have hitherto been accustomed to render to the said abbat and his predecessors, for entry and exit of the said men through the lands of the said abbat unto the said marsh. Also, it shall not be lawful for the said abbat or prior, or their successors, to harbour the cattle of any men on the said pasture other than their own men of the before-mentioned vills of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, Baston, and Depyng, in manner above stated. This agreement has been made between the said abbat and prior, saving to all men their right of common which they have been accustomed to have and ought to have in the said marshes."

Shortly after this, the said venerable father, Henry de Longchamp, after having ably governed the church of Croyland for six and forty years, tranquilly took his departure from this life, in order, by a healthful exchange, to receive for his transitory afflictions everlasting joys. For, in behalf of his church, he had endured both labours and expenses which were most grievous and almost intolerable. Besides which, he had exposed himself to mighty perils, both in his journey to Rome as well as at sea; for, on the occasion of the trial relative to the marsh, as already mentioned, he twice crossed the sea to wait upon king Richard, who was then in Germany, and once to king John. With great zeal on his part, he procured ecclesiastical ornaments and vessels of gold and silver, precious vestments, as well as books of the greatest beauty, and many other things that were requisite for the house of God. Besides this, nearly all the edifices, both within the abbey and without, on its manors, were in his time rebuilt and greatly improved.

After his decease, the lord Richard Bardeney, cellarer of the monastery, was elected to the office of ruler by the illustrious king Henry, and admitted abbat. He also underwent innumerable hardships in behalf of his house, but by the clemency of Divine Providence, after conquering his foes, carried off trophies on every side. In his time, it was granted to William de Aubigny, to have common for himself and his heirs, in the marshes of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, and Baston, on behalf of his tenants in his vills of Uffington, Caswyk, and Talyngton, in form here subjoined:

"This is the final agreement made in the court of our lord the king at Lincoln, on the morrow of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry, son of king John, before Robert de Lexington, Ralph de Sulleg, William de Culeworth, Jollan de Neville, Robert de Haye, and Warner de Engayne, justices itinerant, and the other faithful servants of our lord the king then present, between Richard Bardeney, abbat of Croyland, and Simon, prior of Spalding, complainants, by Nicholas de Morburn, and Richard the clerk, substitutes in place of the said abbat and prior, to gain or to lose, and William de Aubigny, by Arnold de Bose, substituted in his place, to gain or to lose; the matter being, that the said William demanded right of common on the lands of the said abbat and prior, in Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, and Baston, although they have no common on the lands of the said William at Uffington, Caswyk, and Talyngton, nor does the said William do service to them, in return for which he ought to have such right of common.

Upon which, a recognizance of grand assize has been entered into between them in the same court, to the effect that the said abbat and prior have granted, for themselves and their successors, that the before-named William and his heirs shall have common of pasture for their cattle of all kinds, from Uffington, Caswyk, and Talyngton, in the before-mentioned marshes of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, and Baston, for ever. For which grant, fine, and agreement, the said William hath granted, for himself and his heirs, that the said abbat and prior, and their successors, shall enjoy their own advantages and profits in the before-mentioned marshes of Croyland, Spalding, Pinchbeck, Langtoft, and Baston, so that they may cut brushwood in the said marshes, and cultivate the land of the same, without hindrance or gainsaying on the part of him or his heirs, saving always to the said William, and to his heirs, their right of common in the said marshes, in manner before stated, for ever."

After this, the said venerable father, abbat Richard Bardeney, stoutly impleaded William, abbat of Burgh, because the said abbat, contrary to the tenor of the fine which had been lately made between their predecessors at Lexington, in the time of king John, frequently, by his men and servants, hindered the said abbat of Croyland, at the time of holding his fairs, from taking stallage or levying impost at the bridge of Croyland, at which place neither his men, nor any other strangers, had free liberty of passing with their cattle. They had also inflicted other grievances, to no small extent, upon him and his people, contrary to the terms of the said fine; in consequence of which, after there had been repeated grounds for dissension between them, the matter was finally settled at Northampton, before the justices of our lord the king, in manner here set forth:

"This is the final agreement made in the court of our lord the king at Northampton, one month after the day of Saint John the Baptist, in the thirty-first year of the reign of king Henry, son of king John, before Roger de Turkelby, &c. and other faithful subjects of our lord the king then present, between Richard Bardeney, abbat of Croyland, complainant, and William, abbat of Burgh, deforciant, as to one virgate of land, with its appurtenances, in Peykirk, and a certain marsh which lies between the boundaries underwritten, namely; from the river of Croyland, which is called Nene, to the place which is called Fynset, and from that place as far as Greynes, and from Greynes to Folwardstakyng, and thence as far as Southlake, where the Southlake falls into the Welland, and so along the course of the river Welland to Croyland, where it falls into the Nene; as to which, a fine was levied in the court of our lord king John, the father of our lord the before-named king, before our lord king John himself, at Lexington, between Acharius, the former abbat of Burgh St. Peter, predecessor of the said abbat of Burgh, the demandant, and Henry, the former abbat of Croyland, predecessor of the said abbat of Croyland, the holder; and as to which the said abbat of Croyland has made complaint, that the before-named abbat of Burgh has, contrary to the before-mentioned fine, by his men and servants, hindered him from taking stallage and levying imposts within a certain part of the vill of Croyland, which lies within the before-mentioned boundaries; and in like manner that he has kept watch on a certain bridge of Croyland, within the before-mentioned marsh, so that he and his men might not have a passage thereby, with their cattle, to the other side of the said bridge. Likewise, that he has rooted up and destroyed the trees planted in the said marsh, and has seized the cattle of the said abbat of Croyland, and of his men at Croyland and Peykirk, in the said marsh, in contravention of the said fine. As to which, record has been made of the said fine so made between them in the said court, to the effect that the said abbat of Burgh has, for himself and his successors, and his church before-mentioned, granted that the said abbat of Croyland and his successors shall, henceforth, without gainsaying on part of the said abbat of Burgh, or of his successors, or of his or their men or bailiffs, freely take stallage and tolls, and levy all imposts in any place whatsoever in the said vill of Croyland, as also in the said part of the vill of Croyland which is situate within the said boundaries, on the day upon which the present agreement has been made, as well as elsewhere in the said vill; so that neither the said abbat of Burgh, nor his successors, shall henceforth be at liberty to levy any imposts in the said vill of Croyland, nor in any part of the said vill, nor to take or demand any other thing therein, nor yet offer any impediment to the said abbat of Croyland, or his successors, or his men, or their cattle, at the said bridge, for ever. Moreover, the said abbat of Burgh has granted, for himself and his successors, and his church before-mentioned, that neither they nor their men shall be at liberty to hold any fair or make any sale of cattle, or of any other thing whatever, or to hold the same without the said vill of Croyland, so long as the fair of Croyland shall continue to be held, by means whereof the said abbat of Croyland, or his successors, may incur any loss in their said fair of Croyland for ever. And for this grant, fine, and agreement, Richard de Hottot, at the prayer of the said abbat of Croyland, has granted unto the aforesaid abbat of Burgh, and his church before-mentioned, to receive an annual rental of one mark, payable yearly to the said abbat of Burgh, and to his successors, and his church before-mentioned, at the hands of Robert de Weston, and Richard, the brother of Ælric, for all the tenements which they, the said Robert and Richard, held in villenage of the before-named Richard de Hottot, in the said vill, on the day on which this agreement was made, and at the hands of all others who shall hereafter hold those tenements, at two periods for ever, that is to say, one moiety at the Feast of Saint Michael, and the other moiety at Easter, saving to the said Richard de Hottot, and his heirs, all the services from the said tenements arising. This agreement has been made between them, saving to the said abbat of Burgh, and his successors, and to his church before-mentioned, and to the said abbat of Croyland and his successors, and to his church before-mentioned, all other the articles, in the former fine levied between the predecessors of the said abbats as to the said land and marsh, contained."

Still, although the venerable father, Richard, was often harassed by the grievances of this world, he always, as opportunely as he could, turned his attention and thoughts to the advancement of their temporal interests. For he enclosed the land which is called Aswyk from the wide extent of the marsh; and in like manner began, with great labour, to enclose Dovesdale, which was afterwards completed on behalf of the convent by abbat Thomas, his successor. Being likewise prompted by the most fervent devotion, in his reverence for the holy body of Christ, and their holy patrons and relics, for the maintenance of one wax taper, like a continual sacrifice, perpetually to burn day and night before the high altar, he gave one hundred shillings, arising from the fee of his church at Whaplode; the same to be set aside for ever, for providing a light in honor of the blessed Mary. He moreover largely increased the incomes of nearly all the officers, and left behind him each of the manors, both within and without, in the best of order and in a most flourishing state.

After he had, with care and ability, completed ten years in the ministry entrusted to him, being worn out with a severe malady, he departed the way of all flesh, to receive at last the heavenly reward of his labours. His successor in the government was the lord Thomas Welles, a member of the said society, and sub-prior thereof, a venerable man and of distinguished sanctity. Besides the other numerous benefits which he conferred upon the convent, he becomingly and benignly enlarged the incomes of all the officers, and, by charter, with the greatest liberality, conveyed the enclosed land which is called Dovesdale, together with piscary in the whole river, and the lands arable and non-arable, and together with the reservoir and buildings and all their appurtenances, to the convent, for the sole advantage and private use thereof. Of this new enclosure one corner abuts upon the embankment of the marsh of Aswyke towards the east, and extends through Shepishee as far as Southplantes on the south, and so through Leoldee to the embankment called Redeclos on the west, and thence as Redeclos runs towards the north, for five[38] quarentenes and two perches and a half, and from that spot on the north through the new embankment which runs beyond the before-mentioned dyke of Aswyke on the east: together with thirty acres of meadow land near the above-mentioned new enclosure, lying on the western side near the water-course by the embankment of Redeclos; for the purpose of finding milk for the supper of the convent throughout all the summer, as also fit and proper tunics, each year to be faithfully distributed by the hands of the pittancer to the said convent. He also granted to it all the tithes of wool to be paid to it wholly and in full by all our parishioners in Croyland and within the precinct and the marshes thereof

This venerable father also patiently endured many persecutions for justice, especially while on his way to the court of Rome on the business of his church; on which occasion he was taken prisoner in Italy by the most abominable Lombards, and kept in prison for some time; but, through the providence of God, was miraculously liberated from their power. Taking the narrow path which leadeth unto life, and with frequent watchings and fastings crucifying his flesh with the vices and lusts thereof, he always clothed himself in turn with a hauberk and a coat of serge, as so many changes of raiment. This man was, besides, a servant of God excellently versed in the Divine law, so much so, that he not only spiritually refreshed the flock entrusted to his charge by the words of holy exhortation in the chapter, but also, frequently, on solemn days, gave utterance to words of holy instruction in the churches when preaching to the people.

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[38] See p. 20.

At last, having achieved a glorious triumph in his contest, in the seventh year of his government, being happily summoned to the nuptials of the Lamb without blemish, he departed from the world, to receive in a heavenly country the due reward of his labours. After his decease, it is said on the authority of many, that divers sick persons, at his tomb, recovered the health which they had so long desired. Among other things, this wonderful event, according to the assertions of those who were present on the occasion, took place. Nearly twelve years after, when for some manifest reason, his body was about, on one occasion, to be transferred from the place where it had been formerly buried to another more becoming spot, as soon as the sepulchre was opened, his body appeared clad in the sacerdotal robes, with the flesh entirely whole and uncorrupted. On seeing this, those who were present glorified God who is wonderful in His Saints in the voice of gladness and of praise. From his sepulchre issued an odour of surpassing sweetness, with such powerful force, that those who stood by could hardly endure it: however, taking his holy body in their hands with fear and reverence, they transferred it with the greatest devoutness to another spot, which had been most becomingly prepared, under a stone arch in the extremity of the northern aisle. One of these persons, being led away by rash presumption, violently tore off the little finger of the right hand of the father, together with the flesh thereof, and carried it away with him; but shortly after, by a premature death, he paid the penalty of his rashness. Deservedly therefore is this Saint preserved in the memory of men, who has thus passed to the joys of the angels.

He was succeeded in the office of abbat by the lord Ralph Mershe, a monk of the same monastery, very experienced in matters both spiritual as well as temporal, constant and magnanimous in adversity, amid doubtful fortune prudent and circumspect, and in prosperity cautious and moderate: duteous to God, and scrupulously careful in his religious observances;[39] bountiful and munificent to the world, faithful and cheerful to all, and one who in the performance of his religious duties passed an irreproachable life. Indeed, like another Simon the son of Onias,[40] in his life-time he repaired the house, and strengthened the temple in his days. For, by means of his unbounded expenditure of money, and a heavy trial in the king's court, he manfully obtained the manor of Gedney, and likewise the church of Whaplode, to our own use, together with the advowson of the church of Eston. Besides these, by especial request he obtained of king Henry the Third a market in the vills of Whaplode, Baston, and Croyland, and right of warren in his manors of Croyland, Langtoft, Baston, Thetford, Burthorp, Bukenhale, Halyngton, Dovedyke, Whaplode, Holbech, and Aswyke.

About this time also, Saint Edmund of Abingdon, who was then treasurer of Salisbury, was elected to the archbishopric of Canterbury; he died in exile in the parts beyond sea in the eighth year of his prelacy, having selected Pontigny, in Burgundy, as the place of his burial. In the seventh year after this, he was solemnly translated, under the auspices of [Innocent] the Fourth. This holy man being still alive, and studiously devoting himself to his pastoral duties[41] * * * * *[42] "in Weston, and nine hundred acres of marsh land with the appurtenances in Multon. As to which it was recorded between them in the said court, to the effect that the before-named Thomas, acknowledging that the said tenements of right belonged to the said abbat and his church of Croyland, remitted the same, and for himself and his heirs quitted claim thereto unto the said abbat and his successors, and to his said church for ever. And further, the said Thomas remitted and quitted claim for himself and his heirs unto the before-named abbat and his successors, and to his said church, of all right which he had in all the tenements with the appurtenances which the said abbat and his church aforesaid held within the limits of Croyland on the day on which this agreement was made: that is to say, in those tenements with their appurtenances, which extend from the vill of Croyland on the eastern side of the Welland as you go down across the river to Brotherhouse, and so through Asendyk to Aswyktoft, and thence to Shepee, and so through Shepee, as far as Southee, and so through Oldhee and Nomansland, as far as the river Nene, for ever; insomuch that neither the said Thomas, nor his heirs, shall in future be able to claim or demand anything in the said tenements, with their appurtenances either in demesne, or in service, or in right of common. The said abbat has also received the said Thomas and his heirs to partake of all benefits and prayers of his said church from henceforth for ever."

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[39] This may also mean, "in the observance of his oath."

[40] Alluding to Eccles. l. 1—4.

[41] There is an hiatus here from A.D. 1251, the date of the election of abbat Ralph.

[42] This is a fragment of a fine.

Although the little bark of our house was in his times buffeted about on every side by the waves of adversity and the storms of litigation, still, it could not be made to founder, so long as the pilot before-named sat at the helm. For, whichever way he directed his course, by the gracious favour of Christ, he always had success and prosperity to his utmost wish. The before-named father Ralph built the tower of the church of Croyland, beyond the choir, together with the chapel of Saint Martin, near the gate of the Almonry. After he had endured the varying and grievous hardships of the world for six and twenty years, and had ably and manfully endured almost insupportable exactions by the kings of money from his church, he departed the way of all flesh, on the feast of St. Michael, in the year of our Lord, 1281.

He was succeeded in the rule, his merits so deserving it, by the lord Richard of Croyland, a monk of that place, and a native of the vill; who prosperously increased the resources of his monastery, as well as promoted religion therein in many respects. For, at a vast outlay and expense, he began the new buildings of the church on the east thereof, which still, in our day, by far excel all the neighbouring churches of the whole county, both in elegance of workmanship and gracefulness of style. Besides this, at lavish expense, he built the manor-house of Dovedyke, and the halls of Langtoft, Wendlingburgh, and Morburn, together with many out-buildings on each of our manors.

In the time of this abbat, there arose grievances and frequent dissensions and quarrels, between the lord of Depyng and the men of Kesteven on the one hand, and the abbat of Croyland, the prior of Spalding, and the men of Hoyland on the other, as to the marshes of Hoyland and Kesteven; for the marks, denoting the boundaries of which mention is made in the above charters of the kings of England, had been obliterated and covered with mud, so that no clear and distinct knowledge could possibly be derived from them. Upon this, the men of Hoyland and Kesteven, in the time of the before-named illustrious king Edward, son of king Henry, presented their petition in parliament, written in the French language, in conformity with the usual custom, and addressed "*A nostre Seignior le Roy*," &c. In order that this petition may be more easily understood by those of posterity who may not be so well versed in the above language, it will not be considered a loss of time to translate it in more common form into the Latin tongue; to the following effect:

"To our lord the king shew and address their entreaties his faithful subjects of Hoyland and Kesteven, in the county of Lincoln, and in the marshes residing,—that the ancient boundary, called Middefendyke, which extends through the middle of the marsh, from the river Welland to the Witham, which has been the dividing line between Kesteven and Hoyland, (as still appears by stone crosses there standing, as well as by other apparent signs, by means of which men might be able to repair the ancient channels), has been so undermined by the water, and covered over with mud, that no knowledge whatever can thence be derived of the boundaries, according to which the king's writs ought to be carried into execution when issued, whether in the office of coroner, sheriff, or bailiffs; in consequence of which, contentions and disputes frequently arise between the lords and people of either district, by reason of their ignorance of the before-mentioned boundaries. For the same reason, also, the said writs either cannot be carried into execution at all, or but badly, to the prejudice of our lord the king, and to the grievous loss and peril of his people there dwelling, through the divers punishments which may befall them when wayfaring, and at other times Wherefore, they entreat our lord the king, that some man of wisdom and influence may be appointed to re-erect the said boundaries, as they used to be in the olden time, for the avoidance of these said perils. They do also entreat"[43] * * * *

[Edward, being then a youth], but fifteen years of age, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, and raised to the throne of England on the feast of the Purification of the blessed Mary, his father being still kept in prison. However, shortly after this, they conveyed the old king to Berkeley Castle; where, as many were forming plans for his liberation, he died a horrible death, being most nefariously pierced with a red-hot spit.

But a few matters ought to be here inserted, which are mentioned as having taken place during the before-mentioned vacation of the abbacy of Croyland, through the resignation of Simon, the late abbat, as already stated.[44] For, immediately after the first day of the said vacation, which took place in the eighteenth year of king Edward the Second, one Matthew Brown, the escheator of the said king in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Cambridge, and Rutland, seized all the property of the said abbey, as being confiscated to the king. Upon this, the venerable father, now abbat Henry, his successor, duteously entreated his royal Highness, that he would, during the time of the said vacation, graciously deign to make the allowance out of the income of the house, which had been assigned from ancient times for the purpose of finding clothes, shoes, linen, and other necessaries for the monks, as well as tapers for the church, and so provide for the maintenance of the prior of the said monastery and of the convent, as well as the corrodiers and servitors of the said house. Accordingly, the king directed his writ to the treasurer and barons of his exchequer, commanding them diligently to search the rolls and archives of the said exchequer, in order to learn, by the registers of escheats, what sum had been usually allowed to the keepers of the said abbey, during the time of such vacations, for the support of the prior and convent as above stated. After searching the archives above-mentioned, they certified to our lord the king, that they had found two vacations of the said abbey, but, at the same time, declared that they could find no allowance whatever made for the support of the prior and convent. Upon this, the king was of opinion that it was just, and consonant with reason, that the said prior and convent, with its corrodiers and servants, should, during the time of the said vacation, be supported from the revenues of the house, and that, in like manner, tapers should be supplied for the worship of God. He accordingly, by his mandate, directed one William Brocklesby, a clerk, and the remembrancer of his exchequer, to make enquiry, upon the oath of good and lawful men, how many monks there were in the said abbey during the whole time of the said vacation, as well as how many corrodiers there were, and how many servitors and necessary servants.

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[43] There is an hiatus here from about A.D. 1281 to A.D. 1327, the first year of Edward III.

[44] In the part that is last.

This inquisition was taken before the said William, at Stamford, it being then the second year of king Edward the Third, upon the oaths of eighteen jurors, who affirmed that there were, continually, in the abbey of Croyland, throughout the whole time of the said vacation, forty-one monks, fifteen corrodiers, and thirty-six servitors and necessary servants, each of whom they mentioned by name. After it had been thus certified as to the said inquisition by the said remembrancer of our lord the king, he sent letters to the treasurer and barons of his said exchequer, directing them thenceforth to allow to the said Matthew, the escheator, on his account, during the time of the vacation of the said abbacy, for the prior, tenpence per day, for each of the monks, threepence, for each of the corrodiers, in like manner, threepence, and for each official or servant, twopence: at the same time strictly commanding the before-named escheator to pay the stated sum to the said monks. The clear profit to our lord the king each week was eight pounds and eighteen-pence. But, as we have here somewhat digressed, let us return to the continuation of our narrative.

In the meantime, the lady Joanna Wake, who, even to the very last moment of her life, heaped the most wanton injuries upon us through her servants, at last departed this life: upon which, the lord Thomas, her son, who had married the lady Blanche, sister of Henry, earl of Lancaster, in conformity with the laws of the kingdom, entered upon his lands. This Thomas Wake claimed demesne in the marsh of Croyland, called Goggislound, saying that it was parcel of his manor of West Depyng, while, at the same time, he committed repeated insults and daily injuries, not only to the people of Croyland, but of Spalding as well. However, Henry, the abbat of Croyland, most stoutly opposed him in all points, and in no degree gave way to his tyranny. For, on one occasion, the said Thomas Wake, assembled together a multitude of noble youths, no less distinguished for their high birth than their valour, among whom was the lord Henry, afterwards duke of Lancaster (whose sister, the lady Blanche, the said Thomas had married, as we have already stated), and determined to make a violent attack upon the people of Spalding. On learning this, the prior of Spalding, for the purpose of resisting his malicious attempts, immediately collected an invincible band of the men of Hoyland, well equipped with shields and arms. And these would have manfully enough escaped his ferocious attacks and the malignant intentions of his mind, had not a person of Spalding, Thomas Thurgard by name, acting the traitor to his people, hindered the said prior and those with him from carrying their designs into effect; saying that he had recently come from the court of the said lord Thomas Wake, and that common report among them stated that nothing would be done.[46] * * *

* * * when [the abbat] returned, feeling confident that he should see an auspicious day, in his indignation he[47] gave such an answer as this: "Know for certain, my lord abbat, and rest assured of it, that the whole that the lady, my mother, the princess, held before me, and which has clearly come to me by hereditary right, I will keep to the best of my ability, and will, with all my might, defend the same." After saying which, he departed with precipitation, and the abbat, being disappointed in his hopes, returned home in sorrow and confusion. Although he had sustained so grievous and so ungracious a repulse, still, however, he remained unbroken in spirit, nor did he desist from the task he had undertaken, but, again and again, both opportunely and inopportunely, accosted the said earl: on one occasion at his manor of Brime, on another at Cambridge, in the same year in which the parliament was held there; and where he entreated, with repeated supplications, that he would deign to appoint a day and place for certain of the learned men of his council to meet, to whom the

abbat would more fully disclose his evidences. Not even then, however, did he gain the object of his wishes. Accordingly, seeing that not thus even could his efforts prevail, he betook himself to Henry, the earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster; for, at this time, John,[48] duke of Lancaster, his father, was in Spain, engaged in the wars there. With most urgent prayers, he also entreated him, that he would be pleased to request the said earl of Kent, that the abbat of Croyland and the tenants of the prior of Spalding might at least wait until the duke's arrival in England, without annoyance on the part of him or of his servants; and that, if he had any demands to make against them, he would hold them over until the time before-mentioned. To this the earl assented, as he trusted that the duke would never again return to England.

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[46] The narrative is interrupted here, and is continued in the year A.D. 1388, the twelfth year of the reign of Richard II. See Preface.

[47] Thomas, son of Joanna, countess of Kent, wife of Edward the Black Prince.

However, in the following summer, by the providence of God, the above-named duke arrived from the parts beyond sea; through whose aid and favour the commons of Hoyland again presented a petition for making a division of the marshes between Hoyland and Kesteven, to the parliament held at Westminster, in the thirteenth year of the reign of king Richard, and in the year of our Lord, 1389. The king readily assented to their petition, and, after the close of the parliament, directed a commission to issue from his court of Chancery to the most powerful and influential men of the county, commanding them, without further delay, to give their diligent attention to the matter aforesaid, and, according to the tenor of the said petition, to bring it to a happy conclusion. He ordered them to make enquiry, upon the oaths of knights and other good and lawful men of both the aforesaid parts of Hoyland and Kesteven, both in the liberties thereof as well as without, through whom the truth of the matter might be best ascertained, as to the metes, boundaries, and divisions that had, from ancient times, been had, made, placed, or fixed between the parts aforesaid; and as to the places and streets, where the said metes, boundaries, and divisions had been formerly placed or made; and to erect, limit, and assign as metes, boundaries, and divisions between the places aforesaid, posts, embankments, stone crosses, or other sufficient marks, in the places and streets aforesaid, by means of which the said metes, boundaries, and divisions might be known and recognized for certain at all future times: so that the men of both districts before-named might clearly and distinctly for the future know and recognize, by the said signs, the said metes, boundaries, and divisions.

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[48] John of Gaunt.

Our lord the king also gave orders to the sheriff of Lincoln that he should summon to appear before the judges, at the stone cross upon the Briggedyke, on the borders of Hoyland and Kesteven, in the said county, between Donyngton in Hoyland and Seyntsavos in Kesteven, on the Friday next after the Feast of Corpus Christi, then next ensuing, twenty-four knights and other good and lawful men, by whom the metes, boundaries, divisions, and perambulation between the parts aforesaid might be trustily and securely made, and the truth of the matter in the premises be more fully learnt, known, and enquired into. He also commanded the said sheriff, publicly and solemnly to cause proclamation to be made in divers places in the parts aforesaid, both within the liberties as well as without, that all those whom the premises should in any way concern, should personally make their appearance before the said justices at the day and place named.

Accordingly, on the Wednesday before the said festival of Corpus Christi, there came to Croyland the men who had been assigned by the sheriff for the said enquiries, to make view of the metes and boundaries which had been placed in ancient times, and to seek full information of the abbat of Croyland, who had in his possession the best evidences on the matter. These having been sufficiently instructed by him, and most courteously provided with refreshments, unanimously proceeded upon the purposed business. On the following Friday, the inquisition was taken before Robert Willoughby, Philip le Despencer, Ralph Crumwelle, William de Skypwyth, William Thyrnyng, Richard Sydenham, John Markham, Edmund del Clay, and Robert Martell, at the stone cross upon the Briggedyke, as to the metes, boundaries, and divisions placed in ancient times in a certain marsh, situate between the rivers Welland and Witham, and below the said river Welland, in the county of Lincoln; upon the oaths of Andrew de Leek, knight, John Holbech, knight, John Meers, Ranulph Bolle, Philip Sarnon, Thomas Welby, Richard Stevenson, William Wyhum, Stephen Copuldyke, John Bly, Ralph Fareeux, and John Grane, on part of Hoyland; and upon the oaths of

John Paynell, knight, Nicholas Hobden, knight, John Walsh, knight, Elias Medelton, William de Boston, William de Cranewell, John Leeke de Cobbye, Thomas de Sleford, Alan de Hekleshale, Antony de Spanby, Ralph de Stanton, and John de Haryngton, on part of Kesteven.

All these, with the justices before-named, proceeded together on the perambulation, supervision, inquisition, limitation, and assignation for faithfully making metes, boundaries, and divisions, between the parts before-named. Accordingly, they began on the Saturday following, at a certain place on the southern side of the said marsh, called Kenulphston, from Kenulph, the first abbat of the monastery of Croyland, and placed there by him as the boundary between Croyland and Depyng; and they stated upon oath, that the metes, boundaries, and divisions set and fixed, from ancient time, between the parts before-named in the said marsh, between the said rivers, and below the stream called Welland, begin at the before-named place called Kenulphston, on the southern side of the said marsh, close to the waters of the Welland; in which place a certain cross of stone was formerly erected and built, as one of the ancient metes, boundaries, and divisions between the parts aforesaid in the said marsh; the body of which cross, through the action of the water and the force of the winds, had been broken down and destroyed; and that a certain stone which had been the foot and foundation of the said cross, was still lying there unmoved, but covered by the water; and that this place, which is called Kenulphston, and is the first ancient mete, boundary, and division between the parts aforesaid, is situate on the southern side of the confines thereof, and is distant from the vill of Croyland, in the parts of Hoyland, about two leagues by estimate towards the west. On view of the said place called Kenulphston, both by the justices aforesaid, as also by the jurors before-named, it seemed requisite that one or two crosses should be erected there, for the better knowing of the ancient metes, boundaries, and divisions between the parts above-mentioned, in future times. It was therefore thought proper that two crosses, one of wood and the other of stone, should be placed and erected on the spot before-mentioned, contiguous to the said stone that was lately the foot and foundation of the ancient cross, the same being set on the eastern side of the said stone facing Croyland. The said jurors further said, upon oath, that the metes, boundaries, and divisions which from ancient times were had and founded between the parts aforesaid in the said marsh, extend from the place aforesaid called Kenulphston to a certain place called Wodelode-Graynes on the north, beyond a certain embankment which had been lately erected by force by the men of Depyng, in the time of the lady Blanche Wake, the same being distant from the before-named place called Kenulphston about one mile towards the north. It was therefore thought proper that in the said place a cross should be erected as one of the metes, boundaries, and divisions between the parts aforesaid, above that embankment, in order that the metes, boundaries, and divisions, from the place called Kenulphston to the said place called Wodelode-Graynes, between the parts aforesaid, might be seen and known. And further, the perambulation being made to the aforesaid place called Wodelode-Graynes, called also by the other name of Oggot, the jurors before-mentioned said, upon their oaths, that that place was one of the metes, boundaries, and divisions between the parts aforesaid from ancient times founded and placed in the said marsh, and that it was necessary that a certain cross should be erected there for the better declaration and understanding of the metes, boundaries, and divisions from ancient time had between the said parts. And because it seemed expedient and necessary to the justices before-named, it was therefore determined that a certain cross of stone or wood should be erected there, lest by some means or other the metes, boundaries, and divisions had and made from ancient times in the said marsh between the parts before-mentioned should, by some means or other, in future times be forgotten. As far as this place called Wodelode-Graynes, or by the other name of Oggot, these are the metes and boundaries of the abbat of Croyland of a certain parcel of the said marsh called Goggislound. As these do not extend any further, we shall forbear to copy any more of the said perambulation for the present.

The said perambulation being completed, and new crosses and landmarks being erected and established between Hoyland and Kesteven, as already mentioned, still, from day to day multiplied threats were fulminated against the abbat of Croyland, and many grievances were inflicted upon the more distant manors of the abbat, by the said Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and his servants.

In the first place, in the court of the king's Marshalsea, then held at Stamford, they greatly molested him by preferring bills of a most grievous nature, but utterly void of truth. They also, by means of a stratagem, drove away the beasts and other animals of various kinds, more than fifty in number, from the manors of the said abbat at Langtoft to the manor of the said earl at West Depyng, and detained them there for a considerable time. Disturbing the abbat also in his peaceable possession, they fished in the waters of the Welland, it being his own several piscary from Kenulphston to Brotherhouse; the nets, too, which they found there they tore to pieces. In the marshes also of the said abbat pertaining to his manors of Langtoft and Baston, they would on no account permit his tenants to dig turf and receive other advantages therefrom as they were entitled to do. Also, for non-repair of Northee,[49] near Bastondyke, and beyond the demesne of Depyng, they not only amerced the said abbat and his tenants in the court of Depyng, but also laid a heavy distraint upon him in his own marsh of Baston for the said amercement. When the servants, also, of the said abbat came to the market of Depyng to purchase provisions, they beat them to the hazard of their lives, and throwing them from their boats into the water, heaped such insults and injuries upon them, that they were unable to enjoy any benefit whatever of carriage by water to the said abbey. They also violently attacked two waggons belonging to the abbat, and drawn by sixteen horses, upon the road to Croyland, laden with provisions for the household and necessaries for domestic use, and detained them at Torpel for their own purposes, until, by letters of the duke of Lancaster granted at the entreaty of the abbat, they were compelled to restore them. Besides this, they uttered such shocking and undisguised threats against the abbat, and his tenants and servants, of killing, beating, and injuring them, that they did not dare venture more than half-way to Depyng, or the country round about it.

On the morrow of Saint Martin, however, then next ensuing, being the fourteenth year of king Richard, a parliament was held at Westminster. In this, the before-named earl of Kent, besides what has been already stated, made grievous complaints, by word of mouth, against the abbat of Croyland, for the many and intolerable injuries which he had inflicted upon him. John of Gaunt, however, the duke of Lancaster, who was then present, publicly asserted in parliament, that every one of his complaints were utterly untrue; for he said that in the preceding summer he had been in the same districts, and had been witness, with his own eyes, that nearly everything was directly the reverse of what he had stated. [49] Abbat John seeing the said earl so dreadfully excited against him, and still obstinate in his claim, being sensible that he could not easily withstand the ill-will of so powerful a man, shortly after waited upon king Richard, his founder, and resolutely pointed out to him the perils that threatened his monastery, asserting that he would not be able any longer to support the onerous duties of his foundation, unless the royal clemency should deign speedily to provide him with opportune assistance. He also presented to him a bill, containing a statement at length of each of the injuries and damages which had been inflicted on him, in manner before stated. This bill the king immediately delivered to the duke of Lancaster, who was then present, to keep, at the same time giving strict injunctions that he would have it read before the learned men of his council, in order that they might secure peace and quietness, such as the law of the land and justice demand, for this house of his own foundation.[50] The lord duke readily undertook the performance of his commands, and efficiently fulfilled them all, in conformity with the royal order and wishes.

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[49] Probably the banks of the stream.

The abbat made his appearance before them in person, and suppliantly requested the said council of our lord the king, out of regard for common charity, to allow his evidence to be stated before them, and to give their judgment, as justice dictated, in conformity with the same. Seeing that they could not without evidence give a just decree in the cause, and at the same time perceiving that the earl, his adversary, for want of evidence on his part, was unwilling to appear, they agreed, of their own accord, to inspect his evidence, and, so far as the law would allow, to ensure to him a prosperous result; besides which, they appointed a day for him carefully to observe.

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[49] John de Asheby

[50] He obtained the title of re-founder from certain acts of munificence, which have been stated in the portion of this narrative which is now lost.

the octave of Saint Hilary, on which he was, all delay laid aside, again to make his appearance before them with his proofs. The abbat. however, fearing that from this delay detriment was threatened to himself, and that in the meantime no small grievances might be inflicted upon him by the servants of the said earl, humbly requested the king's council to ensure him peace and quietness until these dissensions should be more effectually put an end to, between the said earl and himself. This they willingly agreed to, and gave him a letter in the king's name, and under his private seal, to be directed to the servants of the said earl; the tenor of which letter, although dictated in the French language, is here set forth in Latin:

"Richard, by the grace of God, &c. to our dearly-beloved John de Repynghale, seneschal, and John de Holland, receiver, of our most dear brother,[51] the earl of Kent, and all other his servants whatsoever, in the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, and Huntingdon, and to each of them, greeting. With the consent of our council, we do and will strictly enjoin and command you, henceforth, neither by yourselves, nor by others, to inflict any grievances or injuries whatsoever upon our dearly-beloved abbat of Croyland, or his tenants or servants; but you are to suffer the said abbat, and his tenants and servants, to go and return peaceably through the demesnes of the said earl, for the performance of his necessary business, until such time as certain controversies and disputes now pending between the said earl and the before-named abbat shall have been duly discussed and rectified by our council. And we would have you, the aforesaid seneschal and receiver, and all men, tenants and servants of the said earl, in his demesnes within the aforesaid counties, in our name to be strictly warned to be obedient and attentive to the injunctions which, by these presents, we have given them, and in no wise to act contrary thereto, under peril of what may ensue therefrom. In like manner, also, you are to cause our commands aforesaid, on your behalf, to be strictly regarded and observed, according to the effect and tenor of the same, as you shall answer for the same, and under the peril aforesaid. Given, &c. on the ninth day of December, in the fourteenth year of our reign."

When the king's letter had been read, or set forth, in the earl's court at Depyng, before his tenants, they all became quite mad, as it were, and with blasphemous language cursed their lord, and seeing a stop thus put to their malicious proceedings, gave utterance to loud yells and roarings. The abbat, however, and his people, passed freely, unmolested and without insult, through the earl's vills, for the performance of his necessary duties, until the time appointed; besides which, his supplies of provisions were allowed to pass in peace through their districts.

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[51] Half-brother.

Accordingly, on the approach of Hilary Term, the abbat hastened towards London, to be there at the day appointed; but, after having awaited the arrival of the earl many days, he saw that his endeavours would be intentionally frustrated, unless he should hasten to adopt another course; upon which, he presented himself before the king's council, and, with well-timed words, declared the cause of his coming. Knowing that his declaration was true, and admitting the justice of his prayer, they immediately gave commands to one John Wodrove, who was then present, to warn the earl's advisers immediately to appear before them, and without any further delay to inform them what they had made up their minds to do on the day appointed. Complying in every respect with the commands which he had thus received from them, on the following day he publicly stated before them what answer he had had from the earl's advisers, which was to the effect, that, being hindered by other business on that day, they could not possibly appear before the king's council, while at the same time they stoutly asserted that they had received no notice whatever to attend on the day named. On hearing this, being men of shrewd understanding, they knew for certain that the earl was unwilling to appear, but was trying to protract the time to no purpose, until he should find an opportunity of avenging himself on the abbat; and accordingly they discussed the matter among themselves, how to devise a suitable remedy against the purpose of the earl, and, upon inspection of his evidences, provide for the abbat a favourable termination of the matter. Considering, however, the earl's high rank, as he was brother of the reigning king, they were afraid lest they might incur his resentment, or afterwards suffer some disgrace for having shown too much favour to the abbat, and hostility to him; upon which, after discussing the matter among themselves, they came to the determination, that by the king's letters under his privy seal, and setting forth the whole case, another day within three weeks after Easter should be named; which was accordingly carried into effect. They also, by general consent, addressed similar letters of our lord the king to the before-named abbat at Croyland, that he might most carefully observe the day named.

Accordingly, on the day appointed, the abbat presented himself at London, as by the king's letters he had been commanded to do; but the opposite side did not appear. However, it so happened that, during that term, the king's council was so busied upon arduous and important affairs of the kingdom, that it had no time to attend to less important matters, of merely an incidental nature, or indeed to give any serious thought thereto. The abbat, however, shrewdly suspecting that his adversaries might, at some future time, impute to him default on the day named, immediately repaired to the king's chancellor, and the clerk of the privy seal, and after humbly shewing them the king's letter, by which the before-mentioned day had been named for him to appear, urgently entreated that they would deign, in writing, to make record of his attendance. They readily agreed to do this, and caused the day of his appearance to be written and endorsed upon the said letter, which they kept, lest, through their various occupations, the matter might chance to escape their memory. Besides this, they advised the abbat, as he could not at present obtain dispatch of his business before the king's council, to return by the fifteenth day after the feast of Saint Michael. He accordingly returned home, and, though the fulfilment of his hopes was thus long deferred, determined to attend on the day before-mentioned.

From that day till the feast of Saint Laurence next ensuing, the said abbat, his servants, and tenants passed freely and unmolestedly through the vill of Depyng, and transacted all their business in the most quiet manner possible, without any insult or impediment whatever. In the meantime, however, the said earl of Kent appointed to the office of seneschal of his lands, a certain headstrong and most violent man, Nicholas de Clifton by name; who, on coming to the vill of Depyng in the discharge of his duties about the feast of Saint Laurence, most inconsiderately gave orders, upon the tenants of the said vill making very great complaints against the abbat of Croyland, that whatever monk or tenant of the said abbat they should see passing through their demesne, they should immediately bring him to the manor-house of his master, and present him there. Upon this, they lay concealed in ambush, like roaring whelps of lions, in order that they might seize upon them, and day after day they prowled about and ran to and fro, to see if they could catch any of the people of Croyland or of Spalding, upon whom they might wreak the vengeance of their malice.

At last, on the Thursday next before the feast of Saint Bartholomew, a certain monk of Croyland, the almoner of that place, having occasion to pass that way and being in ignorance of the malicious intentions of the villagers, was proceeding, a little before sunset, on his road through those parts, conscious of no evil designs, but with singleness of purpose, and therefore unsuspectingly. Upon this, three or four youths, rushing forth from their lurking-places, treated him most shamefully and unbecomingly, and after leading him with repeated insults two long miles from the spot, presented him, like some important prize, before the seneschal of their master. Immediately upon this, they accused him with the greatest acrimony of various injuries which had been inflicted upon them, and demanded vengeance for the same. The seneschal too assailed him with numerous reproaches, and protested by his fealty and his knighthood, that if he should be found guilty on any one of the points on which he was accused, he would have him dragged some three or four times through the middle of the pond, and afterwards detained in strict custody, until his abbat should procure his liberation. The monk, being very sorrowful and filled with anxiety, made oath on the word of a priest, and truthfully exonerated himself from all the charges brought against him: upon which, a very dark night coming on, after having received these great injuries he was dismissed.

The next day, by command of the said seneschal, they apprehended a man of Spalding upon the Bastondyke, and after dipping him in the water some three or four times, placed him, worn out and half dead, on horseback, and so led him to the earl's manor-house at Depyng, where they placed him in the stocks and in close confinement. The same week they also seized another man of Spalding, and after loading him with repeated insults fell to beating him, and most cruelly broke one of his arms The companions of the said bailiff, also, rushing forth from their ambush there, and taking them unawares, seized some boatmen of Croyland at Walrumhall, who had come thither with their vessels, suspecting no mischief: and after mercilessly beating them, thus taken off their guard, compelled them, wounded as they were, to rush headlong into the water.

Adding to these atrocious injuries prevarication as well, they uttered even still more serious threats, to the effect that on the feast of Saint Bartholomew, which was then at hand, they would pay a visit to Croyland, and would there, with a strong hand, take toll from each of them whether they would or no. These rumours being immediately spread throughout all Hoyland, on the said feast of Saint Bartholomew, three of the household of the earl of Derby,[52] who was then staying at Burgh Saint Peter, came to Croyland, and with them a vast multitude of the men of Hoyland, seizing the opportunity with alacrity as well as acrimony of avenging themselves for the injuries which had been so recently inflicted. Immediately on their arrival, they searched every part of the vill of Croyland, and, finding some of the people of Depyng, placed some in strict custody: while others they dipped repeatedly in the water, wishing to give them a like return for what they themselves had suffered at their hands. At the approach of evening on the same day, they again searched the vill with lanterns, and found some persons to them unknown in the act of taking to flight: upon which, one man sent an arrow after them, and piercing one of their number through the middle of the leg, compelled him, unwilling as he was, to halt, while the rest consulted their safety in flight. After viewing him in full light, they found that he was a certain Hoylander, Simon Gellard by name, who, by reason of a homicide which he had committed in an outbreak, had been banished from his native place, and had been for a long time harboured at Depyng, in contravention of the laws of England.

On thus capturing him, the men of Spalding took him home with them, and, on the Lord's day, at about the ninth hour, with the common consent of all, cut off his head at Spalding, it being the fifteenth year of the reign of king Richard.

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[52] Afterwards Henry IV.

In the meantime, a report was suddenly spread abroad in the vill of Depyng, that the earl of Derby, who, as previously stated, was then staying at Burgh, had given orders to his people forthwith to burn the vill of Depyng to the ground, and without mercy to slay with a remorseless sword all its inhabitants as enemies to himself and his father. On hearing this, the people of Depyng were very much alarmed, and adopting more prudent counsels, with all haste sent the seneschal of their lord's courts, with twenty-four elders of the vill, to Burgh Saint Peter, in order humbly to sue for peace, and voluntarily to place themselves at the mercy of the said earl of Derby. Upon this, the treasurer of the said earl, seeing the bitterness of their souls, and their pride trodden under foot by such an humble submission, readily admitted them to the favour of his master, and allowed them to return home, after binding them by oath to the following effect; that they should in future, to the best of their ability, keep the peace towards all the people of Hoyland, and would most strictly chastise all such disturbers of the peace as they might find among themselves.

In the same year, and at the beginning of the following winter, king Richard held his parliament at Westminster, on the morrow of All Souls. Abbat John, being now rendered more cautious from his past perils, and apprehending that most probably still greater ones would at a future day ensue, once more tore himself from the embraces of Rachel and quiet contemplation, and found himself compelled to submit to laborious toils for Leah amid the tumults of the world. For, with a discreet haste he repaired to London, and made his appearance in full parliament: and then, while his adversary, the earl of Kent, was there seated with the rest, on a fitting opportunity delivered into the king's hands, with all humility and devoutness, a bill containing a statement of the whole case, and entreated that he would deign to command it to be read in presence of all. The king, on receiving the said bill, being both occupied at that moment with other business, and induced thereto, as it is supposed, by brotherly affection, at once consigned the matter to oblivion. The abbat, however, acting with full confidence in the Lord, and falling on his knees before the king, on three separate occasions, did not desist, until the king, if only on account of his importunity, had ordered the bill to be publicly read.

The substance of it was as follows:—That in the last parliament of the king, a bill had been presented on behalf of the abbat of Croyland, relative to the divers grievances and injuries which had been inflicted upon him, and that, by concurrence of the peers, consideration of the whole matter had been committed to certain learned and industrious men of the council of our lord the king; who had appointed the octave of Saint Hilary as the day for both parties to appear to produce their evidence; upon which, however, the said earl on his side did not appear. That after this, it was ordered by the same persons that each party should once more be warned, by letters of our lord the king under his privy seal, to appear before them within three weeks after Easter; but that not then even did a single person of the council of the said earl make his appearance. That the said abbat, not without great labour and expense on his part, carefully attended on both days that had been named for them to appear. And it was therefore, humbly prayed his royal highness on part of the said abbat, that, for the preservation of his right of patronage, and for avoiding any diminution of the royal rights in the said abbey during vacation of the abbacy thereof, he would deign to provide some fitting and gracious remedy in the matter aforesaid; because if he should not quickly succour the said abbat and convent in this present spoliation of them, they would not be able in future to endure the burdens of their foundation or continue to perform their duties for the support of Divine worship, by reason of the smallness of their means.

After the bill had been read to this effect in parliament, the said earl is said to have thus addressed the king: "My lord," said he, "if so it please you, this same abbat both here and elsewhere has repeatedly proffered most serious complaints against me, which both redound to the curtailment of my rights and to no small blackening of my fair name. Therefore I do ask that you will deign so to adjust your sentence to the exact measure of what is right, that his complaints against me may henceforth be set at rest, and that my disinheritance may not be the result thereof." This he is supposed to have said for form's sake, so that he might not appear to have kept perfect silence, while, at the same time he uttered one thing with his lips, and was devising another in his heart; a thing that was fully proved in the sequel.

For, hardly had the space of one week gone by after this, when the said earl, in the same parliament, preferred a most grievous bill against the same abbat, containing many serious charges, and requested that it should be read. Accordingly, during the whole time that it was being read, the earl stood erect before the king, and, at the same time, the earl of March, the earl of Arundel, the earl of Salisbury, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Northumberland, and other nobles, who favoured him, whatever might be his title, similarly stood up with him, as supporters of his cause. On the abbat's side, he stood alone, putting his trust in the Lord, and in the most assured truth of his proofs. On the same day, the said earl, in like manner, presented a bill against the prior of Spalding, which was publicly read in presence of the said council.

After both of them had been read, and construed by all with very dissimilar feelings, the lord John of Gaunt, the venerable duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, immediately arose, and with him the duke of York, his brother, as well as their sons, Henry, earl of Derby, son of the duke of Lancaster, and the earl of Rutland, son of the duke of York. The duke of Lancaster forthwith addressed the king in these words: "My revered lord, certain things that have been here read concern me and my freehold, for which, under God's guidance, it behoves me to stand up so long as I live. But after I am dead, I wish my son, to whom, by hereditary right, the same will descend, to the best of his abilities to maintain the same, and not on any account to allow my just rights to be lost."

To this, the archbishop of York, the chancellor of England, by the king's command, immediately made answer: "My lord duke of Lancaster, his royal highness, fully taking into consideration the exalted station of your persons, especially wishes this to be observed, that no grounds whatever for contentions or discords in public may for the present be disclosed: but the matter in dispute between you he takes into the hands of his royal power, intending to provide for you in the matter arbitrators who shall duly discuss and rectify everything on fair and reasonable grounds."

Matters being in this position, the abbat remained standing alone in the midst of them, and destitute of all human aid. However, seeing that his cause was thus imperilled, and silently recalling to mind that "it is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes,"[54] and the words, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the son of man, in whom there is no help,"[55] he immediately implored the Divine assistance, and placed his entire trust in the aid of the Most High, and in the protection of the God of heaven. Accordingly, throwing himself at the king's feet, in a devout spirit, and, with a tranquil countenance and great constancy of heart, he called attention to his desolate state, in words to the following effect: "Behold, my lord king," said he, "I fly alone for refuge to the throne of your majesty, confessing that you are my king, and the founder of my church, which now stands at the point of ruin, and in danger of utter spoliation. Therefore, on behalf of Almighty God, I do call upon you, powerfully with your royal hand to support the rights of your foundation, and with all speed to succour the said church in this the moment of her necessity, seeing that there is no other, who will be able to come to her aid, as you shall be wishful to answer for the same at the strict judgment of God, and before the tribunal of Christ." After this, he raised himself by degrees, and addressing his words to the chancellor of England and the lord duke of Lancaster, thus continued: "And as for you, my lords," said he, "who are the chief and principal nobles of the council of my lord the king, I do also, in the name of God, exhort and entreat you, so faithfully to act in the defence of the rights of my said church, as it is your wish finally to avoid indignation at the last judgment."

Immediately upon this, the chancellor said, by the king's command: "My lord abbat, it is the king's wish that whatever award he shall make to the lord duke of Lancaster in his matter, a similar result shall, under God's guidance, attend your application. Wherefore, he has taken your complaints and your grievances into his own hands, and, well remembering that he has been the founder of your church, he is determined to restore everything that justice shall demand as the right of that church, and to avert every injury from the same, as is his bounden duty to do."

Oh most memorable magnanimity on the part of this venerable man! Oh remarkable constancy to his sons in this their father in the Lord! who, with such singular firmness of heart, stood up against those who so iniquitously persecuted him; who, inflamed with zeal for justice, manfully withstood them and opposed himself as a wall of defence for the house of the Lord; who, though he knew that the feelings of the king might reasonably be suspected to be in favour of his own[56] brother then present, was not alarmed thereat, did not dread the threats of the judges, nor yet fear the crowd of earls and nobles of the kingdom who publicly took part against him. But, so moderate was he in his language, so temperate in his address, that he was neither over-fluent in excess of words, nor yet was he found wanting through poverty of speech. Hence it was, that he both challenged the feelings of all who stood around in his favour, and merited the praises of each.

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[54] Psalm cxviii. 9.

[55] Psalm cxlvi. 3.

During a whole year after this, he enjoyed the peace he so much longed for, amid the greatest tranquillity; and no matter for either ill-will or discord was afforded to him or his, in word or deed, by the servants or tenants of the said earl. But, behold! nothing under heaven can be safe, nothing can remain for long the same. For even they who serve God are not stable, and "Even his own angels He charged with folly."[57] For we all die, and like water we glide into the earth. Indeed, we are the tributaries of death, and in us we all have an answer to the summons of death. Oh deceitful fortune, who dost exalt us in the moment of exultation, and dost as suddenly plunge us into the abyss of sorrow! For, in the same year, being that from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1392, and the sixteenth of king Richard the Second, the said venerable father, worthy of all lasting praise, began to sicken on the day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and, being attacked by a violent fever, was deprived of all strength of body: upon which, he most ardently longed for death, in preference to abiding any longer among the labours and storms of this toilsome life. Accordingly, from the very day that his illness began, as soon as he perceived that the hand of the Lord had come upon him, and that he was to bid farewell to this world, he immediately estranged himself from all the cares of this life, and employed himself with all anxiety of mind in making provision that the day of death, which is wont to come upon so many unprepared, might not come upon him unawares. At last, when the final moments of his life were approaching, he benignly comforted his brethren and his friends who had met together, and were lamenting their inconsolable loss; and after partaking of the spiritual viaticum, in order that the God of our salvation might grant him a speedy[58] journey, on the octave of Saint Bartholomew, his most especial patron, with joy he quitted the world and joined the inhabitants of heaven, in the sixteenth year of his prelacy. While he was still in this world, although he was repeatedly tossed to and fro by misfortunes from without, and was harassed by the embarrassments of this life, still, none the more did he withdraw his attention from the interests of his house, but in many ways graced his church with vestments, thuribles, decorations for the altars, and other ecclesiastical ornaments, and caused the great bells of the convent to be re-cast. Besides this, he supplied large vessels of copper for the purpose of brewing; and had wooden doors placed at the outer gate of the abbey. Last of all, the perambulation, for the purpose of setting metes and boundaries for the division and separation of the districts of Hoyland and Kesteven, which is mentioned above as having been made through the lord John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and the knights of the country, was obtained through his exertions and at his expense.

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[56] "Uterinus," the earl being the son of Joanna, the wife of the Black Prince.

[57] Job iv. 18.

After he was thus dead, and gathered unto his fathers, not without the lamentations and sorrow of the whole district, he was succeeded by Thomas de Overton, prior of the same community, a man prudent and circumspect in action, and one who had been well tested by experience, while holding the higher offices of the monastery.

In the seventeenth year of the same king, and the second of the abbacy of the said Thomas, some of the commons of the county of Northampton, with the full assent of the monks of Burgh, with great efforts raised a great embankment on the south side of the Welland, from Peykirk as far as Southlake, opposite to Kenulphston; whence they extended it a great distance in the direction of Croyland, within the boundaries of the abbat, without his leave or consent. However, by the providence of God, their attempts were not carried into effect. For, every year, as the waters increased to overflowing, the channel was unable to contain the increasing waters within the banks, and, consequently, by repeatedly washing away the soil, the waves overflowed the said embankment. Hence, through the irruption of the floods, the whole surface was inundated and covered with the waters, so that the utility resulting therefrom consisted more in a supply of fish than of pasturage.

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[58] "Properum."—Qy. if not "prosperum," a "a prosperous journey."

In the same year also, in the holy week of Pentecost, a vast multitude of the people of Depyng came into the marshes with an armed force, and outrageously threw to the ground the cross called Kenulphston, which had lately been erected by authority of our lord the king and the parliament as the boundary between Hoyland and Kesteven, on the occasion of the perambulation before-mentioned; and, after thus throwing it down and breaking it to pieces, they carried it off with them to Depyng, and there, with marks of indignation and dishonor, threw it into the pools under the feet of the passers-by. On the following day, also, with axes and hatchets they levelled the trees which grew on the mound on which the cross had stood, and after throwing them into the water, returned home with great boasting and exultation. Upon this, abbat Thomas, being greatly vexed at this detestable and cruel injury inflicted upon himself and his church, and being deeply grieved thereat, manfully prepared, to the very utmost of his ability, to defend the rights of his foundation, and, betraying no slothfulness, hastened to ensure the re-erection of the said cross, in conformity with the laws of England.

Accordingly, he repaired to London, and by bill set forth his various grievances before our lord the king; while at the same time he was supported by the favour and assistance of the greatly to be honored and ever worthy to be mentioned lord John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster; upon which, with all speed he obtained from his serene highness a commission directed to the nobles and judges of the land, to hold a grand assize on the same. At this assize also, the said illustrious duke, as being the first and chief upon the commission, most benignly presided in his own person. Here the highest and most powerful men of Depyng were indicted, and condemned for having offended against the abbat of Croyland, and the country; after which, they were seized and led fettered in carts and waggons, without mercy, to the castle of Lincoln, until such time as the aforesaid cross should be rebuilt. In the meantime, their friends and neighbours made haste, without delay, to erect another new cross, and so, being greatly alarmed, restored it, though much against their wills, in its proper place, where it had formerly stood, as may now be seen by all who behold it.

About this time also, king Richard removed all his courts, not without great expense, from Westminster to York, in consequence of the ill-will shewn by the citizens of London.

In the twentieth year of his reign, the same king, levying a strong body of men at London, suddenly came to the manor of the lord Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, at Plasshe,[59] in the county of Essex, and there arresting the said duke, sent him to be kept in safe custody at Calais. After a short time, however, by command of our lord the king, and by the advice of the earl marshal of England, the then captains of the said town of Calais, who were the keepers of the before-named duke, suddenly entered his chamber by night as he slept, and binding him hand and foot, placed him between two large pillows, and, by repeatedly treading thereon with their feet, smothered him in a most dreadful manner.

In these days, repeated evils were wrought in England, in the banishment of earls, the beheading of peers, and the consignment of many nobles to perpetual imprisonment. At this period, too, king Richard, at the beginning of his parliament, sentenced Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, to perpetual banishment from the realm, and confiscated his property to the royal treasury. In like manner also, he sentenced Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, to banishment for ten years.

In the same year, Robert Braybroke, bishop of London, with some others who had joined him at Bedford, as well as other prelates who were induced thereto by his example, caused two of the most noble persons in each vill throughout sixteen counties of England, to be summoned before them; and, when they appeared, compelled them to set their seals to a certain white paper which was styled "*Blanc chartre*," and had been devised by the wicked and false counsels of perfidious men; a thing that afterwards proved one great cause of king Richard's downfall. In this year also, the clergy, people, and priests, being taxed, submitted to payment of these heavy imposts to the king with great murmuring.

In the following year, that is to say, in the year from the

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[59] Or Pleshy, near Dunmow, at which place he had founded a college.

Incarnation of our Lord, 1399, and the last of the reign of king Richard, the lord John of Gaunt, the illustrious duke of Lancaster, of deservedly pious memory, (one who had always proved most friendly to our monastery of Croyland, and its opportune helper in its tribulations), departed the way of all flesh at Leicester; and was buried in the church of St. Paul at London, Henry his son and heir being then in exile.

In the meantime, king Richard entrusted and to farm let the kingdom of England to William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire and treasurer of England, and John Bushe, Henry Greene, and John Bagott, knights. He also appointed Edmund Langley, duke of York, protector of the kingdom; while the king himself, with a strong force, proceeded to Ireland, to wage war against the Irish, who had rebelled against him.

Henry Bolingbroke, however, earl of Derby, duke of Hereford, and, by right inherited from his father, duke of Lancaster, being in banishment at his father's death, on hearing of it, sent letters of entreaty to the king of England, begging that he would allow him to enjoy his paternal inheritance, and promising that he would faithfully perform all duties that a liege-man ought to perform for his king. On finding that the king hesitated to grant his request, he determined to carry matters with a high hand, so collecting a large body of troops, he landed at night in the north of England on the fourth of July, accompanied by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, his fellow-exile; and before he arrived at his castle of Pontefract, his troops had increased to an innumerable army. The lord Edmund Langley, the king's representative in England, with Nicholas Spencer, the bishop of Norwich, and the knights John Bushe, Henry Greene, and John Bagott, also collected a large army, in number nearly sixteen thousand men, but although by the king's command he hastened to attack Bolingbroke, he was forced to retreat and take refuge in Bristol Castle. Here the lord William Scrope, the king's treasurer, was punished with the loss of his head for his treachery in having sold the castle of Calais for an immense sum of money which he received from the king of France. In like manner, the knights, John Bushe, and Henry Greene, were punished with decapitation, because by their advice and concurrence most grievous taxes had been imposed upon the commons of England.

The king, who was still in Ireland, as soon as rumours to this effect came to his ears, hastened to return to England, and landed with a few men at Milford Haven, in Wales. But the people of England forsook him, and no longer adhered to his cause; both because he had oppressed them with his exactions, as also, in especial, because he had ordered Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, to be put to death at Calais without any good reason, and had had the earls of Arundel and Warwick beheaded, and had compelled Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry, duke of Lancaster, with many others, to go into exile. After this, the king repaired to Flint Castle, where, after holding a short conference with the duke, on wishing to retire, he was not permitted; but was immediately arrested, and taken to Chester by the servants of the duke of Lancaster.

A short time after this, Henry, duke of Lancaster, the earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with many other nobles of the kingdom, taking the king with them, a prisoner an forsaken by all, hastened towards London; and on arriving there, committed him to the Tower for safe custody until Parliament should meet. Immediately calling together the Parliament, king Richard appointed Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, and a few other nobles, his deputies, in his name to resign the crown of his kingdom before the duke and the commons of all England. Shortly after this, the peers of the realm condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, first at Leeds Castle in Kent, and then at Pontefract Castle in the county of York; and with the consent of the commons, they proclaimed Henry, duke of Lancaster, king of England. In the same year, therefore, Henry Bolingbroke, duke of Lancaster, was crowned king, at Westminster, on the feast of Saint Edward, by Roger Walden, the then archbishop of Canterbury; at which coronation, he made his eldest son, Henry of Monmouth, prince of Wales, duke of Cornwall, and earl of Chester. Besides this, he restored Thomas Arundel to the archiepiscopal dignity, after removing Roger therefrom, and appointing him to the see of London, which was then vacant.

In the following year, being that of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1400, king Henry, thinking that the kingdom was now at peace in his sight, with a few of his people kept the Nativity of our Lord at Windsor. But there is nothing to be depended upon among men; as certain persons, being indignant thereat, and being unwilling that he should reign over them, conspired to put him to death. For the earl of Kent, the earl of Huntingdon, the earl of Salisbury, and the lord de Spencer, with some other knights plotted against him; and, at a peaceful tournament called a "mumming," which was held before the king on the day of the Epiphany, being themselves haters of peace, caused public proclamation to be made, so that, making an attack with a strong hand, they might be enabled traitorously to slay the king by taking him unawares.

This conspiracy, however, by the providence of God, was not concealed from the king. For he having discovered it, they all took to flight; but, in a short time all these parties, who had thus prepared to levy war, were taken or else dispersed abroad, and wherever they were discovered were beheaded without delay. Among these was the before-mentioned and too much to be noticed Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and lord of Depyng; for he, who had been always an evil-wisher and a most spiteful persecutor of the monastery of Croyland, by the sudden judgment of God on his life and his wickedness, came to his end by losing his head, on the very same day on which, as it is said, he had determined to attack the said monastery with a strong hand. When a faithful account had been brought to king Richard at the castle of Pontefract of the deaths of the earls his brothers, in whom he placed a remarkable degree of confidence; being already absorbed in sorrow, and despairing of his own safety, he pined away, and most inconsiderately and rashly vowed for very grief that he would never after take food; and thus, after abstaining from sustenance five days and as many nights, he departed this life, miserably dying of hunger, after the completion of a reign of twenty-two years.

In these times, also, the world being thus at the mercy of a malignant whirlwind of direful perturbations, which spread throughout nearly the whole of England, Satan again went forth from before the face of the Lord, and, in the mouths of certain abandoned men, who had been placed in confinement, proved himself still, as he had been from the beginning, a lying spirit. For these wretches, being either induced thereto by accursed bribes, or else through a misplaced anxiety in their desperate attempts to prolong their wretched lives, most falsely accused divers prelates and nobles of the church and the kingdom of treason against the king's person. Accordingly, Thomas, abbat of Croyland, as well as many others of his fellow-abbats in the county, was iniquitously charged with treason by a certain son of perdition; upon which, he had a day appointed for him to appear, Huntingdon being named as the place, that he might lawfully clear himself before the king's justices of the crime laid to his charge. Trusting especially in the Lord, and the testimony of his own conscience, he most readily presented himself at the place named. Here, having appeared before the tribunal of the presiding judge, he was, by the providence of Christ, acquitted of the charge upon the truthful attestation of the whole county; and so, rejoicing, and returning thanks to God, he returned home.

After this, through the remaining period of his rule, nearly up to the time of his death, he enjoyed abundantly the peace that is so ardently longed for by all mortals. During the outburst, however, of the before-mentioned tempest, we cannot sufficiently wonder how greatly the enemy showed his malignity against the Saints, and to what an extent Satan was permitted to wreak his malice upon the professors of the truth. For ten brethren of the order of the Minorites, famous men and honored doctors of Divinity, together with Sir Roger Clarendon,[60] and Walter de Lande, their prior, being convicted of treason, amid the violence of these tempestuous times, were drawn and hanged.

In the year of our Lord, 1403, being the fourth year of the reign of king Henry, a great and more than ordinary battle in times of civil war, was fought at Shrewsbury, on the festival of Saint Praxecles,[61] between king Henry and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland. In this engagement, nobles and gentlemen, together with common men, were slain, to an amount estimated at five thousand men. This war had long before been foretold by a comet, which appeared in the North, on successive nights, in form of a sword, and which the most learned among the astrologers asserted to have been sent as a direful prognostic of woe.

Two years after this, Richard Scrope, archbishop of York, and the lord Mowbray, earl marshal, together with a multitude of brethren, of the four orders, and a large body of armed men which he had levied in the northern districts, rose in warlike array against king Henry; on which the king met them with a large force, and beheaded the most noble that were taken, at York, without respect for condition or order. However, the Divine goodness deigned in after-times to show forth great virtues and mighty miracles in favour of the archbishop, who was there put to death.

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[60] He was a natural son of the Black Prince. All these persons were executed for asserting that king Richard was still alive.

[61] Twenty-first of July.

Abbat Thomas had now passed nearly fourteen years in quietness from the turmoil of the world, the tribulation of the wicked, and all sorrow; but still, he did not spend his time in idleness, and in neglecting to perform the works of goodness; for he was always strenuously exerting himself in increasing the possessions of his church, by means of which he might more[62] abundantly promote the worship of God, and more readily perform the duties of hospitality. For, with great sums of money, he obtained from Sir Ralph Shelton, for his monastery, the third part of a third part of the manor of Gedney, called Sheltonfee, as also a certain part of a knight's fee, in the vill of Baston, called Beaumontfee, from the lord Henry de Beaumont. The annual income of the prior of one of these places amounts, according to a true calculation, to sixteen pounds, while that of the other amounts to twenty marks.

He also turned his attention to things worthy of a higher consideration; and looking forward with presaging mind to the future, he observed how, upon a vacation of the abbacy, the king's servants and officers had been accustomed, just like so many lions, to pounce upon the property of the monastery, drive away the cattle, and, in confiscating the rest of its possessions, be guilty of the most grievous exactions: upon which, with the most excellent intentions, he determined sagaciously to make provision against these evils, and to apply an opportune remedy for the future. Accordingly, he obtained a charter patent of the royal protection, ensuring the future indemnity of his manors, and strictly forbidding the king's servants thenceforth in any way to meddle with the property of the monastery; and by agreeing that, as often as a vacancy should happen, a payment should be made of only twenty pounds to the royal treasury, he relieved his successors of a ground for inextricable difficulties.

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[62] "Minus," "less," in the original seems to be a misprint, unless the meaning is that it was his wish to curtail hospitality to provide more abundantly for the worship of God.

He also had new forms made in the choir, upon which the brethren are wont to kneel at prayers, and had the four sweetly-sounding bells repaired, which hang in the tower beyond the choir, to the glory of the house of God. In like manner, he had those extremely handsome buildings, situate in the court-yard of the abbey, and used as offices for domestic purposes, that is to say, as a brew-house and bake-house, built in a most expensive manner.

You might also have seen him watchfully moving to and fro, both in the midst of his flock and around it, like one of those heavenly beasts[63] that had eyes for seeing both before and behind—he was, I say, living in common with them in the midst of his brethren, and, going round about among them, administered to them all temporal assistance; in the midst of them, he was like one of them, while, in going round about, he became the servant of them all; in fine, he lived in the midst of them, that there might be no personal deference paid to him, and he went round about that on no side an entrance might be left open to the enemy. But, "Favour is deceitful, and beauty is vain;"[64] and, because the prosperity of a smiling world is wont to elevate the heart, and in its emptiness compels the unwary to raise themselves above themselves, that so they cannot bethink themselves on the day of blessings, or even of woe; God, who is a God of mercy and compassion, being unwilling that his servant should be induced to boast in his exaltation, having had so many years granted to him of lasting peace, but rather that he might have more humble thoughts and more sagaciously provide against the elevation that attends the day of mortals, withdrew from him light in the body, like another Tobias, and, in his mercy, sent upon him night with its shades and darkness; a state in which he remained for the five years during which he survived until his death. However, well remembering that it is written, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth,"[65] he submitted with the greatest patience to this Divine visitation, and as his answer, upon the infliction on him of the death, he always gave most abundant thanks to God, often repeating to himself, "It is good, Lord, that thou hast humbled me;" and, again, "I will rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me;"[66] and, again, "Thy visitation hath preserved my spirit;"[67] and again, "I believe to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living."[68] Still, however, overcome by the urgent request and importunate entreaties of his brethren, he remained, though unwillingly, to the end of his life in the performance of his pastoral duties; and all persons, with sincere feelings of affection, always, in every way, paid him every mark of honor and respect The entire management, however, of the affairs of the monastery, and of its interests, both temporal as well as spiritual, were entrusted to Richard Upton, prior of Croyland, by the lord Philip, who was at that time diocesan. He was a man, noted for his scholastic attainments, a Bachelor of Divinity, one most profoundly imbued with a knowledge of literature, able in action, and prudent and discreet in the management of temporal affairs; having gained great experience while prior of Freston, an office which he had held with distinction for ten years.

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[63] Alluding to Rev. iv 6. [64] Proverbs xxxi. 30. [65] Heb. xii. 6.

But now I think it is proper to make mention of some of the brethren of this monastery, who are deserving to be perpetually remembered, and who, entertaining love for God and their neighbour, in the time of the said venerable father, abbat Thomas, laudably bestowed, of the goods of their friends, and of those which, by permission of the abbat, they had collected, more upon the monastery than was given by others, with the leave of the latter so to say. Wherefore, we have thought proper here to insert their names, that posterity may be made to understand that it is their duty, by the suffrages of their prayers, no less due than devout, to commend their souls to God, when they remember that they are enjoying the benefit of their labours, and know that it is through their bounty that they are here refreshed.

One of these was brother Laurence Chateres, kitchener of the same place, who most liberally contributed forty pounds to the building of the west side of the cloisters. In like manner, also, he gave forty pounds to supply almond milk to refresh the convent on fish days. He also nobly supplied the vestiary with an entire suit of black, embroidered with letters in gold, and appropriate for the purposes of Divine service and the burial of the dead, and which he had provided at the cost of twenty-six pounds. Besides this, he also liberally gave twenty pounds towards the building of a farm-house upon the manor of the convent at Dovedale.

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[66] 2 Cor. xii 9. [67] Job x. 12. [68] Psalm xxvii. 13.

Another brother also, William of Croyland, we consider in no degree inferior to the former. Being appointed master of the works, by his labour and industry he first built the western part of the cloisters before-mentioned, from the very foundation. After this, he erected the two transverse aisles of the church, so remarkable for their beauty, below the choir, one on the north, the other on the south, together with their vaulted roofs, and their windows of glass; as well as a chapel in honor of the blessed Virgin, situate on the northern confines thereof, and which he built of the most elegant workmanship, at a vast outlay of money. Besides this, he ordered two tablets to be prepared by the diligent skill of the sculptors, for the purpose of being erected at the altar of our blessed father Guthlac, which is placed on the side facing the east; and that he might render them more beauteous in appearance, he ordered the lower one to be painted, while he had the whole of the upper one gilded. It is also universally known that the beautiful refectory-house of the order was built by him, from the very foundation to the summit, with artistic elegance and the greatest magnificence Besides this, like another Nehemias, he strenuously laboured in the building of the temple of the Lord, and erected, from the very foundation to the laying of the roof, the whole of the lower part of the nave of the church, towards the west, as well as both aisles appendant thereto, together with their chapels. But of this hereafter: for it belongs to the time of the lord abbat Richard, who next succeeded to the duties of the pastoral charge.

Neither should brother Richard Woxbrige be omitted from the list of our memorial, who bestowed upon God and the church a purple vestment, delicately inlaid with flowers of gold, consisting of two hoods, and a chasuble, with tunics, thereby most liberally providing the wardrobe of the vestiary. This, even down to our times, is deservedly mentioned among the principal benefactions.

And then besides, brother Simon Eresby deserves to be reckoned in the list of our benefactors; for he decorated the altar of Saint John the Evangelist, to whom in especial he paid the most devout veneration, with tablets of exquisite beauty, both above and below. It was esteemed a happy sign that this devoutness of his was acceptable to the Saint, that this brother departed from this world to the heavenly banquet upon the day of his festival, being summoned to join the holy Apostle; an end that he had often prayed for. He also provided two principal thuribles, made of silver gilt, at a cost of forty marks, and devoting them to the performance of Divine service, greatly promoted thereby the glory of the house of God. Besides this, in the chapel of the blessed Mary, which had been previously prepared on the south side of the church, he most devoutly erected at his own expense two perks, which were becomingly prepared for the arrangement of the wax tapers thereon, together with a screen of considerable height, which terminated the said chapel below.

But now let us briefly make mention of a matter that we have previously omitted to do, the gift of the brother Laurence Chateres, for the supply of almond-milk for the refreshment of the convent. That no cause for dispute may arise, respecting the distribution thereof, we have thought proper here to subjoin the circumstances of the institution of the said usage. In the year of our Lord 1413, and in the twenty-second year of the lord abbat Thomas Overton, it was, with the common consent of the said abbat and the whole convent, enacted and ordained, the brother Richard Upton, then prior of Croyland, diligently aiding in and promoting the same, that the before-mentioned forty pounds, given to the convent by the brother Laurence Chateres, as before stated, should be equally divided between six of the highest officers of the convent of Croyland, that is to say, the master of the works, the almoner, the pittancer, the sacrist, the chamberlain, and the cellarer; and it was further agreed that every one of the before-named officers should receive ten marks of the said sum in pennies, and should annex the same to his office, which should be accountable for the same for ever, and should each year answer for it as a part of the monies belonging to his office, in his account when given in, under the head "For almonds." Also, that every one of the before-mentioned six officers should find for the convent almond-milk on the fish days, each in his turn, just as the turn of each of the said officers should come round, each taking care to supply three pounds of almonds, together with good bread and honey sufficient for his turn, there being one pound of almonds, with bread and honey as above-mentioned, for each eight or nine monks. And if the festival[70] *In albis*, or any fast day, upon which the pittance[71] ought to be provided for the convent in the refectory by the kitchener, should happen to fall on any fish day, then the officer who should have to provide the milk on that day, was to receive from the kitchener one pound of almonds, instead of the pittance above-mentioned; and so the kitchener should be excused from providing the pittance which he ought to have found in the refectory, that so the milk before-mentioned might be provided more carefully and more punctually for the monastery. It was also ordained, by the common consent of the abbat and convent, that every officer who should fail[72] on his turn and day, of his own will and knowledge, to find the same, should lose as much of his commons as would amount to double the value of the milk which ought to have been provided on that day: and this, as often as any lapse of the kind should be detected by the prior and seniors of the convent.

Another enactment, also, that was by his order approved of, we think it by no means superfluous here to insert, that all occasion for disagreement may be thereby removed from those who come after us. An ancient and laudable custom had hitherto prevailed, that on every principal feast in the year, the abbat should have with him at table, either in the hall or in his chamber, three monks of the convent, and on every cope day, two; and that the abbat's receiver should receive nothing for them, from the kitchener, on the said days. Also, that if, on the feast of Saint Catherine the Virgin,[73] and of Saint Thomas the Martyr, the prior, or any other member of the convent, should celebrate mass in the abbat's chapel, then both the prior or other person so celebrating mass, as well as all the monks who should be invited by the abbat to his table on these feast days, should be entertained at the expense of the abbat, and the receiver of the abbat should take nothing for them from the kitchener. Also, that when, on the vigil of the Nativity of our Lord, or on the Saturday next preceding the same, and on the vigils of Easter and Pentecost, and on the first Sunday of the Advent of our Lord, and on Septuagesima Sunday, or Quinquagesima Sunday, the prior of Croyland should, according to custom, eat at the abbat's table, the abbat's receiver should take nothing for him.

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[70] Or Low Sunday, being called "in albis," from the white garments in which the Neophytes were clothed.

[71] The pittance was an allowance of food to each two monks It generally meant fish, but it is pretty clear that here eggs or cheese are alluded to.

[72] In the original, this sentence appears to be imperfect.

[73] 25th November and 29th December.

It was afterwards enacted in the time of Thomas Overton, the lord abbat, and confirmed by Richard Upton, the lord abbat, that, besides the times aforesaid, every day throughout the whole year two monks of the convent should take their meal in the hall or the chamber of the abbat, whether the abbat should be present or not; and that the kitchener should pay to the abbat or his receiver every week, in pennies, the same sum that he pays to our scholars who are studying at Cambridge. And if the abbat should wish to invite any other monks of the convent to dinner, besides the said two monks, whether the prior, or any one else, on other than the feasts aforesaid, then the receiver was to receive victuals for them from the kitchener, just as they would have been served in the convent, according to their rank; with the exception of the prior's dish,[74] which he was never to have provided for him by the abbat to eat in the abbat's presence. But if the prior or any one of the convent should eat in the chamber of the cellarer, by leave of the prior, but not invited by the abbat, or in obedience to the ordinance above stated, then in such case, both the prior as well as the other monks there eating were to receive everything from the kitchener and the other pittances, for dinner and supper, just as though they had been taking their meals in the infirmary.

In the mean time, after Thomas Holland, earl of Kent, and lord of the manor of Depyng, had been beheaded for his treason to the king, as we have above stated, Edmund Holland, his brother, became earl of Kent, and was admitted by hereditary right to possession of the said demesne of Depyng. Having taken to wife Lucia, sister to the duke of Milan, he survived a few years only, and died without issue in the parts beyond sea. After his death, the inheritance of the said demesne of Depyng devolved upon the lady Margaret, sister of the before-named earls Thomas and Edmund. John Beaufort, earl of Somerset, son of the lord John of Gaunt, the most illustrious duke of Lancaster, was united to her in marriage; and by her had an illustrious progeny, John, afterwards duke of Somerset, and Edmund, marquis of Dorset. But more of them hereafter. The before-named lady Margaret, after her husband had departed this life, was again married to the most illustrious lord, Thomas, duke of Clarence, son of king Henry the Fourth, and nephew of her former husband; a dispensation having been first obtained for the purpose.

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[74] Interferculum: *entremet.*

King Henry the Fourth, after having completed thirteen years and nearly six months of his reign, putting faith in a deceitful prophecy, determined to set out for the holy city of Jerusalem. But, a short time after, being attacked by a mortal malady, he died at Westminster in a certain chamber which had been from ancient times called "Jerusalem," thus fulfilling the above idle prophecy. He was buried at Canterbury. Accordingly, in the same year, that is to say, in the early part of the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1414[74], Henry of Monmouth, his son, was crowned at Westminster, by Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, on the ninth day of April, being the Sunday of our Lord's Passion. He was far from approving the dethronement of king Richard and his being imprisoned for life, but looked upon all who were the promoters of his death as guilty of treason. By way of some atonement for his father's offence, he had his body transferred from Langley, where he had been formerly buried, to London, and had him honorably interred at Westminster, near the shrine of St. Edward.

After the lapse of a short space of time, a profane multitude of Lollards, enemies of the cross of Christ, rose in rebellion in Saint Giles's Fields, also called Fyketfelde, against the king: but being protected by the Divine favour, he triumphed with a victorious arm, and having taken prisoner Sir John Oldcastle, who was the leader of this nefarious band, together with many others, consigned him to the flames

In the following year, being the year of our Lord, 1415, king Henry having convoked a council at Westminster, proposed as a question to the peers of the realm, the extent of the right and title of his ancestors to Normandy, Gascony, and Aquitaine Accordingly, they advised him to send special messengers to the king of France for the assertion of the said rights

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[74] Properly, 1413.

The dauphin of France, on hearing this, as a mark of his contempt for the king of England, insolently sent him a cask full of tennis balls, with the object of mocking him. The king of England, feeling greatly indignant at so insulting a present being sent him, promised that beyond a doubt, he would send him in return some balls for playing at a new kind of game, by means of which the very strongest roofs of their houses would rattle. Accordingly, after a short time had elapsed, having assembled no small multitude of armed men at Southampton, he determined to lead an expedition against France. But just as he was about to embark, it providentially became known to him that the lord Richard Langley, earl of Cambridge, the lord Richard Scrope, treasurer of England, and the lord Thomas Grey, knight, were about to sell him to the king of France, on condition of receiving one thousand pounds in gold. On discovering this conspiracy, they were immediately punished, by the king's commands, with the loss of their heads, in accordance with their deserts, without the north gate of Southampton.

After these transactions, the king made a speedy voyage with the troops and fifteen hundred ships, and landed at the harbour of Chef de Caux, at the mouth of the river Seine whence he proceeded with a prosperous course, and laid siege to the town of Harfleur by sea and land. This place he vigorously attacked by throwing into it immense masses of stone by means of his engines of war, as though they were playing with the Frenchmen at the game commonly known as 'tennis.' The people being worn out with the obstinacy of the prolonged siege, and starved through want of food, the king, under the guidance of God, was at length victorious on the feast of Saint Mauricius,[75] and by this display of his strength gained possession of the town: for which he afterwards duly returned thanks to God, the bestower of all blessings. After an interval from this time of nearly five weeks, a great battle was fought between the king of England with seven thousand men, and the flower of the knighthood of all France, sixty thousand in number, on the plains of Agincourt, upon the feast[76] of Saints Crispin and Crispinian. Here, king Henry, girding himself with valour and trusting in the aid of God and the prayers of the clergy throughout all England, slew eleven thousand men of the opposite side; while he took prisoner the duke of Orleans, together with great numbers of the nobles, and compelled the rest of the army to take to flight After the battle was thus finished, and the king of England had by the will of God thus gained the victory, he returned to his camp, there to return thanks to God for thus granting him this triumph; and with great exultation of heart, had the hymn of praise, the *Te Deum*, sung in his tent, no small number of the private soldiers standing by, as well as such of the clergy as were then present. The king himself, still with his armour on, rendering the palm of glory unto God, threw himself prostrate on the ground in the midst of all; nor did he consider himself worthy to arise therefrom, before the said hymn of praise, together with the prayers appended thereto, had been brought to a conclusion.

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[75] Twenty-second of September.

[76] Twenty-fifth of October.

While, however, these successes were being gained abroad, the ever hostile, ever malicious commonalty did not cease to disturb the peace of the Church at home. But how long, O Lord, how long, shall the sinners exult? How long too wilt thou, holy father Guthlac, who didst formerly, in thy might, render dæmons subject to thy rule, allow malignant people to invade thy possessions, and to plunder what is thine? For lo! thine enemies have sounded to arms, and those who hate thee, have again lifted up their heads against thy servants. For the family of them have said together in their hearts, "Come, let us destroy them from out of the nations, let us take possession of the inheritance of the sanctuary of God;" they have said so, I say, and that which they have iniquitously conceived in the wickedness of their minds they have still more iniquitously fulfilled in the execution of their designs. For, as soon as, by common report, it became known throughout the adjoining counties, that the Divine goodness had, as we have mentioned above, mercifully visited the venerable father Thomas, abbat of Croyland, with the loss of his sight: the neighbouring people of Hoyland, inhabiting the vills of Multon and Weston, congratulating themselves on a fitting time having arrived for the fulfilment of their wishes, hoped to gain a profit at the expense of others. Besides this, they imagined that now there was no longer any person to protect or to save, or manfully to make head against their unjust usurpations; so, assembling together in the hopes of an easy victory, with an armed force just like so many warriors, they entered a certain island called "le Purceýnt," situate within the metes and boundaries of the abbey of Croyland, with a frantic spirit and tumultuous outcries. Here, just like so many ravening dogs, they committed all sorts of excesses in their frenzy, and perpetrated many enormities, in fishing, fowling, and plundering the nets and every thing else they could find; and thus continually occupying the said precinct for nearly a whole year, they would allow none of the farmers or servants of the abbat to receive any advantage whatever therefrom. In addition to this, with hatchets and axes they also levelled a fishing-house situate at Sandistowe with the ground, and setting fire thereto soon reduced it to ashes.

Besides this, certain of the people of Spalding were at the same time possessed by a similar spirit, and presumed, with a strong hand, to fish in the waters of the Welland, in which river the abbat of Croyland had several piscary, even as far as the vill of Croyland; and insultingly collected in no small multitudes with haughty and threatening gestures. After they had also with one accord effected an entrance into the marsh of Goggislound, which is also the several soil of the before-named abbat, they dug up turf therein, cut sedge and bulrushes, and as though they had taken seisin and possession thereof, pretended to claim the right of property therein, and proceeded, by violent means, to hinder such of the tenants of the vill of Croyland as, for a long time had held possession of the said marsh, from entering thereupon.

Upon this, the venerable prior Richard, to whom, as we have previously mentioned, the whole management of the monastery, in matters spiritual and temporal, had been entrusted, felt desirous to take measures against evil doers of this description at the outset, in order that they might not proceed on their career with impunity; so, having first consulted the diocesan thereupon, he was of opinion that the sword of ecclesiastical censure ought at once to be unsheathed, as necessity now demanded it, against these disturbers of the peace; the same having been in former times specially granted by the most holy father Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, to abbat Turketul, and laid up with singular care among the treasures of the place. Accordingly, in presence of the whole convent, upon a solemn festival of note, he publicly and solemnly fulminated sentence of excommunication at the doors of the church against all persons whatsoever who should infringe the liberties of the church of Saint Guthlac, or should unjustly plunder its property, or presume rashly to invade its possessions.

After this, he resorted to the temporal arm and the laws of the realm, and, taking with him the muniments of the illustrious kings, Ethelbald, Edred, and Edgar, he manfully girded up his loins as though about to fight against beasts, and hastened to London, in order to bring both parties to trial. Here, with much labour and expense he diligently prosecuted his suit, but, through numerous dissensions and delays, it was nearly two years before he could bring the matter to the desired conclusion. For he had daily to undergo such vast anxieties both through the counsels of the duke of Lancaster, who favoured the people of Spalding, as well as through the lords of the before-mentioned vills of Multon and Weston, who impeded all his efforts, that he became quite wearied out by this two-fold battle as it were, and could bear up against it no longer. Upon this, the prior, seeing that his business now lay at the mercy of the cast of a die, and that it was far from answering his wishes, but daily wore a worse and worse aspect, fell into such a state of sickness, that the physicians even despaired of his recovery; for his stomach, as though through indignation, refused to retain anything that was offered to it. And beyond a doubt, the frustration of his labours thus prolonged would have almost led him to despair of his cause, had not He who alone takes into consideration labour and sorrow, speedily deigned to look down from heaven upon the cause of the poor.

Wherefore we shall not deem it amiss in the present pages to insert such matters as took place at this time, and which we know to be worthy of recital. A certain lawyer who was counsel for the said prior, and who was commonly called, according to the laws of England, a "serjeant-at-law," William Ludyngton by name, acted as his adviser in this business and his most trusty advocate. While he was one night lying awake in bed, extremely sad and disquieted in spirit, by reason of revolving many things in his mind, he found himself unable to sleep. At last, however, a gentle slumber seeming to fall upon him, he reposed for a short time, when, behold! a certain venerable form, in the dress of an anchorite, was seen standing near him and uttering words to this effect: "Why, amid the fluctuations of thy mind, art thou anxious about the prosecution of thy cause, and why pass the night without sleep, as thoughts crowd upon thee from every side? Come now, pause a moment, and relax thy limbs in repose: for to-morrow morning every thing will succeed to thy utmost wish, and the same matters which hitherto have seemed to wear an adverse aspect, will happily smile upon thee according to thy will and pleasure." So saying, the vision disappeared.

Rising early in the morning, and encouraged by this oracle which had, beyond a doubt, been revealed to him from heaven by Saint Guthlac, he immediately began to entertain better hopes. Upon this, he hastened directly to the court, and having for a short time held a conference on the matter with those who were of counsel for the parties, he at last succeeded in making the following arrangement upon the matter; that each side should at once choose arbitrators, who should come to a just decision upon the matter in dispute between them; to which course, as putting an end to all trouble and expense, they willingly consented. The prior, who was still, as we have stated, lying upon a bed of sickness, hearing that this perplexed labyrinth of agonizing toil was likely to have some outlet, and that such an expensive series of litigation was about to be set at rest, was greatly rejoiced thereat, and now breathing more freely, returned abundant thanksgivings to God for the Divine consolation which had been granted to him from heaven.

Accordingly, after this, two arbitrators were chosen on behalf of the abbat of Croyland and the convent of that place, namely, Master Richard Flemyng, an excellent doctor of holy Theology, rector of the parish church of Saint Botolph, canon of the cathedral churches of York and Lincoln, and afterwards bishop of Lincoln, and John Flete, of Frampton, a man of noble rank and held by public report in high repute. On part of the commons of the vills of Multon and Weston, John Baysham, rector of the church of Hanneslap, and vicar of the church of Multon, and Richard Pynchbeck, were in like manner chosen arbitrators. Upon a day previously named by them, being the Tuesday before the Exaltation of the holy Cross, in the third year of the reign of king Henry the Fifth, being the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1415, these persons, together with John Cokayne and William Ludyngton, two justices of the Common Pleas of our lord the king, who had been chosen to act impartially in the said matter by the said parties, met together at Croyland. After inspecting the evidences and the various muniments, and carefully examining the same, when produced to them by the abbat and convent and their counsel, they gave and set forth their award and judgment, which was afterwards confirmed by our said lord the king, and ratified by his seal patent, in the following words:—

"To all the faithful in Christ, who shall see and hear this present writing indented, Master Richard Flemyng, doctor of holy Theology, rector of the parish church of Saint Botolph, and canon of the cathedral churches of York and Lincoln, John Flete of Frampton, John Baysham, rector of the church of Hanneslap, and vicar of the church of Multon, and Richard Pynchbeck of Pynchbeck, health everlasting in the Lord. Whereas divers debates, strifes, dissensions, and discords have been moved and have arisen of late between the venerable man Thomas, abbat of the monastery of Croyland and the convent of that place, of the one part; and Lambert Bonourge of Multon, Adam Browne of Multon, William Miller of Multon, John Somner of Multon, Robert Michell of Multon, Geoffrey Hull of Multon, John Rumney of Multon, William Broun of Multon, Henry Johanneson, otherwise called Henry Sergeantson, of Multon, Thomas Johanneson, otherwise called Thomas Sergeantson, of Multon, Nigel Avery of Multon, John Hareberd of Weston, John Williamson of Weston, Walter Cook of Weston, and John Feldewe of Weston and the commons of Weston and Multon, of the other part,—of and concerning the right, title, and claim to a certain island called 'Le Purceynt,' within the metes and boundaries of the vill of Croyland, as the before-named abbat asserts. And whereas, within the said island, the before-named Lambert and the other persons, whose names are above-written, of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid, have claimed to have common of pasture for their cattle of all kinds, and common of piscary and turbary, and of cutting and gathering rushes and reeds, and right of taking all kinds of fowl to be found within the said island so called Le Purceynt, as also of taking all other profits within the said island arising or ensuing, asserting that greater part of the said island is within the metes and boundaries of the said vills of Multon and Weston. And whereas, as to the right, title, and claim hereto as also the debates, discords, and dissensions, and all kinds of transgressions and offences whatsoever, in any way committed against the said abbat and convent by the before-named Lambert and others, whose names are above-written, of the vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid, before the day of the making of these presents, the said parties have proposed and agreed to stand and abide by the award, order, and judgment of the aforesaid Master Richard Flemyng and John Flete, arbitrators chosen on behalf of the said abbat and convent, and John Baysham and Richard Pynchbeck, arbitrators chosen on behalf of the said Lambert and others, whose names are above-written, of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid; upon the understanding that, if we could not come to an agreement, then in such case the said parties should stand and abide by the ordinances and judgment of John Cokayne and William Ludyngton, two justices of the Common Pleas of our lord the king, chosen by consent of the before-named parties to act indifferently herein. Wherefore we, the before-named Masters Richard Flemyng, John Flete, John Baysham, and Richard Pynchbeck, on the Tuesday next before the Exaltation of the holy Cross, in the third year of the reign of King Henry the Fifth, having called before us the said abbat and convent, with their counsel, to show unto us, if they had any means of proving the same, that the said island was within the said vill of Croyland, and that the said island was wholly their own several soil; the said abbat and convent, with their counsel, showed unto us divers evidences, that is to say, the charter of the first foundation of the said monastery of Croyland, by which Ethelbald, king of the Mercians in England, did in the year of our Lord seven hundred and sixteen, grant unto God, the blessed Mary, and Saint Bartholomew, the whole island of Croyland as a several seat for the abbey, and severally to be held, the same being surrounded by four rivers, that is to say, by the river which is called Shepishee towards the east, by the river which is called Nene, on the west, by the river which is called Southee towards the south, and by the river which is called Asendyke towards the north, where the common Drain runs between Spalding and the said island, and within which metes and boundaries, the said island called

'Le Purceynt' lies. They did also show unto us the charter of re-foundation of the said monastery, after it had been destroyed and laid waste by the pagans, made by Edred, king of England, in the year of our Lord nine hundred and forty-eight, in which he delivered, gave and confirmed unto Turketul, his kinsman, abbat of Croyland, and all the monks their successors, the whole island of Croyland as the glebe of that church, and the several site of the said monastery, together with the boundaries thereof, that is to say, from the triangular bridge of Croyland along the river Welland towards Spalding, as far as Asendyke, where Asendyke falls into the river Welland, on the northern side of a cross of stone by the said Turketul there erected, and so towards the east along Asendyke as far as Aswyktoft, and thence to Shepishee, on the eastern side of the said island, and so to Tedwarthar, and there entering Southee, as far as Nomanslandhyrne, where the said Turketul ordered a cross of stone to be erected, six perches distant from Southee, and which cross is distant from the river Nene on the west six perches, and thence along the said river Nene as it runs up to the above-mentioned bridge of Croyland, together with several fishery in all the waters that surround the said island as well as in the pools and marshes enclosed therein. They also showed unto us charters of confirmation and ratification of divers kings of England since the Conquest, that is to say, of king Stephen, king Henry the Second, king Richard the First, king John, king Henry the Third, king Edward the First and other kings of England, to king Henry the Fifth that now is: all which charters confirm, ratify, exemplify and expressly attest the above-named limits, metes, and boundaries of the island before-mentioned. In like manner they showed unto us a certain claim and award made thereon, on a certain circuit at Lincoln, before John de Vaux, and his fellows, the judges in eyre, in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward, son of king Henry, and other claims then made by the abbat of Croyland, who, among other liberties, claimed to have the seat of the abbey of Croyland, with its boundaries there named, which extend as follow: from Croyland to where Asendyke falls into the river Welland, and so along Asendyke to Aswyktoft, and so to Shepishee, and so to Tedwarthar, and so to Nomansland, and so along the river Nene to the river Welland before-mentioned: which claim and award testify that the said island is within the said metes and boundaries. There was also produced before us on behalf of the said abbat and convent a certain writing of release of Thomas Fitz-Lambert of Multon, the then lord of the manor of Multon, made to the abbat of Croyland, which writing, in like manner, proves and testifies the metes and boundaries of the said island. There were in like manner shewn unto us on behalf of the said abbat and convent many accounts of divers bailiffs of the manors situate within the said island, that is to say, Brotherhouse, Morecotes, Nomansland, otherwise called Girthlakesland, and Dovedale, of the time when the said island was arable and sown in some parcels thereof, and in other parcels consisted of meadows, crofts and great pastures to farmlet, while other parcels thereof remained in their own hands; also, relative to the agistments for beasts depasturing in the said island, as the same are set forth in the rolls of account of all the abbats, predecessors of the before-named abbat that now is, from the time of king Henry, son of John. The said abbat and convent, with their counsel, also shewed unto us many other evidences of considerable length, the which, by reason of such length, we do not think proper here to insert. The said Lambert and the others above-written, of the before-named vills of Multon and Weston, as also the commons aforesaid, being called before us with their counsel, to declare and to show their right, title, or right of claim which they had in the said island, and being asked whether they had any thing to say against the evidences aforesaid by the said abbat and convent and their counsel produced, were able in effect to say nothing whatever thereto Wherefore, we, considering the aforesaid evidences of the said abbat and convent, by them and their counsel in form aforesaid shewn and produced before us in presence of the aforesaid John Cokayne and William Ludyngton, chosen as indifferent judges in this matter, as also by consent of the aforesaid abbat and convent, as well as of the before-named Lambert and the others above written of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and of the commons aforesaid, in the chapter-house of the said abbey appearing, do order, adjudge, and have decided, in manner, form, and with the conditions following. In the first place, that the before-named abbat and convent and their successors shall have and hold the said island called 'Le Purceynt,' together with all the profits to the said island in any way whatsoever belonging, as their several property, and shall hold the same in severalty, by the before-mentioned metes and boundaries, in the aforesaid foundation, restoration, and confirmation by the kings, claim and award of the judges in eyre, and charter of release and quit-claim of the said Thomas Fitz-Lambert, specified and set forth; and shall enjoy the same freely and quietly for ever, without gainsaying or hindrance on part of the before-named Lambert and the others above-written of the before-named vills of Multon and Weston and the commons aforesaid, their heirs or successors, so that neither the said Lambert and others of the said vills of Multon and Weston above-written, and the common aforesaid, men holding and residing in the said vills of Multon and Weston, nor their heirs or successors, shall ever have any common of pasture, piscary, or turbary, nor yet common to take any profit that shall in any way arise in the said island in future: but that they, their heirs, and successors, shall be excluded for ever from taking any right, title, or profit therefrom. Saving always, to the said Lambert and the other persons above-written of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid, a certain place within the said metes and boundaries, that is to say, the high embankment called Newlode, otherwise Le-Lodyke, near Le Drove, with the intermediate water lying between the said Newlode and Le-Drove, which begins at Brotherhouse, as the same was, in a certain award made in the forty-eighth year of the reign of king Edward the Third between Thomas, the then abbat of Croyland, and John, the then prior of Spalding, by Master Peter Dalton, canon of the cathedral church of Lincoln, and William Spaigne, awarded; upon the understanding that the water or pool which is called Oldelode on the south side of the said Drove, as the same extends from Brotherhouse to Aswykelose in length, together with piscary in the same, shall belong fully and quietly for ever to the said abbat and convent and their successors, without any hindrance on part of the said Lambert and the others above-written of the said vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid, or their heirs or successors, as in the said award of the said Master Peter and William Spaigne is more fully set forth. We do also further award and determine, that the said abbat, and convent, and their successors and assigns, shall, so often as they shall think fit, be at liberty to drive piles and stakes and make weir-heads upon the said Drove, on the northern side of the said water called Oldelode, for the purpose of taking fish in the said water, without gainsaying or hindrance on part of the before-named Lambert and the other persons above-written of the said vills of Multon and Weston, and of the said commons, or of their successors for ever. We do also order and determine that the said Lambert and the other persons above-written of the said vills of Multon and Weston, and the said commons shall cause to be built anew a certain house in the said island, where a certain house was situate, called Sandystowecote, before the feast of All Saints next ensuing after the date of these presents; the said house having been levelled and destroyed by violence by the commons of the said vills of Multon and Weston; or else that the said Lambert and the others above-written of the said vills of Multon and Weston and the commons aforesaid shall pay to the said abbat and convent and their successors, upon the said feast of All Saints, twenty marks. We do also award, order, and adjudge that the before-named Lambert and the others above-written of the said vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid shall pay to the before-named abbat and convent or their successors, upon the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel next ensuing after the date of these presents, forty marks sterling, the same to be received at the will of the said abbat and convent, for all other the injuries, offences and transgressions, within the said island against the said abbat and convent done or committed by them or by any of them, before the day of the execution of these presents. We do also order, award, and determine that all and each of the men of the before-named vills of Multon and Weston, who have committed transgressions or offences, or who have given aid, counsel, or favour for the commission of transgressions or offences, shall come before the feast of Easter next ensuing to Croyland, there to appear before the said abbat, and shall, out of reverence for God and Saint Guthlac, humbly ask pardon for all their said transgressions and offences. And to the end that this our said award, ordinance, and judgment may in all respects for ever remain in full force, we do order, award, and determine that the aforesaid Lambert and the other persons above-written of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and other fifteen good and sufficient men of the said vills of Multon and

Weston, shall appear before some Mayor of the Staple, before the feast of All Saints next ensuing, and enter into recognizances on behalf of themselves and each of them to the said abbat and convent for the payment of two hundred pounds sterling to the said abbat and convent and their successors, or their certain attorney, on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord next after the date of these presents ensuing. And we do further order that immediately after the said recognizances shall have been so entered into, two indentures shall be made, setting forth the conditions of the said enactment, to wit, that, if this our said award, ordinance, and judgment shall in all things be always fulfilled, then the said enactment shall be of no virtue or effect, but if otherwise, the same shall remain valid and effectual. In testimony of which, to the one part of this our said award and ordinance, to remain in the hands of the said abbat and convent and their successors, and to the other part, to remain with the said Lambert and the other persons whose names are above-written of the aforesaid vills of Multon and Weston, and the commons aforesaid, their heirs and successors in the said vills of Multon and Weston, we the aforesaid arbitrators, Masters Richard Flemyng, John Flete, John Baysham, and Richard Pynchbeck, have set our seals; and at our especial request and at the entreaty of the parties aforesaid, the said John Cokayne, and William Ludyngton, justices, and Robert Hagbeche, knight, John Bell of Boston and Thomas Claymond of Hole, who have been present at this award, have set their seals. Given at Croyland on the day and in the year above-named."

In like manner also, the matters in dispute against the people of Spalding were quieted and set at rest. For, both the abbat and convent of Croyland and the commons of Spalding and Pynchbeck, by their writings obligatory, agreed and voluntarily submitted to abide by the award of John Wodehouse, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, John Leventhorp, receiver-general of the said duchy, and William Babington, one of the council of the said duchy; as the form of the said award hereunder set forth more fully testifies:

"To all the faithful in Christ who shall see and hear this present writing tripartite, John Wodehouse, chancellor of our lord the king in his duchy of Lancaster, John Leventhorp, receiver-general of our said lord the king in his duchy aforesaid, and William Babyngton, one of the council of our said lord the king in his duchy aforesaid, health in the Lord everlasting. Whereas divers claims, dissensions, debates and disputes have been moved and have arisen of late, between Thomas, abbat of Croyland and the convent of the said place, of the one part, and the commons of the vills of Spalding and of Pynchbeck of the other part, as to a certain marsh called Goggislound, on the western side of the river Welland; which marsh the said abbat and convent have claimed as being their soil and demesne, as parcel of the vill of Croyland; and the aforesaid commons have claimed the same as being within the metes and boundaries of the marsh of them the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, and have also claimed to have within the said marsh common of pasture, turbary, piscary, and of cutting and gathering rushes and reeds, and of taking fowl and other the profits thence arising. As to which claims, debates, dissensions, and disputes, on the twentieth day of the month of July in the third year of the reign of king Henry the Fifth, the said abbat and convent, on behalf of themselves and their successors, as also William Geywode of Spalding, and William Pygot, Thomas Sparrowe, Richard Ribold, Thomas Thorald, Thomas Bele, Thomas Michel, Robert Date, John Frauncеys, Thomas Horner, John Horner, Robert Thorald, William Burton, John Fere, Geoffrey Bullock, Robert Hobkynson, Simon Leper, William Swyke, John Haltoft, John Geyton, John Wright, Adam Storm, Hugh de Lambkynson, and Gilbert Hawkyn, all of the same place, as also Walter Bennet of Pynchbeck, and Robert Soule, John Raynoldson, John Clerk, Athelard Welby, Thomas Geney, Thomas Flouter, John Vikers, Gilbert Clony, William Geggs, Richard Philips, and John Hall, all of the same place, have, for themselves and the commons of the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, submitted to the arbitration and award of Hugh Mortimer, chamberlain of our lord the king for his duchy aforesaid, and of us the aforesaid John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, or any three of us, upon the understanding that our said arbitration and award should be made before the feast of All Saints then next ensuing. And as to the same, the said abbat and convent have on their part, bound themselves and each of them, their heirs, and executors, by their writings obligatory in two hundred pounds sterling, under their common seal to Athelard Welby of Pynchbeck and Thomas Geney of the same place, William

Geywode of Spalding, and Thomas Sparrowe of the same place, to pay the same to the said Athelard, Thomas, William, and Thomas on the said feast of All Saints, as an earnest that they will fulfil and perform all and every the things which shall be awarded and ordained by us the aforesaid arbitrators, or any three of us in respect hereof. And the aforesaid William Geywode, William Pygot, Thomas Sparrowe and all other the persons before-named of Spalding and of Pynchbeck, have bound themselves and each of them, their heirs and executors, in two hundred pounds sterling, by their divers writings obligatory under their seals, unto the said abbat and convent of Croyland, upon the said feast of All Saints, as in the said writings obligatory is more fully set forth. And whereas we, the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton have since, on the said day, in the same year, and at the same place, in the council-house of the said duchy of Lancaster at Westminster, ordered, in presence of the parties before-named, that both of the said parties should be ready and prepared with all their evidences and muniments, touching the claims, debates, dissensions and disputes aforesaid, to appear before us the aforesaid arbitrators, or any three of us, at Croyland, on the thirteenth day of the month of September then next ensuing, to inform us on the metes and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound, and on the debates and matters aforesaid: upon which day, before us, the aforesaid arbitrators, John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, then being at Croyland, there sitting with us at our especial request, William Ludyngton, one of the justices of the Common Pleas of our lord the king, to see, hear, and advise with us on the matters aforesaid, there appeared both the before-named abbat and convent with their counsel, as also the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors both in their own names as also in the names of the commons of the aforesaid vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, with their counsel: and both parties separately and by themselves showed both unto us the aforesaid John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, as well as the before-named William Ludyngton, the limits and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound, both as to the length and breadth of the same. Whereupon, enquiry was made of the said abbat and convent how and in what manner the aforesaid metes and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound extend, and how they are named. Upon which, they showed the same in these words: 'The limits and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound on the west side of the river Welland extend from the triangular bridge of Croyland over the said river Welland two leagues towards the west as far as Kenulphston near to Aspath, where Kenulph, the first abbat after the foundation of the said monastery, placed a stone cross as marking the boundary between Croyland and Depyng, and from Aspath towards the north as far as Werwarlake, and so to Harenholt and so upwards through Menger lake and Lurtlake, where are the limits that divide Hoyland and Kesteven; and thence as far as Wodelodegreynes, otherwise called Oggot; and then to the east as far as Apynholt, otherwise called Wodelode, where the Wodelode falls into the before-named river Welland.' Enquiry was also made of the said abbat and convent of Croyland, whether they had any evidences in writing to attest and set forth the before-named metes and boundaries of the said marsh of Goggislound, and whether they had any evidences to prove that the said marsh called Goggislound was their own soil and demesne, and within the limits and boundaries of the said vill of Croyland: upon which they showed unto us divers evidences, that is to say, the charter of the first foundation of the said monastery of Croyland, by which, Ethelbald, king of the Mercians in England, in the year of our Lord seven hundred and sixteen, conveyed, gave, and granted unto Almighty God, the blessed Mary and Saint Bartholomew, for the foundation of a monastery of Black Monks serving God under the rule of Saint Benedict, among other gifts and grants, the aforesaid marsh called Goggislound on the western side of the river Welland, by certain metes and boundaries enclosed, and leave to build a vill there, or to enclose as much of the said marsh as should please the said monks, for them and their successors. They also showed unto us the charter of refoundation and restoration of the said monastery of Croyland, after it had been destroyed and laid waste by the pagans, made in the year of our Lord 948, by which, Edred king of England delivered, gave and confirmed unto the abbat and monks of Croyland and all their successors, under the rule and habit of Saint Benedict there in the service of God, among other possessions, the aforesaid marsh called Goggislound, by all the metes and boundaries above set forth. In like manner they showed unto us charters of confirmation and exemplification of divers kings since the conquest of England, that is to say, of king Stephen, king Henry the Second, king Richard the First, king John, Henry the Third, king Edward the First, king Richard the Second, and king Henry the Fourth, by each of which they granted and confirmed unto God and the church of Saint Guthlac, and the divers abbats and monks in succession there serving God, and their successors, among other possessions, the aforesaid marsh called Goggislound, by the aforesaid metes and boundaries of the said marsh specified and declared. They also shewed unto us a certain record of a certain conference held between Edward the Third, king of England, and Henry, abbat of Croyland, at Lincoln, in Easter term, in the twenty-third year of his reign; as also a certain other record before John de Vaux and his fellows, the justices in eyre, at Lincoln, in Trinity Term in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward the First; and likewise a certain fine levied before the abbat of Bardeney and his fellows, the justices in eyre, at Lincoln on the morrow of Saint Luke, in the eighteenth year of the reign of king Henry, the son of king John, between Henry, the then abbat of Croyland, one of the predecessors of the said abbat, the then complainant, and Simon the then prior of Spalding, deforciant, as to common of pasture in the marsh of Croyland, Spalding, and Pynchbeck, Langtoft, Baston, and Depyng, on the west side of the river Welland; and a certain other fine levied before Robert de Lexington and his fellows, the justices in eyre, at Lincoln, on the morrow of the Assumption of the blessed Mary, in the twenty-fourth year of the reign of king Henry, son of king John, between Richard, the then abbat of Croyland, Simon, the then prior of Spalding, complainants, and William d'Aubigny, deforciant, as to common of pasture in the marshes of Spalding, Pynchbeck, Croyland, Baston, and Langtoft. And in like manner, divers processes in the Court Christian as to tithes of wool arising from sheep depasturing on the said marsh called Goggislound. Also, a certain record of a certain perambulation made between the parts of Hoyland and of Kesteven, by William Skypwith, William Thirnyng, and other justices for that purpose assigned, in the fourteenth year of the reign of king Richard the Second. Also, another record of the said king Richard the

Second, in the seventeenth year of his reign, of a commission of oyer and terminer, as also many other evidences; which charters, records, fines, processes and evidences proved the said marsh called Goggislound, on the west side of the river Welland, to be the soil and demesne of the aforesaid abbat and convent, and within the metes and boundaries of the said vill of Croyland. And, in like manner, in the said evidences are contained the metes and boundaries of the aforesaid marsh called Goggislound, as by the said abbat and convent is above declared. After the above-named metes and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound had, in form aforesaid, been produced and declared before us, John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, and the before-named William Ludyngton, by the said abbat and convent, enquiry was made of the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors of Spalding and Pynchbeck, whether the metes and boundaries aforesaid did extend in such form and manner, and whether they were called in such manner as the before-named abbat and convent by their proofs declared: upon which, they in every way assented and agreed to the aforesaid metes and boundaries, in such manner as the said abbat and convent had set forth the same, except only that whereas the said abbat and convent set forth as a boundary of the said marsh called Goggislound, Aspath, near Kenulphston, the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, declared that that place is called Hasmanespath, and not Aspath, as above set forth by the said abbat and convent. Enquiry was also made of them whether they had any evidences to prove that the said marsh called Goggislound was their soil, or within the metes and boundaries of the before-mentioned marsh of Spalding and Pynchbeck; and whether they had any proof that the said commons ought to have common of pasture, turbary, piscary, cutting of rushes and reeds, and other the profits arising in the said marsh called Goggislound. As to which, the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck produced before us a certain charter of our lord, Richard the First, formerly king of England, made unto the abbat of Saint Nicholas, at Angers, and the prior of Spalding, and all those who have right of sowing or lands in the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, within the metes and boundaries following, that is to say, in length, between the river called Welland and Cheilbeche, and, in breadth, between Mydfendyke, which is the boundary between Hoyland and Kesteven, and Guthrandhend, which, in like manner, is the boundary, as far as Saltenhee and Hasmanespath, according to the course of the river called Welland, from Croyland towards the sea. In like manner, also, they produced before us divers inquisitions of office taken at Spalding, before William de Spaigne, the then seneschal of John, the late duke of Lancaster, and divers processes in the Court Christian, as to tithes of wool arising from the sheep depasturing in the said marsh called Goggislound, and other evidences. In like manner, also, they said that they and all others whose estate they have in their tenures of Spalding and Pynchbeck, have had and ought to have in the said marsh called Goggislound, common of pasture, turbary, piscary, gathering and taking rushes and reeds, and other the profits there arising, from time to which memory does not run to the contrary. Also, after the aforesaid allegations, declarations, and evidences of the parties before-named, and their replies, had been fully heard and understood by us, the aforesaid John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, and the before-named William Ludyngton, we, the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, considering the said allegations, declarations, and evidences, and their full replies thereto set forth at length, did, for the benefit of advising and deliberating upon the said matters, adjourn the meeting aforesaid, and did appoint a day for them, at Westminster, in the council-house of the said duchy of Lancaster, that is to say, the Monday next after the feast of Saint Luke then next ensuing, there to appear before us, with their counsel, in order to shew and set forth to us in writing all the aforesaid evidences, declarations, and replies—provided always, that each party might, by the said day, increase and strengthen his said evidences, allegations, and replications, in the matter aforesaid—there to hear our final determination as to the said claims, debates, dissensions, and disputes. Upon which day there appeared before us, the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, and the before-named William Ludyngton, in the said council-house of the said duchy, at Westminster, the said parties with their counsel, and, on their behalves, and severally discussed the matter before us; that is to say, the said abbat and convent presented a roll in their behalves, and the before-named William Geywode, and all others the obligors, on behalf of themselves and the commons of the before-mentioned vills of Spaldyng and Pynchbeck, another roll, in which the said evidences, allegations, and replications of both parties were contained and specified. Which said muniments and evidences of both parties, and their allegations, declarations, and replications as to the said metes and boundaries of the said marsh called Goggislound, and as to the matters and debates aforesaid, having been fully heard, inspected, and understood by us, the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, as also by Richard Morton, chief justice of the Common Pleas of our lord the king, Robert Hill, John Cokayne, and the said William Ludyngton, in like manner justices of the said Common Pleas, we do, in presence of the said justices, and by their counsel and advice, in the said council-house, on Thursday, being the said vigil of All Saints, order and decree that the before-named abbat and convent of Croyland shall have, hold, and possess unto themselves and their successors for ever the said marsh on the west side of the river Welland, called Goggislound, as their own proper soil and demesne, by the before-named metes and boundaries by the said abbat and convent above set forth, and within the vill of Croyland, as by their aforesaid evidence shewn unto us fully and openly appears, acquitted for ever from all claims of the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all other the obligors, for themselves and the commons of the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the aforesaid vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck for ever. And, in like manner, we do award, ordain, and determine that the before-named abbat and convent of Croyland, and their successors, shall severally have and possess, and in severalty hold a certain stream within the said marsh, called Le Lode, together with piscary in the same, wholly and quietly: which said stream extends from the river Welland aforesaid on the west side of the vill of Croyland, and falls into the same river Welland towards the north, together with all streams, lakes, marshes, lands, tenures, and buildings between the said stream called Le Lode and the said river Welland, in any manner inclosed, and in severalty to be held and possessed for ever; so that the said William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors, and the commons of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall neither have nor possess any right, claim, or title in the said stream called Le Lode, or in the waters, pools, marshes, lands, tenures, and buildings between the before-named streams called Le Lode and Welland inclosed; but shall for ever be excluded from all right, claim, title, or profit arising therefrom. Saving always to the men of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs and successors, reasonable passage with their boats on the said stream called Le Lode, without detriment to the right of fishing on part of the before-named abbat and convent. We do also further award, ordain, and determine, that the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors and commons of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall have common of pasture for their cattle at all times of the year in the said marsh called Goggislound, beyond the stream called Le Lode, and in no part of the same marsh between the said streams called Le Lode and Welland. And further, at the especial entreaty and request made by us, the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, of the said abbat and convent, and in order to nourish love and concord between the parties before-named, we do award, ordain, and decree, that the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors and commons of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck shall have and possess common of estovers, that is to say, of gathering rushes and reeds in the said marsh called Goggislound, as far as the before-named stream called Le Lode, and not beyond, towards the buildings of the said vill of Croyland; upon condition that they take rushes and reeds only for their own proper use in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, without committing any waste in the said marsh, and without making any gift or sale thereof; and upon the understanding that the said William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors and the commons of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall take rushes and reeds at reasonable and competent times in the year. And after the said rushes and reeds shall have been cut by them, at a competent and reasonable time they shall carry them beyond the said marsh called Goggislound, but upon the understanding that the fisheries of the said abbat and convent of Croyland in the said marsh shall in no way be injured by the long standing of the said rushes and reeds. Also, that the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors and commons of the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall not excite, procure, or abet any other man of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, or of any other vills or any other demesne, to implead, molest, or disquiet the said abbat and convent or their successors, in their possession and demesne of the said marsh called Goggislound, or any part thereof. And that the said William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors and commons of the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall use the said common of pasture and estovers in manner and form aforesaid, as the common law of the realm demands, and without making any gatherings, leagues, or meetings of any men whatever. Also, we do in like manner award, ordain, and by these presents determine, that both the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and all others the obligors, as also the commons of the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, shall be for ever excluded from claiming any common of turbary, piscary, taking fowl, digging the earth, or obtaining any profit whatever in the said marsh called Goggislound, in any way whatever arising, save only in such manner as we have above awarded and set forth. Also, in like manner, we do award, ordain, and determine that the said abbat and convent and their successors, and their tenants at Croyland, shall not at any future time dig or cause to be dug any turf for burning in the said marsh called Goggislound, saving always that the said abbat and convent and their successors and tenants of Croyland may dig earth and turf in the said marsh called Goggislound, both when and as much as shall be necessary for them, and shall be at liberty to carry the said earth and turf for the erection of their buildings, and for the repair and raising of their embankments and other their property in the abbey, vill, and precinct of Croyland for ever. Provided, that if the before-named William Geywode, William Pygot, and the others the obligors, their heirs, or the tenants of lands in the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, or the men of the commonalties of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, or their heirs or successors, or any one of them, shall in any way presume to contravene or contradict this our award and ordinance, then in such case, they or he who shall so presume to contravene or contradict the same, shall lose all benefit or privilege arising from this our award as to taking, gathering, and carrying, from thenceforth, rushes or reeds in the said marsh called Goggislound, and shall for ever be excluded therefrom: and in such case it shall be fully lawful for the said abbat and convent and their successors, thenceforth for ever to hinder and prevent the persons so presuming to contravene and contradict the same, and each of them, their heirs and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, from taking, collecting, and carrying the said rushes and reeds, our present order and award to the contrary notwithstanding. We do also order and determine that all writings obligatory by which William Geywode and William Pygot, and other the persons above-named of Spalding and Pynchbeck are bound unto the said abbat and convent of Croyland, shall be delivered, by the said William Ludyngton, to the said abbat and convent; and in like manner that the writing obligatory, by which the before-named abbat and convent are bound unto Athelard, Thomas, William, and Thomas, shall be delivered unto the same Athelard, Thomas, William, and Thomas, which writings obligatory have been placed by consent of the parties before-mentioned in the hand of the said William Ludyngton, as being an impartial hand, to deliver the same according to our judgment and ordinance. In testimony whereof, to one part of this our said award and ordinance remaining in the hands of the said abbat and convent and their successors, and to a second part, remaining with the said William Geywode, William Pygot, and other the obligors and commons of the before-named vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, their heirs, assigns, and successors, holders of their tenures in the said vills of Spalding and Pynchbeck, and to a third part remaining in the treasury of the said Duchy, we the before-named John Wodehouse, John Leventhorp, and William Babyngton, have set our seals. And in like manner, the before-named Richard Weston, Robert Hill, John Cockayne, and William Ludyngton, justices of our lord the king, have at our request and entreaty hereto set their seals. Given at Westminster on the said vigil of All Saints, in the third year of the said king Henry the Fifth after his accession to the crown of England."

These matters being properly disposed of, and duly concluded, the Almighty King of all, and the Ruler of times and seasons, seeing that the venerable abbat Thomas was now worn out with extreme old age, after having patiently sighed under the burden of blindness for a period of five years, was desirous to transfer him from this present wicked world and valley of tears, to a region of everlasting light and peace; upon which, about the solemn festival of the Nativity of our Lord, in His mercy He summoned him away, through an illness, by means of which he might be liberated from this corruptible prison-house of the flesh. His malady increasing day by day, upon the feast of Saint Thomas the Martyr he breathed his last, and happily departed unto the Lord on his festival, having always during his life paid marked honor to that Saint. He had also erected, in his honor, the eastern window in the abbat's chapel, the subject of which most appropriately was the life of the said Martyr; leaving the same to his successors as a lasting memorial of his devotion. On the day above-mentioned, in the year of our Lord, 1417, and in the fourth year of the reign of king Henry the Fifth, after having completed a rule over the monastery of twenty-five years, he was gathered unto his fathers, and was buried before the great altar.

After this, the grace of the Holy Spirit having been invoked, the venerable brother, Richard Upton, the prior, with the unanimous consent of each, was deservedly elected to the supreme rule. And well indeed may I say, "deservedly" elected, seeing that, as before stated, the burden of the whole monastery for the space of five years had rested upon his shoulders; as, during the whole time that the venerable father Thomas, his predecessor, was labouring under a prostration of his powers, he diligently discharged his duties in every respect. Besides, those famous suits, of such long continuance, against the people of Spalding and of Multon, were, as we have already stated at considerable length, brought to the desired conclusion and set at rest, through his exertions, and at an outlay of five hundred pounds; wherefore he is deservedly entitled to the entire credit thereof. Thus did Divine Providence deal graciously with him, in that, before he had received this governance of souls, it had thus quelled the ill-will of his enemies against him on every side; so much so, that for all his days after, he lived a quiet and tranquil life, and the more that he had been exposed to the rage of his enemies before, the more did he congratulate himself on having gained repose thereafter.

But now, we are of opinion, that it will prove far from a waste of time, if we carefully hand down to posterity, and briefly insert in these pages, certain usages which are usually prescribed upon the installation of the abbats of this monastery, when newly elected. The first is, that hitherto the chapter of Lincoln has been accustomed to claim as its own the cope which the abbat wears at the altar at the time of his installation, asserting its right thereto by very ancient usage, as being the mother church. Accordingly, all due precautions ought to be carefully taken that one of the usual sort, that is, of five marks value, should be provided for the occasion; as such a one will suit becomingness of appearance, and a heavy outlay cannot be caused to the monastery thereby.

There is another thing that ought in like manner to be handed down to memory, the fact that, upon the installation of an abbat newly appointed, the earl marshal of England, in virtue of the fee of his office, is wont to claim and demand one palfrey. Consequently, when the said earl was in his minority, as we ourselves witnessed on one occasion, and according to the laws of the realm was entrusted to the guardianship of the king, a palfrey was delivered in the name of the said earl, for the use of the king. It ought, therefore, to be carefully provided against, that it may not happen that, because this has been done on one occasion, it may be incautiously repeated on another occasion, and a customary payment consequently made to the royal treasury, when by right it belongs to another.

The third thing worthy of remark, and a circumstance by no means unlike the former ones, is the fact that on the installation of a new abbat the archdeacon of Lincoln is in like manner wont to claim another palfrey, or five marks as the price thereof. However, from an exaction of this nature we are relieved by a privilege of pope Innocent.

One of the king's clerks is also in the habit of receiving annually from the monastery forty shillings by way of corrody from the time of the installation, until provision shall be made for him with a competent benefice in some other way.

Having thus handed down these facts to memory, let us now return to the purposed order of our narrative. The lord Thomas, the illustrious duke of Clarence, brother of king Henry V., who, as above stated, married the lady Margaret, relict of his uncle, and lady of and heir to the manor of Deping, was captured[79] by the French while making an expedition against France, and slain. John, earl of Somerset, also, then a young man, and son and heir of the before-named lady Margaret by her former husband, and who had crossed over with the said duke, his step-father, on that expedition, was in like manner taken prisoner, and kept in close custody for many years. The lady duchess, his mother, remained in a state of widowhood, and survived several years.

In the following year, being the year of our Lord, 1421, and the eighth year of the reign of king Henry the Fifth, an edict went forth of the same most serene prince to all the abbats and priors of the order of the Black Monks of Saint Benedict throughout England; ordering them, all excuses for delay set aside, forthwith to appear personally before the king at Westminster. For serious and grievous complaints were brought to the king's ears, by a certain prior, they say, of Mont Grace,[80] a place of the Carthusian order, who had formerly made profession as a member of the said order of Saint Benedict, as to divers abuses and excesses which were said to prevail in the said order. Upon this, the king was greatly disturbed in mind, and was moved in no small degree against the said order. Accordingly, a solemn assembly was held of all the abbats, priors, masters, doctors, inceptors, bachelors and other men of high rank of the said order of Black

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[79] This is not exactly the truth. He was slain in battle in Normandy, being wounded by Sir William Swinton, and dispatched with a battle-axe by the earl of Buchan, Scotch allies of the French.

[80] In Yorkshire.

Monks in England, in the Chapter-house at Westminster, on the seventh day of the month of May; at which assembly the said most illustrious king was present, and the bishop of Exeter, on behalf of the king, solemnly set forth in Latin before the said congregation many excesses and abuses which he then enumerated. This statement being concluded, the said most serene prince specially appointed three deputies to act in this matter on his behalf, namely, the bishop of Exeter before-named, his own secretary, and the prior of Mont Grace before-named. These were to confer and treat with six members of the assembly before-mentioned, to be chosen on part of the order, upon the reformation of the before-mentioned grievances, which were to be summed up and stated in certain articles. The names of the persons chosen on behalf of the order are here set forth at length; the prior of the cathedral church of Worcester, a Doctor of Divinity; the abbat of Saint Alban's, a Doctor in the same faculty; the abbat of York, a Scholar in the same; Richard, abbat of Croyland before-named, a Bachelor in the same faculty; the prior of Durham, a Scholar in the same; the prior of Lenton, likewise a Scholar in the same. With these six persons there were afterwards associated by the before-mentioned assembly twenty-four others of the abbats, priors, doctors, and other graduates; to all of whom united together was entrusted full power of treating upon, deciding, enacting and confirming the articles before-mentioned, as also of doing each and every thing, which an undertaking of such an arduous nature might require and demand. Although these persons, being deputed separately to visit the various societies, in their communications from all quarters suggested and committed to writing various modifications as to the articles aforesaid; still, by the consent of all, the modification and final answer made by the abbat of Saint Alban's was summarily adopted in preference to those of all the rest. To observe these at future times the fathers there present did, by their respective promises, bind themselves with one consent unto our lord the king. From this time the vehement indignation of the king ceased, he being greatly surprised, and indeed extremely gratified, at having in his kingdom so great a multitude of literates and graduates of the said order. After this, being graciously dismissed by the royal benevolence, they speedily returned to their respective homes.

In the following year, the said most illustrious prince, Henry the Fifth, being then in France, a son was borne to him by the lady Catherine, queen of England, daughter of Charles king of France, who was named Henry of Windsor.

In the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1423,[80] on the thirtieth day of August, this most noble prince, king Henry the Fifth, departed this life at Bois de Vincent in France, two leagues distant from Paris, after having ably reigned nine years and five months. His body, however, was afterwards brought to London, and was honorably and solemnly buried at Westminster.

On the following day, that is to say, on the last day of August, Henry of Windsor, his son, an infant still in his cradle, nine months and fourteen days old, began to reign over the land under the title of Henry the Sixth.

While these matters were going on without, according to the usual course of things, the venerable father, Richard, abbat of Croyland, was decorating his church with great and precious ornaments, and especially with one costly jewel for holding relics, which he had purchased for one hundred and twenty marks, and bestowed upon our vestiary. In like manner, he also had a red cope made for use on high occasions, embroidered with jewels and gold, and commonly called the *Ibi et Ubi*,[81] often valued at the sum of two hundred marks. Besides this, he also paid one hundred marks for another entire vestment with the royal arms of England and France placed thereon in four quarters, together with copes of the same workmanship most skilfully made. He also bought some cloth made entirely of silk and embroidered with falcons of gold, for the purpose of making seven copes therefrom; and the lord John Litlyngton, his successor, had them carefully finished with fringes of gold and linings thereto. He also had some other cloth, of great value in consequence of having been twice dyed crimson, and in like manner embroidered with flowers of gold, and adorned with fringes and edges of gold, made up into the shape of a vestment to be used on high occasions: this had been presented to us by our sister the lady Joanna de Willoughby. He also spared no expense whatever in repairing the pastoral staffs in the vestiary, and adorning the pix, used at the great altar for containing the body of Christ, with a silver crown on the top thereof garnished with precious stones. He also considerably increased our library with numerous books of great value, and had the abbat's hall, a room of remarkable beauty, entirely rebuilt in a most superior manner: besides which, he had great part of the western side of the abbey court, which before lay exposed with a wide opening to the gaze of all in the vill, becomingly repaired and enclosed by means of a long and high building which reached down to the water-gate.

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[80] 1422

[81] The "There and every-where." Perhaps so called from having those words embroidered on it.

In the time also of this venerable father, brother John Freston of blessed memory, the sacrist, not being desirous to lay up treasures on earth, had a splendid vestment, called the "Jesse," and made of needle-work, most sumptuously embroidered in the workroom over the vestiary, by artificers, to the honor and service of God. This same vestment, which consisted of a cope and chasuble, with tunics, was often valued by clothiers and dyers at nearly three hundred marks. He also bestowed upon the church in honor of God, another valuable cope, of Venice[32] blue embroidered with eagles of gold, which commonly called by us the *Verbum Caro*;[33] together with some albs suitably prepared with becoming workmanship.

Likewise also, in the days of his rule, the new works of the lower part of the church towards the west were built from the foundations by brother William of Croyland, master of the works, of whom we have made mention a little before under the time of the lord abbat Thomas. Besides the sums which this brother William of Croyland annually received from the abbat's purse and the produce and profits of the convent, towards the promotion of the said work, by his urgent application and through his mediation, many donations were procured by him from his neighbours and friends. We have thought it both becoming and opportune here to hand down to memory the names of some of these, to the end that, in return for the temporal benefits which they bestowed upon us, we may devoutly repay them in turn by our prayers for the repose of their souls. Master Richard Baston contributed a hundred marks towards the said work; Roger Greyne of Donyngton, in like manner, a hundred marks; Master Henry Welles, archdeacon of Lincoln, also gave twenty pounds towards the building of the said church, and ten pounds towards the repair of the chapel of Dovedale. The lord Thomas de la War, and William Michel, gave, each of them, twenty marks: and John Kyme, John Whittlesey, John Edward, and the lord John Ward, each of them ten pounds. The lord John Curtes, the lord William Porter, John Tomson, and John Bell, in like manner, from genuine feelings of devotion, gave, each of them, ten marks Thus did the persons above-named and numerous other benefactors of our house, whose names may the ever-living Scribe in His mercy deign to set down in the Book of Life, liberally pay immense sums of money for the benefit of the said church.

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[32] Or azure colour.

[33] "The word made flesh."

At last, the venerable father, Richard, the lord abbat of Croyland, after having both righteously and ably completed nine years and four months in the discharge of his pastoral duties, his career being cut short by death, was released from all the cares and tumults of this world, and laid aside the flesh, on the fourteenth day of the month of May, in the year of our Lord, 1427,.and the fifth year of king Henry the Sixth. He was succeeded in the office of abbat by the lord John Litlyngton, a man truly religious, prudent and discreet in the management of business, and one who had formerly gained experience in the discharge of the duties of divers offices in the monastery.

Henry, king of England, in the eighth year both of his age and his reign, was solemnly crowned at Westminster, on the feast of Saint Leonard, by Henry Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury. Two years after this, Henry Beaufort, cardinal of the Roman church, and bishop of Winchester, having first, by his especial exertions, pacified the chief men of France, caused him again to be crowned king of France, at Paris, sumptuous preparations being made at his own expense.

But, in the meantime, behold! not even this venerable father, John, abbat of Croyland, was allowed to enjoy peace and tranquillity, nor any longer indulge in quietude. For, once more, he was attacked by a wicked generation, again was he assailed by people without counsel and without prudence, by a generation, I say, depraved and perverse, by people who glory in their wickedness and wax strong in their iniquity; who know, too, how to be for ever waging war against the church of Croyland, and are wont to be always attempting to encroach upon it with their rude insults. As though from their fat,[63] thus did their iniquity originally arise. A certain monk, Receiver of the monastery of Croyland at the manor of Aswyke, was on one occasion going along the embankment belonging to the people of Multon, called Lode-dyke, on his way to Brotherhouse; being attended by two servants, who, however, in the moment of need, gave but undue measure of their services. Now, it so happened, that a certain priest of Multon, with a single companion, was going along the same way, and on seeing the brother before-mentioned, would not pass by him, but, having first accosted him with reproachful language, repeatedly asked, in the most offensive terms, what he was doing on the lands of other people? After this, being quite reduced to a state of frenzy by a spirit of malignity, as soon as he had crossed over into his own district, he began to utter terrible threats against him, and pushing him violently, thrust him down into a place below, and so forced him to wade through a swampy marsh and a pit full of mud, the distance of a stone's throw. The brother, being a man stricken in years and verging upon a helpless old age, in fear of death and in peril of being drowned, trembling and panting, with difficulty escaped alive and got to the other side, which looked towards the Precinct of Croyland. The shocking rumour soon spread through the neighbourhood that a monk of Croyland had been nearly drowned in having his life thus endangered, and had, in this shameful manner, been so unworthily insulted. The venerable father, abbat John, being greatly incensed at this unlucky misdeed. diligently brought his complaint to the ears of the bishop of Lincoln, and earnestly implored him, in his capacity of ordinary, to punish an act of such enormity with his censures. The bishop immediately had the priest cited, and, among other things, imposed on him this public penance in especial, that he should forthwith repair to Croyland, and humbly ask pardon of the abbat of the monastery and the before-named brother, against whom he had committed so great an injury. This he accordingly did, soon after (although it was with great reluctance that he so humbled himself), upon the day of a great festival, while all stood around him before the high altar. At this, his fellow-townsmen were greatly enraged, and, taking every opportunity of showing their malignity, used every possible exertion to carry into effect whatever they could possibly invent to the detriment of the church of Croyland.

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[63] He seems to allude to the expression in Psalm xvii. 10. "Mine enemies compass me about, they are inclosed in their own fat." And in Psalm cxix. 70, "Their heart is as fat as grease."

Besides this, a certain noble and influential knight of Cornwall, William Bondvyll by name, had at this time taken to wife the lady Elizabeth, relict of the lord Robert Haryngton, the late lord of Multon; through which marriage the chief demesne of the manor of Multon aforesaid had come to the said knight. Accordingly, the unhappy and ever-unstable mob of the said vill plied this man with their clamours, and brought serious complaints before him against the abbat of Croyland. They said that, in consequence of the overflow of water that was always escaping beyond the Precinct of the said abbat, for want of due repair of his embankments, their meadows and pastures were so swamped with inundations, that they were able to derive no profit whatever therefrom, nor could they account to their lord for the rents due to him for the same. Being greatly moved by these reports, and excited to anger, he forthwith aroused himself with all his energies to implead the said abbat for his offences and the losses caused thereby to himself and his tenants. Upon this, abbat John immediately prepared manfully to defend himself, and hastened to London for the purpose of supporting the cause of his church. However, after a great outlay of money on both sides among the lawyers, the whole matter was transferred to Croyland, there to be brought to a final settlement. Here, in presence of Sir John * * *, chief baron of the Exchequer of our lord the king, and one of the justices of the Common Pleas of our said lord the king, and John Molesmore, another of the justices of the Common Pleas of our lord the king, and before the noble man, the lord William Bondvyll, previously named, a great number of counsel learned in the law being retained on both sides, the matter, after being for a long time amicably discussed, was finally set at rest by means of indentures made to each other, upon these terms: "That the before-named John, now abbat of Croyland, and his successors, abbats of the said place, shall, within three years next after the date of these presents, cause a certain embankment to be raised and made anew within the Precinct of Croyland, from a certain place called Brotherhouse as far as Whaplodesdyke, on the east. The same shall be made in a workmanlike manner, and built of sufficient height, without any breach therein, or any oozing therefrom, and shall by them be maintained, preserved, and repaired for forty years from thence next ensuing, so as well and sufficiently to keep out all inundations and common overflows of water which may happen within the aforesaid Precinct, lying south of the said embankment so to be made; that so they may not overflow or extend beyond the summit thereof, nor bear down or inundate a certain other embankment belonging to the before-named William and Elizabeth, and others, called Lode-dyke, nor yet in any way overflow or submerge the lands or tenements of the said William and Elizabeth, situate in the vills of Weston and Multon, unless the said inundations and overflows shall be excessive and more heavy than usual, in consequence of the extreme violence of the winds and rains This was done in the eleventh year of the reign of king Henry the Sixth, and the seventh year of the before-named John, lord abbat, being the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1433."

In the meantime, however, while these matters were being arranged, behold! the people of Spalding became forgetful of the award which had been lately made and decreed in the time of the lord abbat Richard by careful men, members of the council of the lord duke of Lancaster, men too, in whom they themselves in especial reposed every confidence; but, once more swerving therefrom, failed to observe the agreement, and, just like their fathers, turned unto crooked courses. For, in vast multitudes, they once more entered the marsh of Goggislound, and perpetrated many enormities there, in fishing, fowling, and digging up the ground, accompanied with great haughtiness and abuse, thus acting in contravention of the form and tenor of the said award. The venerable father, abbat John, however, put his trust in the Lord, through whom he had been remarkable as a man who prospered in every thing, inasmuch as God had directed all his actions; and accordingly made preparations manfully to withstand their presumptuous attempts, and to provide a lawful remedy for the injuries committed against him. For this purpose, he immediately commenced matters with a high hand, and prepared to proceed to trial against the before-mentioned evil doers. Still however, the matter was placed in a position of considerable difficulty; as, the king being still of tender years, the affairs and government of the whole kingdom depended upon the nod of Humphrey, the lord duke of Gloucester and chief feoffee of the said duchy. The consequence was, that the abbat often found himself deserted and left alone by his own advisers, through fear of the power of the state; and, being frequently summoned to the presence of the said duke Humphrey in his private chamber, had to endure divers censures from him, and to put up with numerous threats, if he should persist in bringing the matter to trial. Still however, for all this, he was not broken in spirit, nor did he in any way desist from his purpose; but taking care every day to continue process in conformity with the laws of the realm, matters were at last brought to that position that an adjudication was appointed to be made on the subject at Lincoln, by the grand assize. Here, by the favour of God's mercy, these people became entrapped in the pitfall which they had dug, and their feet were caught in the very snare which they themselves had hidden. For the jurors, who had been summoned in accordance with the form of the statute in that behalf made, came before James Strangways, and John Elerker, justices of our lord the king appointed to hold the assizes in the county of Lincoln, and having been elected triers and sworn to say the truth as to the matters in dispute between the parties aforesaid, declared upon oath that the before-mentioned people of Spalding whose names were set forth in the process of the trial, were guilty of all the trespass committed against Croyland, as the abbat had in his plea against them alleged. They also assessed the damages of the said abbat, arising through the trespass before-mentioned, at ninety pounds, and awarded ten pounds for his costs and expenses incurred in the suit. It was therefore determined by the said jurors in form aforesaid that the said abbat John should recover his damages aforesaid to the amount of one hundred pounds, against the people of Spalding. Accordingly, shortly afterwards, certain of their number, John Hankes and Robert Horner, of Spalding, were taken in custody, in the matter aforesaid, by the sheriffs of London, in virtue of the king's writ in behalf of our said lord the king to them directed, and committed prisoners of our lord the king to the Fleet prison, there to remain until such time as payment should have been made to the said abbat in full by the people of Spalding of the hundred pounds before-mentioned. In consequence of this, they at last paid that sum, with great grief and shame, to the abbat at Croyland.

In the following year, that is to say, in the year of our Lord, 1434, there was a most severe frost. It began upon the night of Saint Catherine,[84] and lasted until the feast of Saint Juliana the Virgin, nearly twelve weeks.

In the third year after this the autumn season was exceedingly wet; in consequence of which there was such a severe famine throughout England for nearly two years together, that in many places of the kingdom a single bushel of wheat sold for forty pence. The consequence was, that in many parts, as the common people had not the means with which to support life, numbers of them collected and dried the roots of plants, and then grinding them made a sort of bread therefrom. But He, who "openeth His hand, and filleth every animal with His blessing, giving them their meat in due season,"[85] showed forth such great mercy in His dispensations that at the end of the latter year a bushel of wheat was again sold for eight pence; praised be God for the same!

While these years were rolling onward in their headlong flight, the lady Margaret, duchess of Clarence, died, and John, earl of Somerset, her son and heir, who had passed fifteen years in captivity with the French, was ransomed for an immense sum of money, and so returned to England. Upon this, among other matters, he took possession of the manor of Depyng, and whole multitudes of the district flocked forth to meet him, each one endeavouring to be avenged upon his neighbour, and thinking himself fortunate in being enrolled among the number of his servants. The people of Depyng were especially elated, as though a prophet had arisen amongst them; escorting him about on every side, promising great things, and suggesting still more; while by the voice of a herald they proclaimed him lord of the whole marsh. Upon this, his heart was elevated to a lofty pitch, and, being puffed up by the great applause of the populace, his horn was exalted too greatly on high. Forthwith, tolls were levied by his servants in the vills; and the cattle of all were driven away from the marshes, and, when driven as far as Depyng, were there detained; nor were they allowed to be redeemed without a payment and acknowledgment of him as lord of the demesne. In his name the embankment between Kenulphston and Croyland was raised anew, and all transit and leading of necessaries from his manors through those parts entirely forbidden to the abbat. Upon this, the abbat by bill complained to the king of the injury done to him, whereby the earl's wrath was still more inflamed. Threats too were daily spread abroad against his monks and servants, nor did any one dare venture to go that way for the purpose of transacting business.

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[84] Twenty-fifth November.

[85] According to Psalm cxlv. 15, 16.

At length, by act of Parliament, from an earl he was created a duke, and, God so ordaining it, was sent upon an expedition in the parts beyond sea. In the meantime, however, the venerable father, abbat John, fearing lest, in his absence, his servants might still further run riot against him by committing injuries, hastened, for the purpose of holding a conference with him, to a distant quarter of England, in the most sultry season of the year and in a summer remarkable for its heat, the said duke being then at his castle at Corfe, with the intention of immediately crossing over. Here too he had to submit to considerable delays, being under frequent apprehensions of attempts being made by the servants on his life; but at last, after earnestly beseeching his favour, he obtained letters directed to the duke's seneschal in these parts, ordering that the whole matters in dispute should stand over until his return, and that in the meantime no opportunity should be taken of inflicting injury on the said abbat and his servants.

The business on which he had crossed over, being settled in a short time, the duke returned amid much pomp to England; but being accused of treason there, was forbidden to appear in the king's presence. The noble heart of a man of such high rank upon his hearing this most unhappy news, was moved to extreme indignation; and being unable to bear the stain of so great a disgrace, he accelerated his death by putting an end to his existence, it is generally said; preferring thus to cut short his sorrow, rather than pass a life of misery, labouring under so disgraceful a charge. Hence it was that one person suggested that this line had been long before composed in a spirit of prophecy, and relative to him:

"Hardly for twice two years endured John's pride of power."[56]

[56] "Bis binis annis vix stabat pompa Johannis."

Before his decease he had married a wife, Margaret by name; by whom he had one daughter, also called Margaret, who was destined to inherit the said demesne of Depyng after the decease of her mother. While her mother was still alive, she was married to Edmund, earl of Richmond, her first husband. He, however, survived but a short time, having had by her an only son. The earl being thus removed from the world, she was again given in marriage to Henry, son of the most illustrious duke of Buckingham. More of these matters, however, long hereafter.

The lady duchess Margaret, her mother, held the said lordship of Depyng in dower for many years, during which she survived: besides which, she continued to retain full possession thereof, all the days of her life, a period of nearly thirty years, both in exacting amercements for trespasses, levying for repairs of the embankments, and taking poundage for animals, in such manner as she had found the same rights appendant to the said marsh lands on the day of her husband's death.

In the year of our Lord, 1439, and the thirteenth of the before-named abbat, the lord John, there was such an excessive quantity of fresh water in the weirs and streams in consequence of the extraordinary rains, that the embankments around the Precinct of Croyland were unable to hold out against the force of the impetuous torrent: the consequence was, that the waters, being swollen, and beating with all their force against the embankment of Shepishee, on the south side of the Precinct, which was in a state of disrepair in divers parts thereof, overflowed the said embankment, being driven onward by the force of the north wind, and immediately inundated the entire surface of the adjacent common of Whaplode. At this the other people of the district murmured aloud, and turned all their thoughts how to do a mischief to the abbat of Croyland. The principal of these was Humphrey Littlebury, Esquire, who, with many others, came to Croyland in a threatening manner, and went around all the embankments of the said Precinct, examining it on every side, to see if they could anywhere find any defect in the repairs thereof, to afford them an opportunity of presenting the abbat of Croyland before the justices. Accordingly, having obtained a general commission of sewers[67] for the counties of Lincoln, Northampton, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, to be held before Richard Haugh, John Langhorne, and Richard Benington, the justices, at Waynflete, they presented the said abbat for default in repairing the embankments: upon which, they pronounced judgment that he was bound thenceforth to repair a certain embankment near the bank of the Welland, extending from Brotherhouse to Croyland, and thence to Dovedale, together with other ancient embankments lying within the said Precinct, namely Moredyke, Sharpesdyke, and Wynterdyke. Upon this, the before-named father was apprehensive that the fact of his having been thus unjustly presented by them might become matter of record against him among the royal archives; and seeing that, from such a circumstance evils might arise at some future time, greatly to the prejudice of himself and his successors—he determined to resist a beginning of this nature, and used the greatest efforts in preparing to reverse each of their presentations and fully to obtain the same amount of liberty which he had formerly enjoyed; though at the same time, following the bent of his own inclination, he did not have recourse to dissimulation, nor did he interpose any delay in taking measures to ensure the security of his Precinct for the benefit of the said abbey: for which purpose he repaired and completed the embankments in divers places, and opened or shut the same in different directions, in such manner as seemed to him most advisable. He was accordingly summoned, first by the sheriff of Lincoln, to appear before the said justices at Alford, and next at Louth, and on the third occasion at Bolyngbroke, to make answer to our lord the king on articles in the aforesaid presentation contained. Accordingly, he appeared without delay by John Hardeben his attorney, on each of the days assigned for the assessment.

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[67] The word "sewer" is here used in its original sense of a fresh-water trench, or drain encompassed with banks, to carry the water into the sea.

Upon this, jurors were assigned at Bolyngbroke by the sheriff of Lincoln, then and there duly to appear before the said justices; and being chosen, tried, and sworn, to speak the truth on and about the premises, they said upon their oaths, that John, abbat of Croyland and his predecessors, and their men, and tenants, and the farmers of their manors, lands and tenements, situate in the vills and places lying near the embankments aforesaid, had very frequently repaired divers places in the said embankments at their pleasure, for making and promoting the easement, advantage, and profit of them, the abbat and convent and their predecessors, as also for the purpose of avoiding loss, damage, and expense, which might easily arise to each of them through non-repair of the same. And the aforesaid jurors further said that neither abbat John and the convent aforesaid, nor yet their predecessors, abbats of the place aforesaid, had been accustomed otherwise or in any other manner to repair the said embankments, or any one of the embankments aforesaid, from time to which memory does not run to the contrary, either for the safety of the lands adjoining, or for the purpose of keeping out the water running between the said embankments, or for the easement of the people of our lord the king or of any one of them, nor ought of right to repair the same, as had been stated and alleged against the said abbat on behalf of our lord the king; but only for their own easement, advantage, and profit, at their own will and pleasure, and not otherwise and in no other manner whatever: upon which, it was decided by the before-named justices that the said John, abbat of Croyland, and the convent of that place, should, so far as the premises are concerned, be dismissed from the said court, and go therefrom without day named for their appearance; and that the said abbat John and their successors should not in future be charged or molested in the premises on the pretexts aforesaid. Accordingly, our lord king Henry the Sixth, by his letters patent, ordered exemplification to be made of the tenor of the record of the said process upon the requisition of the then abbat and convent.

In the year of our Lord, 1444, upon the vigil of the Purification of the blessed Mary, there was such great and dreadful thunder in the heavens, and such terrific flashes of vivid lightning, that no man living in our age remembers to have ever seen or even heard of the like. During this storm the belfry of Saint Paul's at London, the belfry of the monastery of the Cross at Waltham, the church of Baldock, the church of Walden, the church of Kingston-on-Thames, and another church in Kent, were set on fire, and burnt by the lightning, on the same day, though at different hours thereof.

In the following year, the lady Margaret, daughter of the king of Sicily, landed in England under the escort of William Pole, marquis of Suffolk, and was married by Master William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, to Henry king of England: shortly after which, she was solemnly crowned queen of

England at Westminster, by the venerable father John Stafford, lord archbishop of Canterbury.

In the year of our Lord, 1446, and in the twentieth of the before-named lord abbat John, no slight dispute arose between the said venerable father and John Pynder, vicar of the parish church of Whaplode, as to the repairs of the desks and stalls in the chancel of the before-mentioned church; the said vicar asserting that the said duty did of right belong to the abbat of Croyland, as rector of the said church. On the other hand, however, the abbat boldly alleged against the vicar a composition real[58] that had been made; by virtue of which he was, only and solely bound, to be responsible for the repair of the matters before-mentioned. Accordingly, the question was argued at great length in the church of Saint Mary at Arches at London, and at last was settled and concluded before Master William Byconhile, Doctor of Laws, the official of the Court of Canterbury in the said church, in manner following: The said vicar, the lord John Pynder, by virtue of a certain composition real made between the abbat of Croyland and the vicar of the said church, was, by definitive sentence of the before-named judge, adjudged and pronounced to bear the burden of the repair, building, and repair of the chancel, of the said parish church of Whaplode, and of the desks and stalls, sedilia and all other necessary appurtenances thereof whatsoever, according as the same had pertained, did then pertain, and ought to pertain, to the vicar thereof for the time being. The said officer also determined, declared, and pronounced the said abbat and convent to be free and exempt from all burden of repair, and rebuilding of that description, and that they ought so to be. He also condemned lord John the vicar to pay five marks for lawful costs incurred by the abbat in this cause.

The before-named William, earl of Suffolk, of whom we have made mention a little previously, a man of singular astuteness, and skilled in deceiving, easily prevailed upon the multitude to follow the bent of his inclination. Being admitted to his most intimate friendship by king Henry, he abused his frankness and confidence, and was supposed to manage nearly all the affairs of the kingdom just according to his own will and caprice. He consequently bestowed the bishoprics and royal benefices for sums of money, ejecting some persons and intruding others, entirely in conformity with his own inclination; and by the exercise of his sole power did many things in the kingdom in utter contravention of all justice. At length his audacity increased to such a pitch of presumption, that by means of fraud and circumvention, he removed all the king's kinsmen and friends, and all those related to the royal blood, as well as the bishops and clergy of other ranks and the laity, from the king's presence. Besides this, he most falsely accused that most illustrious prince, Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, and one who had from his infancy, during twenty-four years of his reign, served him most faithfully in every respect, of being guilty of treason against the king. At the instigation of the earl, in the winter of the year of our Lord, 1447, a parliament was appointed by proclamation to meet at Bury, in the county of Suffolk, there to treat of this matter. The said duke accordingly proceeded thither, and, suspecting no treachery, was arrested shortly after, when separated from his people, and thrown into prison by some persons of the king's household. He was not allowed to make any answer [to the accusation], nor was he condemned upon any judicial examination; but, though at nightfall safe and unhurt, he was, shocking to relate! brought forth in the morning and exhibited to the public, dead.

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[58] *Composition real* is where the incumbent and patron agree that lands shall be discharged from payment of tithes in specie, in consideration of a recompense to the incumbent either in money or lands.

In the same year also, the venerable Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Sabina, and bishop of Winchester, departed this life. He was a son of the lord John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, and uncle of king Henry the Fifth; a man rendered illustrious above all the nobles of England, by his probity and wisdom, wealth and renown.

After these events, the venerable father abbat John had to sustain another very great and expensive trial against the lord Thomas Dacre, lord of Holbech. For, although the abbat of Croyland holds the principal demesne rights in the vill of Whaplode, and has there, besides the fee of his church, market and fair, waste and warren, right of pillory and tumbrel,[69] as also assize of bread and beer, the bailiffs and servants of the said lord Thomas began to take distresses in the common waste of the vill aforesaid, make attachments there, and usurp many other rights, to the prejudice of the church of Croyland. The venerable father, being unable to endure such great injuries thus inflicted upon him and newly commenced, and indeed, feeling an unwillingness to pass them by with impunity, ably and manfully impleaded the said Thomas in the general Court of the realm at Westminster; and, to sum up many matters in a short space, in the end, through great exertions, managed to have the adjudication of the whole matter transferred to Lincoln, there to be determined at the grand assize by the principal men of the county. Accordingly, on the day named, the justices met, and large numbers of the middle classes, who were well acquainted with the laws and judgments of the kingdom, came thither in large numbers. There was also present at this august assembly[90] William Tailbois, Esquire, who had come thither to conduct the cause of the church of Croyland, and proved himself a most faithful supporter of it to the very utmost of his abilities.

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[69] Right of punishing scolds and disorderly women by the trebucket or cucking-stool.

Upon this, the before-named Thomas, seeing that his side was clearly threatened with ill success, and that the present day was likely to prove far from a propitious one for him, followed the advice of his counsel, and waited upon the venerable father, William Alnwyk, the lord bishop of Lincoln, who was at this time residing there in his palace; and besought him with many prayers and most urgent entreaties, that he would deign, in virtue of his authority, to take the adjudication of the whole matter into his own hands as arbitrator; while at the same time he promised that he would be ready to abide by such decision as he should think proper to give. Shortly after this, the abbat's counsel were sent for; reasons and exhortations were adduced by the bishop to induce them with all confidence to leave the adjudication of the whole matter to his conscience, as they knew full well that he was a most sincere well-wisher of theirs, and would upon no account be willing to derogate from the liberties of the Church. But why enlarge? What could the authority of such a man not obtain, the more especially as he was singularly distinguished among his fellow-bishops of England for

[90] This is probably the meaning of "in bono comitatu."

bearing the highest character and an unblemished name? And then, besides, if a person should think fit not to acquiesce in his wishes, who is there that could possibly escape from the intolerable indignation that would be manifested by his diocesan? Accordingly, they both obeyed, and for the sake of certainty bonds were entered into on either side, in which they mutually promised that they would abide by his determination. As he was a man of the most consummate skill in the transaction of business, he first examined, with deliberate attention, the evidence adduced by documents, and then, employing the most careful research, frequently held conferences on the matter with men well versed in the law. However, inasmuch as Latin words and expressions are often made to assume equivocal meanings, to the end that quibblers upon words might not at future times, by means of scruples arising from a sinister interpretation, render ambiguous and a cause of dissension that which was done with a pious intention, the venerable prelate ordered the results of his arbitration to be set forth in the English language, in the following terms:

"Be hit knowen to all theym which thees present letters shall see or here; that whereas diverse debates, variance, controversiz, and dissencion hath growen and late bene moved and stered betwix the noble lorde Thomas Dacre, lorde of Dacre, and John his son, clamyng to have correction and punishmentz of all manner of trespas and offences done in the Kyngys hyegh ways, commen stretys, and wast grounds, in the ton of Whapplode in the shire of Lincoln, be the ryght of the maner and lordship of Holbech pertenyng to the saide Thomas of that one partye: and the worshipfull and religiouse fader Johan, th' abbot of Croyland affermyng and saying the contrarie: and that all such ryghts longeth only to hym, be ryght of the maner and lordeship of Whapplode, pertenyng to the said abbot be ryght of his chyrch, on the other partye; uppon which debates, variance, contraversiz, and dissencion, as well upon all the incidentz, dependentz, and thyngs grown upon the same; hyt hath lyked the said partyes to biende hem be theyr dede obligatorye beryng the date the XVII. day of the moneth of Februarie the yere of the Reyng of Kyng Herry the Sext XXVI. to stand and obey to tharbitrement, ordinaunce, awarde, judement, and decree or counsell of me

William, be the suffrance of God, Bishop of Lincoln, as hit apperith more pleynly be the conditions of the said obligacions. I William, Byshop abovesaid, desyryng the good pees, ease, and rest of bothe parties afornsaid, theyr successours, servantz, men, and tenantz, aftyr divers dayes of examinacion of the said matter of debate, variaunce, contraversiz, and dissention, and good deliberacion hadde, communicacion hadde also thereupon with wise, sadde, and leerned men in the lawe, the XXI. day of this present moneth of September, the yere of the Reyng of Kyng Herry the Sext XXVII. arbitre, award, ordeign, deem, and decree in forme that followeth,

"Furst, consideryng that the saide Abbot be the ryght of his chyrch is called Lord of the saide ton of Whaplode, and haath ther be sufficiaunt graunt, waranth, and autorite, Leet, and also Fayere and Market in the waast grounde of the said Ton; and that he and his Predecessours have hadde a viewe of Franc-plege in the said ton of Whapplode, and have punished and corrected trespas and offences done withyn the hyegh waye, commonstrete, and waastground within the said ground of Whapplode, with all manner of wayfes and strayes, and tresoutroue, and other libertes and fraunches pertenyng to the vyewe of Franc-plege: the whych possession he and his Predecessours have contynude sythen the tyme of Kyng Herry the Thyrde, as it appereth moor pleynly be the courtrolles maad of the said viewe; and the said Thomas Lord Dacre haath not passyng XII. tenauntes in the said ton: the said Abbot and his successours shall have and peseble enjoye all maner of correction and punyshment of all maner of trespas and offences done in the said wayes, stretes, and waast ground, withyn the said ton of Whapplode, with wayfes, strayes, and other libertes and fraunches longyng to the view of Franc-plege of the said Abbot in the said Ton. Excepte alway, undyr excepted and followyngly juged and decreed unto the said Lorde Dacre be this my present award, consideryng also that the said Thomas Lord Dacre haath in lyke wyse in his courtes holden at Holbech, inquered of trespas and offences done withyn the hiegh waye, commonstrete, and waast ground of the said ton of Whapplode, and receyved presentments of the same, from the tyme of Kyng Edward the Thyrde, as it appereth be the courtrolles made of the viewe haad in his courtz kepte at the said Holbech; and so of mykell latter tyme possessed in the behalve: which possession for so mykell is as it semes of less weght and force; I awarde, ordeyngne, deem, and decree, that the said Thomas Lord Dacre, his heyres and his successours, shull nowe be his tenaunts inquere in his courtz holden at Holbech of such trespas and offences done wythyn the hyeghwaye, common-strete, and waastground, withyn the said ground of Whapplode, and peseble punysh and correct only his own tenauntz resyeng upon his grounde in the said ton of Whapplode, which hold not of the said Abbot of Croyland nor his successours beyng for the tyme And iff the said Abbot or his successours, eny tenaunt, or tenauntz of the said Abbot or his successours, as of his manyer of Whapplode, or eny other resyeng in the said ton, not tenaunt and resyeng of the said Lord Dacre ground, his heyer or heyeres, withyn the said ton of Whapplode, be presented in the court or courtz of the Lorde Dacre beyng for the tyme, for any trespas, offence, or mysprysion done withyn the said ton of Whapplode, or wayes, stretes, or waast ground of the same. Ney the said Lord Dacre, his heyer, nor heyeres, theyr officer nor officers, nor theyr servauntz nor ministers shall in eny wyse execute the said presentment, nor levy eny amerciament nor fyne of the said Abbot, his successours, nor none of the tenantz of the said Abbot, as of his manyer of Whapplode, or his successours, or eny other resyeng in the said ton, not tenaunt and resyeng on the said Lord Dacre ground withyn the said ton of Whapplode, for the said cause. And in semblabele wyse, if the said Thomas Lord Dacre or his heyres, eny tenaunt or tenauntz of the saide lord or his heyres resyeng upon his ground in Whapplode, not holdyng of thabbot beyng for the tyme, be presented in thabbot's court for eny trespas, offence, or mysprysion done withyn the said ton of Whapplode, or wayes, stretes, or waastgrounds of the said ton, that ney the said Abbot nor his successours, theyr assignes, servauntz nor ministers shall execute the said presentments, nor levy eny amerciament nor fyne of the said Thomas Lord Dacre, his heyres, nor noon of his tenauntz resyeng upon his ground in Whapplode noght holdyng of thabbot nor his sucessours, for the said cause.

"And whereas the said parties were in variaunce as for the dryfft withyn the marysh and common of the said Ton of Whapplode and Holbech, I deem, award, and decree, that the said Thomas Lord Dacre, and his heyres, and the said Abbot and his successours, shall take, occupye, and use theyr said dryffts withyn the said Marysh of Whapplode and Holbech, at such tyme as theym likes; ych of them be such wayes within his own ton, and in such forme as it haath beene used of old tyme, with all maner of profetes, of wayfes, and strayes, and other liberties pertenyng to the said dryffts. Provided alway, that the said Thomas Lord Dacre, his heyres, nor his successours, shall at no tyme of theyr dryfft make theyr common waye thorow the said ton of Whapplode, nor noon waye thereoff to the manyer of Holbech, but alonly thorowe Holbech droue, and be other wayes of the said Holbech, as it haath bene used of old tyme, but in cas that the said old wayes may not be used in forme as they haath bene aforn tyme, because of surundyng of waters, than the said Thomas Lord Dacre beyng for the tyme, shall be his officers giff warnyng to the said Abbot, or to his officers, be reasonable tyme, to forn he enter with eny such dryffts the ton of Whapplode, or the hyegh waye theroff, to the intent that the inhabitantz thereof may remeve and avoyd theyr Catell owte of the stretes and hyegh waye theyre pasturyng for the tyme, that they be not chaced nor driven forth to theyr hurt, with his said dryffts so to be maade, shall mowe com thorowe the said ton of Whapplode with his dryfft, noght clamyng there by eny tytle of ryght ageyn or contrarie to this my present award. And where the said parties were in variaunce as for takynge of toll of the people and persons comyng to the feyr and market withyn the said ton of Whapplode, I deem, award, and decree, that the said Thomas, Lord Dacre, his heyres, nor noon of his officers, shall in noo wyse take toll of eny person or persons comyng to the feyr or market of the said Abbot in the said ton of Whapplode.

"Also, I deem, award, and decree, that ether partie above said, the Lord Dacre, for him and his heyres, the Abbot for him and his successours, shall make as suyer to the tother partie all thees articles to hym thus demede, awardede, and decreed, as I be advyce and counsell of leerned men lawfully shall condevyse, when and at what tyme ether partie requireth it of ether, at the costs and expenses of the partie so requiryng and desyryng. And that all actions, suytes and plees takyn, meved and hangyng be ether partie in any Coourt ageyn other, be occasion or cause of these premisses and matiers above rehersed, shall utterly cees, be it be discontinuaunce or other wayes lawfull. In wytnesse whereof to this my present award, ordinaunce, jugement, and decree, trypartyte, one parte indented remanyng to the said Thomas Lord Dacre and his heyres; and to another parte remanyng anempste the said Abbot and his successours; and to the thyrde parte remanying in Registrye of the Byshoprych of Lincoln, I have sette to my seele."

About this time king Henry held his parliament at Westminster, at which the before-named William Pole was raised from the rank of marquis to that of duke. In consequence of this, his heart was too greatly elated, and became exalted still more and more previously to his downfall; besides which, seeing that the king was now deprived of his kinsmen of the royal blood and all his friends, so that he could be guided by his own advice alone, in order that he himself might be enabled the more easily to explain his mind, he made certain persons of his party acquainted with his designs, and introduced them to the private acquaintanceship of the king. These were Master Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, and James Lord Saye, who forbade all access whatever to all such as attempted to gain the king's favour, or to appear in his presence without their own connivance. Being also inflamed with the inextinguishable ardour of cupidity, they took the king round to each monastery throughout the kingdom, and in his name accumulated and carried off numerous gifts and presents. They also, by means of their importunity, obtained from the king, and divided among themselves, great sums of money out of the tithes of the Church and the tributes of the laity and other subsidies to the king that had been paid into the royal treasury. Nor even then was this dropsical thirst of the said traitors allayed, but extending their hands to still higher things, with the most presumptuous treachery, for an immense sum of gold they surrendered, by charter patent of the king, nearly all the king's castles, towns, and estates, held in the parts beyond sea, and which had been obtained, not without blood and the plenteous shedding thereof, by the victorious hands of our kings. In a similar manner, though the intervention of money, they allowed the duke of Orleans, who had been taken prisoner by king Henry the Fifth at the battle of Agincourt, and detained in England in safe custody for many years after, to return home in the full enjoyment of his liberty. However, the avenging anger of God, being desirous to put an end to mischief of this nature, aroused the hearts of all people to take vengeance upon their detestable crimes: so that, publicly proclaiming them to be traitors, they seemed unanimously to concur in their downfall. For the commons of the kingdom, hastily rising in rebellion, first laid hands on the bishop of Salisbury, and without any further judicial process, slew him, pierced with many wounds. They also slew lord Saye at London, and condemned him to pay the penalty of his treason with the loss of his head. The leader also of all these traitors, the duke of Suffolk, was violently torn from the royal presence, and placed in the Tower of London for safe custody in the meantime. After this, on Parliament being called together, taking all due precautions against giving offence to the king, they condemned him to perpetual banishment, and appointed a peremptory day for him to set sail for a foreign country. On the arrival of the day that had been appointed for him to leave England, never again to return there, he embarked; and, having set sail, supposed that he should enjoy a prosperous course, and had now escaped all quicksands as well as the dangers of Scylla, when, on a sudden, he fell into Charybdis. For a ship came hastening with all speed from an opposite quarter to meet him, and those who were on board shouted aloud, "Where is that traitor to England? where is the duke of Suffolk?" On denial being made, they speedily resorted to force, and compelled the others to drag him forth from a dark corner, and deliver him up to them; upon which, they immediately seized him, and with great outcries and cheers on part of the sailors, beheaded him on the prow of the ship: and thus did they put a due but inglorious end to this traitor, although he made every offer for the preservation of his life; but all in vain.

There is nothing so firmly fixed in the human memory, but what it may fade away in lapse of time; hence, it is not to be wondered at that, in these days, the metes and boundaries of our marsh of Alderlound, situate on the south-west side of the Welland, and lying between the said marsh and the marshes of the abbat of Burgh, and which were formerly marked out with certain crosses and signs, and bear the names of Fyneset, Greynes, Folwardstakyng, and Southlake (where the latter stream falls into the Welland), should have now become decayed through lapse of time and want of due repair; in consequence of which, they only afforded an obscure and confused knowledge of their original purpose. Accordingly, the before-named father, abbat John, being desirous to restore the said boundaries to their former state, held frequent conferences and interviews with the advisers of the said abbat of Burgh, and spared no small amount of expense in order to carry out his intentions. For this purpose, with the consent of the parties aforesaid, and under the direction of the lord bishop of Lincoln, four illustrious men, learned in the law, were chosen to act indifferently as arbitrators therein; namely, Henry Grene, Richard Benyngton, Robert Sheffield, and Richard Welby, by whose award and decision the abbats and convents aforesaid, by letters patent under the seal of each monastery, agreed to stand and abide; giving bonds to that effect to the amount of one thousand marks. These arbitrators met twice in the church of Saint Guthlac at Depyng, attended by a great assemblage of lawyers, and uselessly protracted the matter for the space of two weeks in the exhibition of articles, and in replications thereupon on the one side and the other. On another occasion, they all assembled in a similar manner at Senglesholt, and spent a whole week in discussions and the inspection of evidences, but could come to no conclusion, and thus wasted both time and money. The said arbitrators, upon seeing that they could come to no agreement among themselves, were alarmed and perhaps smitten with fear, where there was no occasion for fear; or else, being induced thereto by good feeling, and wishing to displease neither party, they did not dare venture to make their award in conformity with the power which had been entrusted to them; but, with the view of throwing the whole responsibility of the matter upon the abbats themselves of the respective places, they appointed another day, and again met at Ibury, a manor of the abbat of Burgh, for the fourth time. Here they sent for the reverend priors of both monasteries, and then, one of the arbitrators informed them of the matter upon which they differed, and declared that he and his fellow-arbitrators were unwilling to settle the matter unadvisedly, without the express consent of them, the said fathers, given in this the cause of their respective churches. Thus did they most cautiously relieve themselves from the responsibility imposed upon them, and cunningly throw all the doubts and difficulties upon the said fathers, as already stated. Upon this, the before-mentioned abbats for some time held conferences upon the situation and position of the limits aforesaid, but still could not at all agree as to the division of the counties of Northampton and Lincoln, so far as concerned themselves. The consequence was, that, after giving such large fees, and after such a vast outlay and expense, they returned sorrowfully, each of them, home, leaving the matter unsettled, and, to their great shame, in a worse position than it had been before.

In this year, also, being the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1448, upon Saint George's night,[90] towards daybreak, there happened a violent and terrible earthquake, respecting which, some teachers, remarkable for their knowledge, publicly prophesied that it was a prognostic of sinister events. Nor were they deceived in this presage. For, in the following summer, there was an extensive rising of the commons throughout nearly all England, and a most dreadful commotion. But the common people of Kent, who had become quite used to attempts at change, showed much greater violence than all the rest. For, having first appointed over them a captain and leader,[91] they encamped upon the plain of Blackheath, and, in warlike form, fortified their position with pitfalls and embankments, and stakes driven into the ground. After this, presuming to make still further rash attempts, they assaulted the citizens upon London Bridge, and, by force, entered the city: upon which, their said captain became elated to a pitch of extreme vanity, and being honored by the frantic mob as though he had been a king, fancied that there was no one to resist him, and that he was at liberty to do just as he pleased; and, accordingly, dragged the prisoners forth from the Tower, and, at the prompting of the clamorous multitude, had them beheaded, without any form of trial whatever. Besides this, turning his hand to rapine, and attended by a band of his satellites, he stripped one of the richest citizens to his utmost farthing, and plundered him of the whole of his property and goods; upon which, the rest of his fellow-citizens were greatly apprehensive for themselves, and, conjecturing for certain that he would be guilty of the like conduct towards them, speedily collected troops of armed men from every quarter, and manfully drove him out of the city. After the lapse of a short space of time he was caught, and, in conformity with the laws of the realm, was condemned to be beheaded and quartered as a traitor; and thus did he unhappily terminate an unhappy existence.

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[90] April twenty-third.

[91] Jack Cade.

But now we think it right to hand down to remembance, and to bring before the notice of posterity, one circumstance that relates to this monastery, in case a repetition should take place of the like circumstances, and a similar attempt be made in future times. In the vill of Baston, besides the church which he holds as impropriator thereof, the abbat of Croyland holds the principal manor, and claims the demesne in chief in the vill aforesaid, as of right, together with market and fair, waste and warren therein; and from a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, has held peaceful possession thereof. Lately, however, a certain Esquire, John Witham by name, who, by hereditary right, holds in the same a certain part of a knight's fee, which formerly belonged to Simon Dryby, and afterwards to John Bussy, being induced by the advice of some foolish people, and presuming much and pretending still more, asserted that he himself was lord of the whole vill; and this he attempted, contrary to all justice, in every way to the best of his ability to maintain. Accordingly, insolently usurping those liberties which only belong to the principal demesne lord, he proceeded to make attachments in the common waste, to drive and impound cattle that strayed, to cut willows growing on the waste, and to commit many other enormities, to the prejudice of the church of Croyland. Besides this, he went so far as to enclose the land of the aforesaid abbat; and for many years withheld from our monastery the due rent which had been paid to it from ancient times, of two pounds of white incense, for the land which the said John held and which is known as Boycote-green. A chapel, also, which had been built in former times upon the waste of the said vill, by leave of the abbat of Croyland, for the convenience of wayfarers, and the benefit of the tenants, because there was not easy access to the parish church thereof, it being situate at a considerable distance, he asserted to be his own separate estate. Accordingly, in this same chapel, which had long ago been consecrated, he held his courts secular, and, for the purpose of profaning the place, with sacrilegious lips ordered a stable to be made therein, for his horses; and then, besides, a thing more indecent still, encouraging the others who were with him to do the same, he irreverently made water against the walls thereof; and thus did he, so far as in him lay, disgrace the house of the Lord. Upon this, the before-named venerable father, abbat John, used his utmost exertions to check rash and presumptuous conduct of this nature, and proceeded to harass him by actively impleading and prosecuting him, in the courts both of the realm and of the church; so much so, that nearly all his substance was exhausted, and he was unable any longer to support his household; in consequence of which, he was obliged to frequent the houses of his neighbours, and to pick up any kind of daily subsistence among them that he could. And thus, by disregarding the advice of those who were well-advised, he became so greatly disgraced, to the sorrow of his enemies even, as to be the laughing-stock of fortune in every way. At last, however, the pressure of distress and vexation affording him the means of understanding aright, he came to himself again; and, being sensible of the disgraceful nature of his errors, he came into the presence of the venerable father before-named, and suppliantly implored his favour; that illustrious man, Richard Benyngton, by whose advice he had been frequently warned and exhorted with healthful counsel, prompting him thereto. Here, by deed indented and sealed with his own seal, he confessed himself guilty in all the matters aforesaid, and, on behalf of himself and his heirs, declared that he would thenceforth for ever cease to make any such claims for the future, or be guilty of the like attempts. He also declared, that he held the said land of Boycote-green of the abbat of Croyland, and publicly acknowledged that he was bound to pay him yearly two pounds of white incense, in lieu of all services for the said land. After doing this, he returned home, and thenceforth passed his life in poverty, while he had formerly held an honorable position, but had failed to know himself.

But now, it ought to be briefly stated under what circumstances the said chapel had been formerly dedicated by leave of the said lord abbat John. In the said chapel, by the devoutness of the faithful living in the vicinity, a certain guild or fraternity had been recently established in honor of the Mother of God, a fair endowment having been made for the sustenance of the priests thereof. The brethren and sisters of this establishment considered it an object especially desirable that the said chapel should obtain the benefit of consecration; upon which, their alderman, attended by the elders of the said fraternity, came to Croyland, and with devout entreaties supplicated the most honorable father, abbat John so often named, that he would deign to grant their desires and give full permission and his consent as lord of the demesne. He however, being always a man of remarkable prudence and most cautious in what he did, first considered the whole circumstances of the case, and took every precaution that the matter might not, at a future time, redound to the detriment of the parish church of the place; after doing which, he very willingly condescended to assent to their pious prayers. This fact too, ought to be added, and not passed by in silence, that master Richard Dyklon, the then president of the consistory court of Lincoln, a man most deservedly venerated, granted his letters testimonial of the dedication of the before-named chapel, and of the granting of the said licence thereto. The following lines will more fully explain the tenor thereof:

"To all sons of holy Mother Church, to whose knowledge these present letters testimonial shall come, Richard Dyklon, Licentiate in law, president of the consistory court of Lincoln, health in the Saviour of all. Whereas it is pious and meritorious, and consistent with equity, there in especial to give testimony to the truth, where any circumstance may possibly become matter of doubt with reference to the dedication of any place devoted to the Divine worship; we do, by the tenor of these presents, signify unto the whole of you that a certain chapel was built in ancient times in honor of Saint John the Evangelist, in the vill of Baston in the diocese of Lincoln, leave being first obtained of the religious men the abbat and convent of Croyland of the order of Saint Benedict; inasmuch as the demesne therein belonged to them, upon whose land the said chapel is known to have been built. And because the before-named chapel has been of late well and sufficiently endowed to support for ever two chaplains at the least to perform Divine service in a certain chapel there built in honor of the Nativity of the blessed Mary, and annexed to the before-named chapel of Saint John the Evangelist; the alderman of a certain guild or fraternity there established in honor of the

Nativity of the blessed Mary, together with his brethren, has addressed manifold prayers to the reverend father and lord in Christ, John lord abbat of Croyland aforesaid, and his convent, entreating that they would deign to give their leave and consent that the before-named chapel might be dedicated in honor of Saint John the Evangelist; as the same would not, in all likelihood, redound to their prejudice or grievance, but that rather in future times great emolument and advantage would accrue to their vicar therefrom. At length, the leave of the said lord abbat and convent having been obtained, at the instance of the alderman of the said guild or fraternity with his brethren, Master Thomas Balscote, Doctor of laws, well and sufficiently deputed to act as suffragan of the reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by Divine permission, lord archbishop of Canterbury, the episcopal see of Lincoln being then vacant, having first, in virtue of the authority so entrusted to him, seen the endowment of the said chapel, has dedicated the said chapel in honor of Saint John the Evangelist on the fifteenth day of the month of September in the year of our Lord 1451; and has also ordered that from thenceforth the day of the dedication of the said chapel shall be celebrated each year on the feast of Saint Anne the mother of the Virgin Mary. In testimony whereof we have to these presents set the seal of our office. Given at Baston on the day and in the year of our Lord above-mentioned."

After these times, about the year of the Word made Incarnate, 1453, the great chieftain of the Turks, Balthasar,[92] also called Mahomet, that enemy to the Cross of Christ, just like a fresh Antiochus raised up against the Jewish people, and surrounded by forces innumerable of Saracens and Agarenes,[93] began, most tyrannically, to lay waste the borders of the Christians. By the Divine permission he wreaked his vengeance to such a degree in persecuting the faithful ones of Christ, as even to attack Constantinople, that famous and celebrated city of Christendom; and after having slaughtered the worshippers of the true faith, rendered it subject to his own barbarous laws. He also ordered the emperor of the Greeks to be beheaded, and his head to be fixed on a lance, and carried through the midst of the camp. No one can possibly recount the nobles, no one the priests, that were hurried off to slaughter; nor yet the numbers, both old and young, that were most inhumanly murdered in the streets. On every side was to be seen the gore of the slain, on every side were heard the groans of the dying. No regard was shown to maidens, no respect to matrons. The temple, too, of Saint Sophia, the work of Justinian, and famed throughout the whole world, was reserved to be the scene of the abominations of Mahomet: while the other holy places were either levelled to the ground or defiled, the altars overthrown or beaten to pieces, and the images of the Saints defaced or polluted with mud. No statue was there of Christ our Saviour, nor yet of His glorious Mother, that was permitted to escape without some singular mark of disgrace. The very image of Him crucified was, in derision, borne through the camp, disfigured with stones and the mud of their feet, and at last left in the dirt. Woe unto us Christians, in that we have sinned! Why, Lord, were we born thus to behold the desolation of our people, and, with tearful eyes, to witness the disasters of our holy Religion? Those patriarchal sees, most worthy of all veneration, of Constantinople, of Antioch, of Alexandria, and of Jerusalem, are oppressed by the yoke of slavery, and are held either by the Saracens or by the Turks: as though in a corner of the globe is Christianity pent up! Thus much for the present; but more of these matters hereafter.

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[92] Known as Bajazet.

[93] A common name of the Saracens among the mediæval writers.

In these recent times sprang up between our lord, king Henry the Sixth and Richard, the most illustrious duke of York, those dissensions, never sufficiently to be regretted, and never henceforth to be allayed: dissensions indeed, which were only to be atoned for by the deaths of nearly all the nobles of the realm. For there were certain persons enjoying the royal intimacy, who were rivals of the said duke, and who brought serious accusations against him of treason, and made him to stink in the king's nostrils even unto the death; as they insisted that he was endeavouring to gain the kingdom into his own hands, and was planning how to secure the sceptre of the realm for himself and his successors. For this reason he was often summoned by threatening letters to appear in the royal presence, and was as often prevented by his rivals, as he was never allowed to gain admission to the royal presence, nor yet so much as to gain a sight of the king.

At last, a solemn oath was demanded of him upon the sacrament at the altar, to the effect that, so long as he should live he would never aspire to the rule of the kingdom, nor in any way attempt to usurp the same. Without any further delay, he was forbidden all intercourse with his adherents, and was most strictly ordered not to presume publicly to go beyond his own estates, or to pass the boundaries of his castles. Upon this, many of the nobles of the realm, who held the said duke in some degree of honor, took it very much to heart that injuries so monstrous and so great should be inflicted upon an innocent man: nay more, for want of free breathing, they were unable to bear this state of things any longer, but determined to watch for an opportunity to inflict due vengeance for their malice upon their malignant rivals; in case they could find any means of removing them from the side of the king, in whose presence they were in continual attendance.

In the meantime, you might plainly perceive public and intestine broils fermenting among the princes and nobles of the realm, so much so, that in the words of the Gospel,[95] "Brother was divided against brother and father against father;" one party adhering to the king, while the other, being attached to the said duke by blood or by ties of duty, sided with him. And not only among princes and people had such a spirit of contention arisen, but even in every society, whether chapter, college, or convent, had this unhappy plague of division effected an entrance; so much so, that brother could hardly with any degree of security admit brother into his confidence, or friend a friend, nor could any one reveal the secrets of his conscience without giving offence. The consequence was, that, from and after this period of time, the combatants on both sides, uniting their respective forces together, attacked each other whenever they happened to meet, and, quite in accordance with the doubtful issue of warfare, now the one and now the other, for the moment gained the victory, while fortune was continually shifting her position. In the meantime, however, the slaughter of men was immense, for besides the dukes, earls, barons, and distinguished warriors who were cruelly slain, multitudes almost innumerable of the common people died of their wounds. Such was the state of the kingdom for nearly ten years.

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[95] Alluding to St. Matt. x. 21, and St. Mark xiii. 12.

While, however, this whirlwind and tempest was still impending, in order that he might, for a short time, avoid the force of the coming storm, king Henry, being inspired by feelings of devotion, came to Croyland, in order to present his humble offerings at the tomb of our holy father Guthlac; this was during the season of Lent, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1460. Here he stayed, in the full enjoyment of tranquillity, three days and as many nights, taking the greatest pleasure in the observance of his religious duties, and most urgently praying that he might be admitted into the brotherhood of our monastery; a request which was accordingly complied with. Shortly after, being desirous to present us with a due return, of his royal liberality he graciously granted and confirmed unto us the liberties of the whole vill of Croyland, to the end that its inhabitants might be rendered exempt from all demands on part of the servants and tax-gatherers of the king. Of this grant we think it not amiss here to set forth the tenor and form.

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we have, of our own free will and certain knowledge, and out of reverence for the blessed and glorious Virgin Mary, the Mother of God, Saint Bartholomew, and Saint Guthlac, in honor of whom the monastery of Croyland is founded, granted unto John Lytlington, abbat of the before-named monastery and the monks of the same place and their successors, that they shall henceforth for ever have all fines for all kinds of transgressions, offences, misprisions, negligences, ignorances, falsifications, contempts, deceits, concealments, and all other kinds of lapses whatsoever, and all amercements, ransoms, payments and penalties incurred or to be incurred, by themselves and all men, tenants, and residents whatsoever in the vill of Croyland in the county of Lincoln, in all Courts whatsoever of ourselves and our heirs, to be adjudged against them, the said men, tenants and residents, as well before ourselves and our heirs as before our barons of the Exchequer and those of our heirs, and before our justices of the Common Pleas and those of our heirs; as also before our seneschal, marshal, and clerk of the market of our house and those of our heirs, and before the justices at the assizes to be held in the county aforesaid * * * * or to be taken or assigned; and before the justices in eyre hereafter to be assigned to hold pleas of the crown, common pleas, and pleas of the forest; and before the justices for gaol delivery, and for hearing and determining upon felonies, offences, and other misdeeds, to be assigned; and before all other the justices and ministers whatsoever of ourselves and our heirs, whose duty it shall be to exact fines and amercements, and to levy forfeitures and penalties. And that the said abbat and monks, and their successors shall be at liberty, themselves or by their bailiffs or servants, to levy, receive, and take the said fines, amercements, ransoms, payments and penalties, so due from themselves, the men, tenants, and persons there residing, without let or hindrance on part of ourselves or our heirs, as freely and fully as we ourselves should have been enabled to levy, receive and take the same, if we had not granted them unto the before-named abbat and monks, and their successors. We have moreover granted unto the before-named abbat and monks and their successors that they shall for ever have return of our writs, precepts, mandates, and bills of all kinds whatsoever, and execution of the same, by their own bailiff within the vill aforesaid, so far as concerns ourselves or our heirs, or the said abbat and monks or their successors; so that no Sheriff, Escheator, Coroner, Feudary,[96] Bailiff, or any other officer or servant whatsoever, of us, or of our heirs, shall in any way intermeddle with any return of writs of this kind, or with the execution thereof, or shall under such pretence enter the said vill in any manner whatsoever, under pain of our heavy displeasure. Witness, &c."

After the conclusion of these matters, towards the close of the same year, it being the week of our Lord's Nativity, the said Richard, duke of York, incautiously engaged the northern army at Wakefield which was fighting for the king, without waiting to bring up the whole of his own forces; upon which, a charge was made by the enemy on his men, and he was without any mercy or respect relentlessly slain. There fell with him at the same place many noble and illustrious men; and countless numbers of the common people, who had followed him, met their deaths there, and all to no purpose.

The duke being thus removed from this world, the northmen, being sensible that the only impediment was now withdrawn, and that there was no one now who would care to resist their inroads, again swept onwards like a whirlwind from the north, and in the impulse of their fury attempted to overrun the whole of England. At this period too, fancying that every thing tended to insure them freedom from molestation, paupers and beggars flocked forth from those quarters in infinite numbers, just like so many mice rushing forth from their holes, and universally devoted themselves to spoil and rapine, without regard of place or person. For, besides the vast quantities of property which they collected outside, they also irreverently rushed, in their unbridled and frantic rage, into churches and the other sanctuaries of God, and most nefariously plundered them of their chalices, books, and vestments, and, unutterable crime! broke open the pixes in which were kept the body of Christ and shook out the sacred elements therefrom. When the priests and the other faithful of Christ in any way offered to make resistance, like so many abandoned wretches as they were, they cruelly slaughtered them in the very churches or church yards. Thus did they proceed with impunity, spreading in vast multitudes over a space of thirty miles in breadth, and, covering the whole surface of the earth just like so many locusts, made their way almost to the very walls of London; all the moveables which they could possibly collect in every quarter being placed on beasts of burden and carried off. With such avidity for spoil did they press on, that they dug up the precious vessels, which, through fear of them, had been concealed in the earth, and with threats of death compelled the people to produce the treasures which they had hidden in remote and obscure spots.

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[96] An officer of the court of wards, whose duty it was to be present with the escheator, at the survey of the lands of the king's wards.

What do you suppose must have been our fears dwelling here in this island, when every day rumours of this sad nature were reaching our ears, and we were in the utmost dread that we should have to experience similar hardships to those which had been inflicted by them upon our neighbours? This fact too, in especial gave us additional grounds for apprehension, that numbers of persons who lived in the country, being desirous to provide for the safety of themselves and their sacred things, had fled with the utmost speed to this island, as their sole place of refuge. The consequence was, that, by bringing with them whatever treasures they considered of especial value, they rendered the place a still greater object of suspicion to the enemy. In the meantime our precious vestments were put out of the way, while our jewels, and silver vessels, together with our charters and muniments, were, all of them, hidden and secured within the walls. Besides this, daily processions were formed in the convent, and every night, after matin lauds, prayers and tears were most devoutly poured forth in a spirit of humility and with a contrite heart, at the tomb of Guthlac our most holy father and protector, in order through his intervention to obtain the Divine mercy. In the meantime, at each gate of the monastery, and in the vill adjoining, both at the rivers as well as on dry land watch was continually kept; and all the waters of the streams and weirs that surrounded the vill, by means of which a passage might by any possibility be made, were rendered impassable by stakes and palisades of exceeding strength; so much so, that those within could on no account go forth without leave first given, nor yet could those without in any way effect an entrance. Our causeways also and dykes, along which there is a wide and even road for foot passengers, were covered with obstacles, and trees, spread along them and laid across, caused no small impediment to those who approached in an opposite direction. For really we were in straights, when word came to us that this army, so execrable and so abominable, had approached to within six miles of our boundaries. But blessed be God, who did not give us for a prey unto their teeth! For, after the adjoining counties had been given up to dreadful pillage and spoil, (that we may here confess the praises of God, in that at the time of His mercy, He regarded the prayers of the contrite, and in His clemency determined to save us from the yoke of this calamity) our Croyland became as though another little Zoar,[97] in which we might be saved, and, by the Divine grace and clemency, it was preserved.

Wherefore, the Lord of Mercy, who, our sins so requiring it, hath oftentimes permitted the wickedness of the unrighteous to prevail, to minister to our punishment, being desirous to put an end to evils of so disastrous a nature, raised up for us a defender in Edward, the illustrious earl of March, eldest son of the before-named noble duke of York, lately deceased. He, being now in his one-and-twentieth year, had remained in Wales ever since the time when his father had met his death. He was now in the flower of his age, tall of stature, elegant in person, of unblemished character,[98] valiant in arms, and a lineal descendant of the illustrious line of king Edward the Third. For his father was great-great-grandson of the most illustrious Lionel, duke of Clarence, third son of the before-named king Edward, and cousin in the fourth degree to the most illustrious prince, Richard the Second, the late king of England; who, on the accession of king Henry the Fourth, had been forced to resign the crown of this kingdom. Accordingly, the nobles of the realm, and all the people who inhabited the midland counties of England, as well as those who were situate in the eastern and western parts thereof, or in any way bordered upon the midland districts, seeing that they were despised and abandoned by king Henry, who, at the instigation of the queen, had betaken himself to the north, utterly forsook him, after he had completed a reign of thirty-nine years; and their hearts were now no longer with him, nor would they any longer admit of his being king. Besides, in consequence of a malady that had been for many years increasing upon him, he had fallen into a weak state of mind, and had for a length of time remained in a state of imbecility and held the government of the realm in name only. Upon this, the nobles and people immediately sent special messengers into Wales to the before-named earl of March, in whom they could place entire confidence, to disclose to him the wishes of the people, and request him, with earnest entreaties, to hasten into England to their speedy succour, as further delay only seemed to increase their perils.

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[97] Alluding to Gen. xix. 20.

Accordingly, in the year of our Lord, 1461, at the beginning of March, the before-named earl of March arrived in England, having enjoyed a prosperous voyage, the west wind favouring his passage. Here he was immediately received with unbounded joy by the clergy and all the people, and especially by the citizens of London; and, after a short time, Parliament being assembled, amid the acclamations of all he was made king of England. However, he would not at present allow himself to be crowned, but immediately, like unto

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[98] This would appear to be rather too favourable a character for Edward the Fourth at any time of his life. The chronicler's partiality probably limited his powers of discernment.

Gideon or another of the judges,[99] acting faithfully in the Lord, girded himself with the sword of battle; and prosperously hastened his steps, being met by bands of warriors innumerable, to avenge the injuries of the Church and the realm. For, as we have already stated, he was then of vigorous age, and well fitted to endure the conflict of battle, while, at the same time, he was fully equal to the management of the affairs of the state.

The wretched northmen, upon hearing of this, turned their backs before the face of the pursuer, and, hastening their flight, in their alarm were compelled, much against their will, to leave behind them the booty which they had collected in various places, and had been bent upon carrying with them on their return. Upon this, he pursued them as far as a level spot of ground, situate near the castle of Pomfret and the bridge at Ferrybridge, and washed by a stream of considerable size; where he found an army drawn up in order of battle, composed of the remnants of the northern troops of king Henry. They, accordingly, engaged in a most severe conflict,[1] and fighting hand to hand with sword and spear, there was no small slaughter on either side. However, by the mercy of the Divine clemency, king Edward soon experienced the favour of heaven, and, gaining the wished-for victory over his enemies, compelled them either to submit to be slain or to take to flight. For, their ranks being now broken and scattered in flight, the king's army eagerly pursued them, and cutting down the fugitives with their swords, just like so many sheep for the slaughter, made immense havoc among them for a distance of ten miles, as far as the city of York. Prince Edward, however, with a part of his men, as conqueror, remained upon the field of battle, and awaited the rest of his army, which had gone in various directions in pursuit of the enemy.

When the solemnities of the Lord's day, which is known as Palm Sunday, were now close at hand, after distributing rewards among such as brought the bodies of the slain and gave them burial, the king hastened to enter the before-named city. Those who helped to inter the bodies, piled up in pits and in trenches prepared for the purpose, bear witness that eight-and-thirty thousand warriors fell on that day, besides those who were drowned in the river before alluded to, whose numbers we have no means of ascertaining. The blood, too, of the slain, mingling with the snow which at this time covered the whole surface of the earth, afterwards ran down in the furrows and ditches along with the melted snow, in a most shocking manner, for a distance of two or three miles.

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[99] Of Israel.

[1] He alludes to the battle of Towton.

Just at the same period of time, king Henry fled, together with a few of his followers, into Scotland, in which country, and in the castles bordering thereon, he lay concealed, in great tribulation, during the four following years. Queen Margaret, however, with her son Edward, whom she had borne to the before-named king Henry, took to flight to the parts beyond sea, not to return very speedily.

King Edward, after the festivities of Easter, which he celebrated with great splendour at York, having placed garrisons throughout the whole country in whom he could fully rely, returned, as conqueror, to London. Here he immediately assembled the Parliament, and was crowned at Westminster by the venerable father Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and solemnly graced with the diadem of sovereignty. In this Parliament it was enacted that whatever had been granted or obtained in the times of the three kings immediately preceding, that is to say, in the times of Henry the Fourth, Henry the Fifth, and Henry the Sixth, was of no validity whatever, but that the same was to be entirely cancelled and annulled. Besides this, the coin, both of gold and silver, was in a similar manner changed and re-coined, in order that the name of Henry, which was inscribed thereon, might be utterly obliterated. The consequence was, that, among the other things revoked by this enactment, the charter of vacation of our abbey, which had been obtained in the time of king Henry the Fifth by the venerable father abbat Thomas Overton, of pious memory, as well as the charter which had been lately granted us by king Henry the Sixth, conferring certain privileges and liberties in the vill of Croyland, were pronounced to be utterly devoid of all validity. In these days, however, the kingdom enjoyed peace, and all people returned thanks to Almighty God for the triumph granted them by heaven over their enemies.

In the following year, that most abominable chieftain of the Turks, (of whom we have[1] previously made mention, when speaking of the destruction of the city of Constantinople), after having subjected to his rule nearly the whole of the Eastern Church, namely, Jerusalem and Asia, Libya and Greece, with a very great part of Europe, was not contented therewith, but incessantly slaughtered the Christians, by reason of his insatiate desire of rule. Besides this, he even went so far as to send threatening letters to our most holy father pope Pius; in which he declared that he was about, with all speed, to wrest the Roman Church as well, the mother and mistress of all the faithful, from the Christians, and to subject her to his rule; and in so doing, would use his utmost endeavours to found a new monarchy, and render the whole world subject to the sole empire of the Turks, and, dreadful to relate! to the religion of Mahomet alone. The Apostolic man before-named, being disturbed and greatly moved at these ill-boding warnings, was afflicted and distressed thereby, and could not be quieted in mind until he had provided a sufficient and opportune remedy against a calamity of this kind, and had ensured the preservation of Christianity and the protection of the sheep-fold of our Lord against these ravening wolves. For this purpose, he proclaimed a general council at Mantua, where, in a mournful narrative, he disclosed to the Christian believers the wounds which the Church had received, and those which she seemed shortly about to receive: after which, by means of legates *à latere*, he summoned the princes of the earth to come to the aid of the Christian people. But alas! shocking to relate, these words had no weight; his endeavours were in vain, and his labours were to no purpose; for each of them at once, pursuing the object of his own desires, passed by the voice of the shepherd with a deaf ear, and heeded it not.

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[1] P. 417.

Then, as a last resource, he sent letters full of lamentations to all the kings and princes of the kingdoms of the East, as well as to the prelates of the churches; in which he severely reproached them for their slothfulness and their desertion of the cause of Christ, and warned them that, by withdrawing that aid which was its due, they were allowing the bark of the Church to founder in the moment of its necessity, attended with such anxious fears. Besides this, in order that he might arouse and move the torpid hearts of Christians to still greater ardour in affording succour, the supreme Pontiff himself, using all possible exertions, and being ready to devote his own existence in behalf of the Lord's flock, followed in the footsteps of the good Shepherd and the Best of teachers, and declared that he would give his own life for the sheep of Christ. Accordingly, though a weak and ailing old man, finding that he could in no other way promote the interests of the faith, and by no other means arouse the minds of Christians to the defence of the Divine law, he took his departure from his see, with the full intention of confirming his wavering brethren by his own example. Directing his steps towards Ancona, he hastened to embark at that port, and, with a fleet, which, in the meantime, he had been enabled to equip at the joint expense of himself and some others, to enter the Adriatic Sea; nor did he hesitate in the least boldly to proceed straight against the enemies of the faith, and to engage with them at sea. But he embarked in order to fight, like Moses, not by means of arms, but with prayers; and that, blessing our warriors, he might be enabled to shield them by his continual entreaties in their behalf, and at the same time, might fulminate his maledictions against our adversaries. There also attended him many venerable cardinals and bishops of the Roman Church, who feeling themselves sufficiently strong to do so, had voluntarily offered their services; as well as many other clerks and priests of lower rank, whose intention it was, not only to pray, but, when necessity demanded it, to fight manfully. They also led forth with them to battle experienced and stout bodies of troops, and youths with brave hearts, who had been levied from the lands of the Church, the standard of our Lord's Cross being raised on high, and the most holy body of Christ preceding them.

Attended by his naval forces, Philip, duke of Burgundy, a prince beloved by God, made all due preparations, according to his promise, to go and meet them: but being overtaken on the road by a severe illness, he promptly transferred the whole responsibility to his illustrious son Charles, and ordered him successfully to carry out all the preparations which he had begun to make for the expedition; while at the same time, he placed under his command a chosen body of knights, as well as an army of considerable strength. Then besides, the great fleet of Christophorus Maurus, the renowned duke of the Venetians, a most formidable object to the enemy, did not fail to make its appearance, according to appointment; in order that, by the favour of the most High, it might ensure success in the warfare by sea. On the other hand, by land, the Hungarians speedily came to the rescue, with their illustrious king Matthias, a race of men of undaunted bravery in warfare, and who had oftentimes learned to conquer the Turks. Our lord the pope however, after staying a short time at Ancona, awaiting the troops who were there to meet him, was attacked by a severe malady, in consequence of which he took his departure from this world, to fight under the command of Christ. His successor in the Roman see was Paul; who, at the commencement of his Apostolate, finding himself unequal in strength to contend against the forces of so iniquitous a tyrant, made a truce with the before-named Turk, and obtained from him a treaty of peace for the present: this happened in the year of our Lord, 1463.

For the promotion of the success of a matter so holy and so important, a fourth part of a tenth, or, in other words, sixpence in the pound had been granted throughout the whole church of England; which sum was paid to keepers thereof appointed in each diocese for the purpose, to be by them faithfully delivered into the treasury of the supreme Pontiff.

In the meantime, while these things were going on, the venerable father, and much-loved by God, abbat John, was each day, just like some veteran soldier worn out in service, hastening onward, in a mature old age, towards the close of his life; and, weakness now coming upon him apace, he began to be gradually bereft of all vigour of body. Still however, in his infirmities, being, with the Apostle,[2] made stronger and more powerful in spirit, he ably and skilfully continued the entire management of the monastery, even to the very end. For although, in accordance with the frailty of the flesh, he was surrounded with infirmities of the body, still, in spirit and in vigour of mind, he was always full of life. Amid doubtful matters, he was replete with good counsel, in acting circumspect, prudent in carrying out his plans, and most moderate in his daily food and in his clothing. To all such matters as bore reference to the praise of God, or the benefit of the flock entrusted to his charge, he gave every attention; while he expended but little care upon the comforts of his own person. And thus did he, like one following in the footsteps of our holy father Benedict, devote his attention to the pursuit of no pleasures whatever. He constantly presented himself as a stout bulwark in defence of the liberties of his church, and, in conformity with the laws of the kingdom, manfully frustrated the furious attacks of insurgents, and all the attempts of malignants.

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[2] Alluding to 2 Cor. xi. 5, 9 10.

He also erected many buildings in the court of the abbey; while he singularly excelled all his predecessors in his care in repairing his manor-houses and tenements situate without. Indeed, with such wondrous skill did he adorn each of them, that the looker-on might almost be in doubt, whether he displayed more ability in constructing new buildings, or in repairing old ones. Then besides, having first paid no small sums of money, he munificently procured the charters to be re-granted and confirmed with the royal seal, together with the grant of privileges on vacation of our abbey, and of the liberties of the vill of Croyland, which had been, as already stated, recently annulled. He likewise built many tenements in the vill of Croyland, and, liberally bestowing them on the convent, endeavoured in no slight degree to amplify the resources of the inmates. In order, too, that he might always establish persons of the best character in the house of the Lord, in the case of nearly all those who, during his rule, entered upon a religious life in this monastery, he supplied them, at the commencement of their residence, with all furniture and necessary clothing at his own expense. In his time, the observance of the monastic rules flourished in this monastery to such a degree, that it might not unworthily have been styled a very castle of the Gospel, and one worthy to be entered by our Lord Jesus, and where mystically the sisters Mary and Martha had together taken up their abode. For, while one part of the officers was diligently intent upon the careful performance of their respective duties, the others, bestowing all due attention upon the service of God, were occupying themselves in the quiet pursuits of contemplation, amid the mystic embraces of Rachael; and thus, while each of the brethren duly followed the guidance of the rules, did they studiously make it their endeavour to conform thereto, as though the same had been an example pointed out to them on the mount by the hand of heaven. For, warned by the salutary instruction thereof, and embracing obedience, chastity, and voluntary poverty, they girded themselves for the worship of God, with the threefold rope, as it were, of a religious life, which is not easily broken.

In fine, I am quite at a loss for words to state how much the said father loved the glory of the house of God, and how greatly he adorned our church and vestiary with precious jewels and vestments. Still, to enumerate a few matters only out of many, he had nine copes made of cloth of gold, and exquisitely embroidered with feather-work; these are valued by persons skilled in this kind of workmanship at the sum of two hundred and forty pounds, and even then at less than really is their value. Besides these, he left as a lasting memorial, what deserves in especial to be mentioned, a beautiful vestment or suit of red, inwrought throughout with gold, and consisting of three copes with a chasuble, and three tunics to match, for which he paid sixty pounds. It is also a praiseworthy testimony in his favour, that he hired artificers, and had a gilded table made, to the praise and honour of God, and placed above the high altar, with a screen most becomingly fitted thereto, both before and behind. And then besides, the ceiling in the lower part of the church, so remarkable for its beauty and splendour, and most artistically built and gilded at his expense, as well as the brilliant glazing of all the windows, and the arches of stone in the aisles on either side of the said church, publicly proclaim how magnificent were his conceptions in the carrying out of his plans.

But why endeavour to review them singly? Why recount the tithes and subsidies, or why make mention of the taxes and tributes, which he paid before anything else, uselessly I must admit, as an annual tribute to the royal treasury? I pass by the cloths of gold which had been procured by his venerable predecessor abbat Richard, and which he had exquisitely enriched with fringes of gold and other appurtenances, and then worked at no small expense into seven copes similarly ornamented. I omit too, a fine organ, becomingly placed on high at the entrance of the church, which, with all the appurtenances thereof, was made by his order in this monastery, and there played upon, to the praise of God. The smaller organ too, in the choir, I shall in the meantime pass by, which was purchased by him, and which two hired porters carried on their shoulders all the way from London to Croyland. Another table also, placed upon the altar of the blessed Virgin, I had almost omitted, which, in like manner, he caused to be sculptured and painted by artists. There also occur to my memory while I am writing, some other valuables which he replaced in the vestiary; a principal cross for use in processions, a chalice too of equal grandeur, with water-bottles, as well as candelabra of immense weight; upon all of which, being of silver and the best gilt, he expended a vast sum of money, and so replaced the old ones by others of a much superior quality.

But now, while mentioning these matters, we believe that it will be by no means repugnant to the prescribed purpose of this narrative, if the names of some others of our brethren also are set forth in our writings, in order that we may thus hand them down to the notice of posterity. For in the days of our father before-named, these brethren, directing their attention to the promotion of the common welfare, seem especially, and indeed with a degree of liberality beyond the rest, to have contributed thereto at their own private expense. One of these was brother John Lyecester, who, in a spirit of holy devoutness, presented unto the church a costly suit of Venice colour, wrought wholly of silk, and embroidered on the surface with gold; having duly paid for the same a sum of forty pounds. Induced by pious considerations, he also voluntarily contributed forty marks towards the recasting of the larger bells in the outer belfry; in order that they might be brought to a state of more perfect harmony.

In like manner we deem Stephen Swynshed worthy of remembrance, who also presented to the vestiary a choice cope with a similar alb, and which bore on the pectoral thereof a device representing his name. This, if estimated by a trusty valuer at its due price, would be equal in value to a sum of twenty pounds and more.

Then, too, another of our brethren, William Swynshed, will never be lost to the remembrance of the pious; for he munificently repaired at his own expense the chapel of the Holy Trinity in the Infirmary, which was every moment threatening to fall. He rebuilt the roof thereof, and had it covered with lead; while he most beautifully decorated it within with forms and boards carved for the ornament of the choir, together with a tabernacle for the Trinity, and other ornaments

In the number also of these brother Thomas Walden ought deservedly to be classed; who did not hesitate with a munificent hand to contribute twenty pounds for the purpose of gilding the tables which had been prepared with elegant carving and placed upon the high altar.

Nor yet ought brother John Laxton to fail to be registered in our memory; who rebuilt a tenement which he had lately purchased in the vill of Croyland, and bestowed it for ever, with the consent of the chapter, upon the office of taper-bearer of the blessed Mary, as a fund for providing for the refreshment of the brethren in the Infirmary, at the season of refreshment which is commonly known as "*In nomine Domini.*"

So likewise did brother John Wysbech, who had performed the duties of nearly every office in the monastery, and who afterwards, his merits fully deserving it, was summoned from the priorate of Freston and elevated to the pastoral office in this monastery, bestow another similar tenement in Croyland upon the office of Chamberlain; to the end that four shillings might be paid yearly therefrom for the refreshment of the convent, at the time of their being blooded at the Nativity of our Lord, by the hands of the chamberlain for the time being.

Moved also by similar feelings of devotion, brother Thomas Leverton bestowed another tenement, which had been lately built there, upon the office of Master of the works. This he did to the end that, each year, there might be faithfully supplied from the rents of the said tenement by the provident care of the master of the works, in the lower hall only, a cheese in summer for the supper of the convent, and another in winter at the season of "*In nomine Domini.*"

We have also deemed worthy to be enrolled in the list of our benefactors, that noble and pains-taking man, Richard Benyngton, who proved himself in all respects most faithful towards our monastery, and liberally contributed forty pounds towards the glazing of the western window in the lower part of the church.

But now, desirous though we are to hand down to the notice of posterity an event that took place in our times, we feel ourselves oftentimes dissuaded from our purpose from a feeling of slothfulness, and an impression that the prolixity of our narrative may possibly cause considerable weariness to our readers. Still, however, being warned thereto by our fear of God, we are the more encouraged to proceed; and this the more especially, that those of our times may be edified thereby, and that we may give a lesson as to the necessity for caution to those who shall come after us. Now, in the year before-mentioned, that is to say, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1463, there was a certain man in the vill of Croyland, commonly known by name as John Wayle, a person then in his fortieth year, and who earned a meagre subsistence by his daily labour. At the instigation of the wicked one, this man had committed a certain crime of great enormity; but being the only person conscious of it, he did not wish to disclose it to any one. The solemn time of that sacred institution was now at hand, at which faithful people, by the purifying powers of holy confession, cleanse themselves for the purpose of tasting of the health-giving banquet of the Paschal Lamb; upon which, impelled by shame, and not from any desire of his own, he hastened to church, along with the rest. Here, being admitted to the holy shrine of confession, he brought to light certain deeds of darkness, but still on no account would he disclose the deadly wound by which his wretched conscience was tormented, for treatment thereof by the spiritual physician.

To this he also added a still greater degree of prevarication, and, upon the glorious day of our Lord's Resurrection, unworthily offering himself as a partaker of the holy communion, alas! did not hesitate to receive, to the destruction of his soul, the votive sacrament of our reconciliation [with God]. After this, on his return home, his wicked conscience was of course smitten with remorse, and he was shaken with such violent fits of trembling, that he even despaired of the safety of his life. This state of remorse waxing stronger and stronger during the next three days, he was unable any longer, through anguish of spirit, to endure it, and being seized by the Devil, as is generally believed, fell into a state of uncontrollable madness. In consequence of this, he greatly maltreated himself, and tearing his garments to pieces, would allow neither wife nor children to approach his presence. His neighbours, upon seeing this, were afflicted with extreme sorrow thereat, and, seizing him by main force, bound him with manacles of iron, and then made his feet fast in heavy stocks. The report about this man soon reached the ears of all, and the unhappy rumour drew the attention of many to the circumstances of the case. We ourselves also repaired to the place with a becoming retinue, in order to visit the sick man; where we found him panting from the vehemence of his fit, and wearied out with his intense exertions. Accordingly, having first sprinkled him with water, upon which the holy benediction had been pronounced, we began to repeat the remarkable Gospel of Saint John. You might have seen the wretched man struggling, with repeated exertions, to interrupt the words of the speaker, and suddenly filling the house with dreadful yells, in order that he might not so much as hear the words that were pronounced: while, at another moment, he would gnash his teeth, and now grin like a wild beast, and try to bite at every thing within his reach. His body too, with all the furniture throughout the place, shook just as though he had been attacked by fever or had laboured under a fit of palsy. At last we ceased reading, and stood there, each of us, in silence; upon which, he, in like manner, gradually ceased his frantic movements. When we again uttered unto him those admonitions which tend to our salvation, and disclosed to him hopes of pardon, he again became dreadfully afflicted with a like agonizing fit of passion. When the image of Him crucified was raised aloft and shewn to him, he shuddered with alarm and indignation, and would, on no account, be silent, and listen to a recital of the narrative of Christ's Passion, or hear mentioned the other names of the Saints. After this, having bound his eyes with a linen cloth, we agreed to sprinkle some portion of the holy water upon his bare head. As soon as ever he felt this, suspecting some sinister design, he began to be agitated with a violent fit of trembling; and, a thing that we saw with our own eyes, alone and unaided, as he lay on his back, drew towards him from the ground, and lifted up with his feet, the stocks, which were of immense weight, and in which, as we have already stated, his feet were enclosed. These could hardly have been moved by the exertions of four ordinary men.

On the day after this, his neighbours and friends, following salutary advice, first bound him with ropes, and then led him to the church. Here they fastened him to a pillar before an image of the holy Mother of God, which was becomingly placed in an elevated position in the northern aisle, and then left him. In the meantime, however, keepers were appointed to keep watch over him day and night, and attentively observe his movements. Each poured forth prayers in his behalf, and, with urgent entreaties, implored the grace of Almighty God, and the clemency of the Mother of Mercy. Accordingly, he was every day visited, now and then, by the monks, who uttered to him the words of consolation, and sweetly promised him a remedy for his madness, and a full recovery of his senses. To all this, hanging down his head and sighing deeply, he gave a quiet hearing, but would make no answer whatever. For, in consequence of his excessive shouting, he had become quite hoarse, and through prolonged fasting, quite weak and attenuated.

In a few days after this, through the merits of the Holy Mother of God, he began to conduct himself in a more quiet manner, and, at the suggestion of others, to extend his hand towards the sign of the cross which stood before him, while, from the extremities of his lips only, he would produce a sort of hissing sound; though we were unable, by any means, to extract a single word from him. Still, however, by continually drawing repeated sighs from the very bottom of his breast, he clearly gave us to understand, that the weakness of his mind was entirely caused by a disturbed and self-accused conscience: in consequence of which, numerous examples of repentance were quoted to him, and, by dint of repeated suggestions, he was at last persuaded to have recourse to the remedy of confession. There was one of the brethren, who, more than all the rest, bestowed particular attention upon the saving of his soul, and endeavoured to console him with addresses and exhortations in private, and cherished in him a belief in the possibility of his forgiveness. At the same time, also, he protested unto him that, in this life, there was no crime of ever such great enormity, but that it could be washed away in the font of confession, and in the pool of contrition. And further, in order that he might gain him, he endeavoured, with such earnestness, by dint of promises to allure him, as even to declare that he would willingly give his own soul as a pledge for his, if he would only conform to his suggestions. Words such as these moved the man, and behold! at last, with a mighty effort, he extended his hand, and, by signs, showed that he was ready so to do.

Having been loosened from the pillar in the meantime, he was now led to a bench, where, the formula of Confession being commenced, he could only emit groans and sighs, and was still unable so much as to utter a single word. They had now made repeated attempts together to gain that end, but all in vain; upon which, the brother, being much distressed that all his endeavours failed to produce the desired effect, and greatly moved thereat, with a considerable degree of earnestness, commanded him, at the same time using a certain adjuration, to speak unto him. At last, the other, not absolutely speaking, but, in a sort of way, whispering his words, though in such a manner that they could scarcely be heard, declared that he was quite ready and willing to make confession, but was utterly unable to do so. Upon this, the brother beforementioned at once understood, that through the pestilent hostility of some malignant spirit his voice was thus shut up within his jaws, in order that he might not openly make a confession: and, at the same time, he recollected the Gospel, where Jesus was casting out a devil, and they were many.[4] It instantly suggested itself to his mind to present him before the tomb of our most holy father Guthlac. And not without good reason; for, with the leave of the Saints, and with all reverence and awe we say it, this Saint has been always distinguished beyond all others for the possession of this one privilege, namely, the expulsion of unclean spirits.

Accordingly, he was now led by the hands of his keepers along the northern side of the church: but as soon as ever, from a distance, he had caught sight of the shrine, he began to tremble and to stop short, nor could he be persuaded to advance one step further; and at the spot especially where the entrance to the sanctuary stands, he stretched out his feet and made every possible resistance, struggling with all his might not to enter it. On being asked why he acted thus, and why he showed himself so rebellious, in a low voice, as before, he timidly uttered words to this effect: "An evil spirit," said he, "wishes to destroy me there." The bystanders immediately comforted him, and encouraged him not to be in dread of the enemy; while those who had been dragging him, pushed him on with their hands by main force, and compelled him to approach the steps of the shrine. Here, on bended knees, all the others, together with him, at considerable length poured forth their prayers unto God, who alone worketh marvels, that, through the merits of the blessed Guthlac, He would deign to show upon the sick man the power of His might. After this, they led him back to his usual pillar, fortified with the sign of the holy cross, which he had in his own hand. In the same manner they frequently used to act towards him every day.

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[4] Alluding to St. Mark v. 9.

At last however, one night, after matin lauds had been finished in the convent, the brother, of whom we have made mention a little above, went to him alone, and calling him aside, repeatedly exhorted him to adopt the remedy of repentance; while, at the same time, he faithfully promised him that grace and pardon would be granted unto him by God, if, in the penitence of his heart, he would fully open his mouth in pronouncing the words of confession. When, however, he found that he gave him no answer, nor uttered even a word in conformity with his wishes, he most anxiously began to ply him with numerous questions, and set before him various kinds of sins, of which the inordinately brutal nature of some men is wont sometimes to be guilty; at the same time enquiring if he was ready, of his own accord, to acknowledge himself guilty of any one of them.

At last, by the inspiration of the Divine grace, the bridle of his tongue was loosened; and in tones of lamentation he confessed that he had grievously sinned in one of the articles which had been so mentioned. The brother, upon hearing this, felt desirous in some degree to lighten the burden of his sins; and, therefore, by way of precaution, most urgently entreated him, on the morrow of the following day, once again to disclose this sin by making a full confession thereof to his own curate, at that time penancer of the lord [bishop] of Lincoln, who had it in his power to use the keys of the Church in his favour. This being agreed to between them, they took leave of each other with exceeding gladness of heart.

When morning had now come, and the darkness of error had been removed, the light of grace shone brilliantly upon him, and, returning to himself, he became more tranquil, and was found to be much more subdued both in gestures and appearance. After this, he was released from all his chains: upon which, he washed his face, arranged his clothes after the usual manner, and hastened, with the utmost alacrity, to the physician of his soul, for the purpose of making confession. After receiving from him a salutary penance, he returned to his home unattended and by himself. Being now alone and without a guide, he anxiously besought the remembrance of the Saints in his behalf. During the next seven days, in fact, he did not so much as depart from the church, but unceasingly offered up continual thanksgivings to Almighty God and the Saints, the patrons of the church. Fearing molestation, perchance, on the part of his neighbours, he was now unwilling to return to his former home; so, feeling greatly ashamed of the misfortune which had befallen him, though, praised be God! restored in every way to his former tranquillity of mind, he transferred his abode to another neighbourhood. Still, however, being far from forgetful of the benefits which he had received, every year from that time, so long as he lived, he returned to Croyland; where, rejoicing in the complete recovery of his health, he devoutly paid due honor unto God and the blessed Mary, and Saint Guthlac.

But now, following the course of our narrative, I think that the fact ought here to be inserted, that Henry, lately styled king of England, who, from the time of the arrival of the most illustrious prince, now king Edward, had, as we have already mentioned, taken refuge in Scotland or lurked in secret hiding-places in the bordering castles of England, was now taken prisoner. This happened in this present year, the same being the year of our Lord, 1465. Being captured in the northern parts, he was led by a strong body of men to the Tower of London, where king Edward ordered all possible humanity to be shewn towards him, consistently with his safe custody; and, at the same time, gave directions that he should be supplied with all suitable necessaries, and treated with becoming respect.

In the meantime, at this period, many nobles and great men of the kingdom, as well as very many bishops and abbats, were accused before the king of treason; the ground being, that they had secretly solicited Margaret, the late queen, who was now living in the parts beyond sea, both by letters and with money, to return to the kingdom with a strong force, and had made her promises of their advice and assistance. Some of these persons were carried off by their deaths chancing to intervene, while others, through the payment of immense sums of money, were restored to the favour which they had formerly enjoyed.

After this, king Edward, prompted by the ardour of youth, and relying entirely on his own choice, without consulting the nobles of the kingdom, privately married the widow of a certain knight, Elizabeth by name; who, though she had only a knight for her father, had a duchess for her mother;[5] and shortly after he had her solemnly crowned queen. This the nobility and chief men of the kingdom took amiss, seeing that he had with such immoderate haste promoted a person sprung from a comparatively humble lineage, to share the throne with him.

In the same year, also, the duchess, lady Margaret, relict of John, the illustrious duke of Somerset, one who had always proved gracious and favourably-disposed to our monastery, and who, as we have already mentioned, had received the manor of Depyng as a part of her dower, while staying at her castle of Maxay, was desirous, in a spirit of extreme devoutness, to be commended to our prayers; upon which, she was readily admitted to be a sister of our chapter. Influenced by pious considerations, she also induced her daughter, the lady Margaret, countess of Richmond, and heir to the before-named manor of Depyng, (who had been married, as we have long before already mentioned, to the lord Henry, the illustrious son of the duke of Buckingham), to become a sister along with her, and in like manner enjoy the benefit of our prayers. This was done, to the end that, being bound to us by such ties as these, she might be rendered more benevolent to us hereafter, and more complacent in every respect.

Notwithstanding all this, however, so far as relates to our right to the marsh of Goggislound, from the day of her marriage, the lady Margaret, the mother, has remained in possession thereof, up to this present day. And then besides, but a very few years before this time, the stone crosses and other marks and boundaries which, at the last perambulation of the marsh, (made in the time of John Ashby, lord abbat of this place, by the advice and with the assistance of the lord John of Gaunt, the then most illustrious duke of Lancaster), had been placed for the purpose of dividing the districts of Hoyland and Kesteven, had been utterly thrown down and destroyed by the men of Depyng, in order that all knowledge and recollection thereof might be obliterated for the future. Accordingly, among other things, they pulled down by main force a stone cross at Wodelode-greynes, otherwise called Oggote, which had been placed in the said marsh, at our furthest boundary towards the north; and after breaking it to pieces, iniquitously threw it into deep pits, and out-of-the-way places, where there could be no possibility of finding it. Hence it is, that the boundary before-mentioned, being remembered by but very few persons, has by degrees been effaced from general knowledge, and has, in the course of a long space of time, through heedlessness been utterly swept away.

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[5] Elizabeth Woodville was the widow of Sir John Gray, a Lancashire knight. Her mother, Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford, was married to Sir Richard Woodville, for her second husband.

However, in all these matters, the venerable father, abbat John, although weighed down by length of years, and, through continued languor bereft of all strength of body, most ably, like some veteran soldier, ruled the monastery with prudence and foresight; and did not cease, even unto the end, to continue to add to his munificent works. For, towards the closing period of his life, he erected, from the foundation to the summit of the walls, the beautiful and sumptuous hostrey, which extends along between the church and the gates of the abbey. This he did for the following purpose: his object was, that when guests worthy of higher consideration arrived, to whom it was fitting that due deference should be shewn, he might be enabled to receive and entertain them in the said hostrey the more conveniently, from the circumstance of its being closer at hand. And, in order that nothing might remain undone which is considered to tend to the increase of the praise of God, he caused five fine and choice bells to be cast at London, and substituted for the three old ones, here to send forth their sweet sounds with their harmonious chimes. The cost of these, together with the expense of the carriage thereof to Croyland by land and water, amounting in all to a sum of one hundred and sixty pounds, was defrayed entirely by himself. These bells, while still lying below upon the ground, before they were hung, were solemnly consecrated by Nicholas, the venerable lord bishop of Elphin, who was at this time suffragan of the reverend father in Christ, John, lord bishop of Lincoln. They were inscribed, from the smallest to the greatest, with the names in especial of the patron Saints in whose honor they were most devoutly dedicated; the names being Guthlac, Bartholomew, Michael, Mary, and Trinity.

At this period, there happened in our monastery a circumstance deserving of everlasting remembrance, which some of the most intelligent, even, ascribed to a wondrous miracle. The greater bell-tower had been newly built in the western part of the church, in which it was intended that the bells before-mentioned should, by the skill of the carpenters, be hung. At this time it was not covered in at the very top, nor was it in any way closed by the intervention in it of any lower floor. Having put together, on the ground below, a certain machine for the purpose of winding and drawing, they endeavoured to fix in the summits of the walls an immense beam, held by ropes and pulleys, to act as a supporter of the whole work. By dint of great efforts on the part of those winding, the beam had been now raised nearly fifty feet from the ground, and was hanging poised aloft, when, on a sudden, the tackle proving unequal to the strain of such an immense mass, began to give way. At the same moment, the ropes burst asunder, and the beam, falling to the ground with a loud crash, broke the whole fabric to atoms that lay below. There seemed no chance of escape whatever for the men, nearly twenty in number, who were labouring below and were now placed almost at the very verge of death: nor would it have been of any use for them to fly, seeing that the beam in its length across[6] equalled the square space between the walls. However, the Divine mercy instantly regarded them thus threatened by a peril so terrific, and smitten with the greatest consternation at so unlooked-for an event; for the breaking down of so vast a mass did not crush one of them, and its precipitate fall did not the slightest injury to a single individual. Oh instance of the Divine grace, deservedly to be lauded and extolled! Oh, how glorious, too, the merits of our father Guthlac! Who could possibly withhold himself from uttering the praises of God?

In the meantime an outcry was raised by the people shouting aloud, and all lifted up their voices to the very stars of heaven. Some made their prayers re-echo to the skies, while others in their joy bedewed the earth with the abundant tears which they shed. The brethren of the convent, attended by multitudes, immediately proceeded to the oratory, and there solemnly chaunted the hymn of praise written by Saint Ambrose.[7] Most devoutly prostrating themselves on the ground around the shrine of the before-named father, each returned endless thanksgivings unto God. Blessed for ever be Almighty God, who hath thus, in His mercy, raised for us when placed in straights, the horn of His salvation against the snares of the evil-doers; and who thus worketh for us in all things for the best, to the end that our rivals may never deride us in adversity, nor at any time our enemies may exult over us.

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[6] This is probably the meaning of "dimensione," otherwise the passage is unintelligible.

However, in these times, the Divine long-suffering was so wrought upon by our transgressions, was so provoked, I say, by our unrighteousness, that the whole of England was most severely chastised by each of the elements, like so many scourges prepared by the Divine vengeance for the punishment of a heedless generation. For an infection prevailed in the pestilent air over the dwellers in the land, to such a degree, that a sudden death consigned to a wretched doom many thousands of people of all ages, just like so many sheep destined for the slaughter. In like manner too, fires of unusual severity, caused both by lightning, as well as very often by carelessness, like a sort of prognostic of the Divine indignation, raged with uncontrollable violence throughout the various districts of the kingdom in its vills and towns; but more especially, in the principal monasteries of our order, the devouring flames consumed to ashes the churches and bell-towers, as well as the rest of the buildings and offices appurtenant thereto.

In the year also from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1467, in the month of January there was so great an inundation of the waters, by reason of the snows and continued rains, that no man living in our times could recall to mind the like. Throughout the whole of this county, and in Hoyland especially, there was scarcely a house or building, but what the streams of water made their way and flowed through it. Nor must you suppose that this happened hurriedly and in a cursory manner only: but continuously, during a whole month, the waters either stood there without flowing off, or else, being agitated by strong gusts of wind, swelled and increased still more and more day after day. Nor on this occasion did the embankments offer any effectual resistance, but, on the contrary, though materials had been brought from other quarters for the purpose of strengthening them, they proved of very little service for that purpose; and, however diligently the work might have been attended to in the day time, as the waters swelled and rose, the spot under repair was completely laid bare during the night. Then was there grief and lamentation among all, and outcries and tumult among the Hoylanders. In the meantime, prayers were put up to God in behalf of the Church, and daily processions were formed for the purpose of obtaining more propitious weather.

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[7] The *Te Deum*, said to have been composed by Saint Ambrose, on the occasion of the baptism of Saint Augustin. There is, however, little doubt that it was composed a century later than his time.

In the same year also, there were shown certain wondrous signs in England; and in divers places there appeared unto many persons, terrible prognostics, replete with no better auspices. For, one day, there were seen in the heavens three suns, and a shower of blood; as the grass and the linen clothes stained therewith, abundantly testified to all beholders. This latter came down in manner just like a gentle shower. Besides this, horsemen and men in armour were seen rushing through the air; so much so, that Saint George himself, conspicuous with the red cross, his usual ensign, and attended by a vast body of armed men, appeared visibly to great numbers. To show that we ought not to refuse our belief to what has been just mentioned, those persons, to whom revelations of this nature were made, were subjected to a most strict examination before the venerable father Thomas, the lord archbishop of Canterbury. A certain woman too, in the county of Huntingdon, who was with child and near the time of her delivery, to her extreme horror, felt the embryo in her womb weeping as it were and uttering a kind of sobbing noise. The same was also heard by some other women, who were surprised in no slight degree thereat. This we know to have happened but seldom indeed, although we read that the most holy forerunner[8] of our Lord, through joy at our approaching salvation, leaped in the womb of his mother. We may, however, not without very fair reason, suppose, that now possibly, under circumstances directly the reverse, even the children unborn deplored our impending calamities, upon the approach of the scourge of Divine vengeance, our sins requiring the same.

In the lapse of two years after this, that is to say in the

[8] St. John the Baptist St Luke, i. 41.

ninth year of king Edward, being the year of our Lord, 1469, there arose a great disagreement between that king and his kinsman, Richard, the most illustrious earl of Warwick; which was not allayed without the shedding of the blood of many persons. The reason of this was, the fact that the king, being too greatly influenced by the urgent suggestions of the queen, admitted to his especial favour all the relations of the said queen, as well as those who were in any way connected with her by blood, enriching them with boundless presents and always promoting them to the most dignified offices about his person: while, at the same time, he banished from his presence his own brethren, and his kinsmen sprung from the royal blood, together with the earl of Warwick himself, and the other nobles of the realm who had always proved faithful to him. Accordingly, seizing this opportunity for a storm, behold! in the same year, and in the summer season, a whirlwind again came down from the north, in form of a mighty insurrection of the commons of that part of the country. These complained that they were grievously oppressed with taxes and annual tributes by the said favourites of the king and queen, and, having appointed one Robert de Redysdale to act as a captain over them, proceeded to march, about sixty thousand in number, to join the earl of Warwick, who was then in London.

The king, on hearing rumours to this effect, first had recourse to the Divine aid and to the prayers of the Saints, and, having by way of pilgrimage, first visited Edmund the Martyr, hastened to the city of Norwich. After this, he passed through Walsingham to Lynn, and thence through the town of Wisbech to Dovesdale; whence he rode, attended by two hundred horsemen, upon our embankment, and, the barriers having been opened, and all obstacles removed, at last arrived at Croyland. Here he was honorably received, as befitted the royal dignity, and passed the night a well-pleased guest. On the morrow, being greatly delighted with the quietude of the place and the courtesy shown to him, he walked on foot through the streets to the western outlet of the vill, and after praising in high terms of commendation the plan of the stone bridge and the houses, there embarked together with his attendants, and setting sail, made a prosperous voyage to his castle of Foderyngey,[9] where the queen was awaiting his arrival. Having stayed here a few days only, until such time as levies of troops had assembled from all parts of the kingdom in order to assist him against the insurgents before-mentioned, he manfully prepared to march into the northern districts. The above-mentioned relatives, however, of the queen, her father, namely, and her three half-brothers, who, as we have already stated, were attached to the king's person, were in great alarm for their safety, and took refuge in different castles, some in Wales, and some in Norfolk, with the connivance, however, of the king, as it is generally said

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[9] Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire, where Mary queen of Scots was afterwards beheaded.

As for the king, when he had arrived with his army at the town of Newark, he heard that the forces of the enemy were more than threefold the number of his own troops, and, finding that the common people came in to him more slowly than he had anticipated, he turned aside and hastened with the utmost speed to his castle at Nottingham. Here he stayed a short time, intending to wait until a certain lord, William Herbert by name, who had been lately created earl of Pembroke, should come to meet him with the levies which he had raised in Wales. While, however, the said earl of Pembroke was hastening with all speed at the head of a considerable body of troops to meet the king, behold! the army of the northmen unexpectedly met him on the plain of Hegge-cote,[10] near Banbury, in the county of Northampton; whereupon, the two armies engaging, a great battle was fought, and a most dreadful slaughter, especially of the Welch, ensued; so much so, that four thousand men of the two armies are said to have been slain. The earl of Pembroke and several other nobles and gentlemen of Wales were made prisoners, and were, by order of the before-named earl of Warwick, without any opportunity of ransom, beheaded at Northampton. The truth is, that, in those parts and throughout Wales, there is a celebrated and famous prophecy, to the effect that, having expelled the English, the remains of the Britons are once more to obtain the sovereignty of England, as being the proper citizens thereof. This prophecy, which is stated in the chronicles of the Britons to have been pronounced by an angel in the time of king Cadwallader, in their credulity, receives from them universal belief Accordingly, the present opportunity seeming to be propitious, they imagined that now the long-wished-for hour had arrived, and used every possible exertion to promote its fulfilment. However, by the providence of God, it turned out otherwise, and they remain for the present disappointed of the fulfilment of their desires.

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[10] Or Edgecote.

When rumours to the above effect had now reached the king's ears, seeing that such great disgrace was, through this disaster, reflected on him, he was greatly disturbed and moved thereat. In addition to this, those who had hitherto remained firm in their allegiance to him, now became greatly alarmed, and basely deserting him by thousands, clandestinely took to flight. However, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, and George, archbishop of York, together with the duke of Clarence, the king's brother, and the said earl of Warwick, most duteously hastened with a large escort to hold a conference with the king, who was now left with but a very few adherents, for the purpose of soothing him in his distress. On their first arrival, in consequence of the extreme indignation which he felt, he presented a lowering countenance; but after they had fairly stated to him their intentions to remain firm in their allegiance, and had resolutely exposed the treachery of those who had adhered to him, he became more calm, and received them more freely into his favour and good will.

But in the meantime, while the storms of this tempest were increasing apace, you must know that we, who dwell in this island, were smitten with no small degree of terror. For by means of some spiteful enemies of ours, a most unhappy and ill-timed rumour reached the ears of certain people in the army, to the effect that those persons of whom they were in pursuit were concealed in hiding-places in Croyland, and that immense treasures were hidden in the vill and within the precinct thereof. The consequence was, that the heedless race, ever ready and eager for plunder, at once declared themselves wishful, upon their return, to search our monastery and the vill with the greatest possible care; and this circumstance, together with rumour and her numerous reports, as well as the daily threats that were launched against us, caused us no small grounds for apprehension. But blessed be the Lord! who did not give us a prey unto their teeth! for, through the merits of our most holy father Guthlac, at whose tomb, each night, in Psalms and in prayers we offered up our holocausts of devout supplication, the Divine mercy dealt graciously with us; inasmuch as, through the prudent guidance of the earl of Warwick so often mentioned, they returned from the expedition, and retired, all of them, beyond the Trent, and so, taking the shortest route, returned to their own country.

In the meantime, however, as we have already stated, the venerable father, abbat John, was labouring under a continual and incurable malady, hernia namely; by which he had been originally attacked, in consequence of a violent fall on one occasion, when he was riding on horseback. In consequence of this, he was daily afflicted with such dreadful torments in certain parts of his body, that he seemed to be enduring a thousand deaths even. Being thus proved by continual infirmities, and cleansed by the tempests and calamities of the world, after having anxiously tended his charge of the Lord's flock during a period of two-and-forty years and eight months, and fulfilled the pastoral duties in the most praiseworthy manner, he ardently longed to be speedily removed from the things of this world to things heavenly. Having at length finished the laborious course of this shadowy career, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and the sixty-ninth of his assumption of the religious habit, leaving the clay of the body to his parent earth, he most devoutly commended his spirit unto the hands of the Father, to receive with Christ the promised price of the eternal reward.

He ended this life on the sixteenth day of the month of January, in the year from the Incarnation of our Lord, 1469, it being the ninth year of king Edward, who was then reigning and ably wielding the sceptre of the realm of England. But, in order that we may embrace the lengthened period of his life in as small a compass as possible, we think that it will be far from a loss of time if we insert the following epitaph, which, as being well acquainted with his career, however small its merits may be, we have composed in his praise:

"The light of pastors, and the cloister's rose,
The paragon of manners, now eclips'd,
(Alas! how much too soon!) lies here inurn'd.
To Lutlyngton he ow'd his earliest breath:
Thence sprung, hence was he call'd by heaven's decree.
Gracious in converse, but more gracious still
In deeds, his life most grateful was to God.
Led by his guidance, Croyland erst rejoic'd;

But now she mourns his span of life cut short.
A careful shepherd, serious and serene,
Active and ever-watchful for his flock;
Amid that flock he was as one of them,
And paid to each the dues of Christian love.
Zealous of all the welfare to promote,
Strangers or friends, void of reproach he liv'd.
Through him the glories of our Zion shone,
In zeal a Mary, Martha in his works.
While Leah here a holy offspring bore,
He sigh'd the heavenly Rachel to embrace.
Prudent he was, and in his manners grave,
And well-prepar'd to bear the world's caprice.
Replete with energy, when mobs arose,
The laws his help, soon did he crush the foe.
In catering he was bounteous, in his plans
Most wary. Prudent in his outlay, he
A watchful guardian prov'd of all our rights.
To mortify the flesh he taught to be
A manly grace; and more than all esteem'd
Those things which savour of the praise of God.
In food, so well he curb'd his appetite,
That nothing did he seek to eat from choice,
But liv'd by rule alone. How much he lov'd
The temples of the Lord, the gilded roofs
By him erected amply testify.
So great the splendour of the precious robes
Which to this house of ours he gave, that they
Can scarce be number'd. Windows in our church
Of glass he plac'd. Through him the organ's note
Swells in the solemn praise of God; and hence
Its melody ascends, and soars on high.
Our bells he consecrated unto God.
The ancients, he, in building, far surpass'd,
And in repairing, show'd a holy zeal.
Able to build, our manors he enrich'd,
But, willing to repair, eschew'd expense.
So did he manage, that 'twere hard to say,
Whether the ancient buildings now repair'd,
Or those but newly built, might best be deem'd.
When broken with old age and worn with toil,
The vigour of his mind and sense remain'd
Without impair. The Holy Spirit pour'd
Its gracious unction on him. While he rul'd
Our house, success attended his career—
Though brief this humble narrative of his good works,
May heaven grant the meed of his deserts. Amen."

And now too must the thread of this narrative be cut short by us, and let it suffice for us, thus far, to have spun out the web of this trifling composition: trusting that the rugged texture thereof may not afford the curious, when pulling it to pieces bit by bit, an occasion for indulging in sneers at our expense. However, inasmuch as those events which have happened in ages long since gone by, have mostly failed, through the carelessness of our predecessors, to come to the knowledge of those of our time, (with the exception indeed of a few facts which had been committed to writing by our elders: and that not in any direct historical order, but only as anything new took place at intervening periods;) it is only right here to say that herein this was the scope of our intention—It was our design, in conformity with the superscription at the beginning of this volume, in due order, albeit in very different style,[11] to hand down to the notice of posterity the agreements made between the kings of England and the abbats of this monastery, together with a multitude of incidents which bore reference to the state of the kingdom or of this place. This work of ours is extended to a very considerable length, as it begins at the accession of king Stephen, in the time of abbat Waldev, at the moment at which that excellent man, so justly distinguished for the praises of his eloquence, Master Peter of Blois, concludes his narrative; and comes down, as we have already stated, to the ninth year of Edward, the now reigning king: an interval of time which extends over three hundred and thirty years or more.

Some of the matters which, to the best of our humble ability, we have compressed into the present compass, we have, so far as we were enabled to do so, ascertained upon certain information, while most of them we have found set forth in aged and worm-eaten papers. As for the other matters, which have taken place in our own time, we here declare that we have read the same, more truthfully still, in the book of experience.

Still however. seeing that, by the permission of God, we hold the office of Prior, (however unworthily and remissly we may perform the duties thereof) we have found ourselves very considerably hampered by the many and various requirements of regular observance. The present work has consequently not been composed amid our continued attention thereto, and with the advantage of profound study, but only on occasions snatched by stealth at intervals, and frequently at hurried moments; just in fact as the vein of a very tardy intellect would chance to flow, now more sparingly, and now again more freely, at the moment when we could devote our attention to it. If I did not almost feel ashamed to bring to light the thoughts that suggest themselves to my mind, really, the composition of the volume, from the commencement of it down to the present time, would seem, not inaptly, according to my way of thinking, to bear a striking resemblance to the image, which was formerly mentioned in the book of Daniel[12]; the head of which was of gold, the breast and arms of silver, while the feet are described as being partly of iron and partly of potter's clay. For, in a very similar manner, the first part at the beginning of this book, has been composed with every mark of distinguished talent by the venerable father, abbat Ingulph; and this, illuminated by the radiant lustre of the most elegant language, shines resplendent beyond the rest, and, not without fair reason, appears in our eyes to represent the head of gold. In the next place, the middle portion, which was composed by the industrious application of that most excellent man, Master Peter of Blois, and which re-echoes all the dulcet harmony of the eloquence of Tully, evidently bears a strong resemblance to the breast made of silver. And then the last part, which has been composed by ourselves just as we could find the opportunity, and appended to the former ones, seems strongly to resemble the feet made of iron, by reason of its rude and unpolished style; and may, with very good reason, from the circumstance of its being composed of such a trite and common place mass of matter, be looked upon as no better than a mere potsherd and a lump of clay.

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[11] He alludes to his own chronicle as a continuation of those of Ingulph and Peter of Blois.

Still however, we are not entirely forsaken by the hope, that all our attempts have not been in vain, and that our good intentions have not been expended to no purpose: but, on the contrary, we shall think that even then we have done some service, if any one, better instructed, like some beauteous stone cut out of the mountain quarry of more sublime knowledge shall think fit to remodel this statue, and to beat the ground with the feet in his zeal for the correction of our narrative. This task in fact we think he may perform with still more ease and efficacy, if he has this shapeless mass of matter, which we have here collected from out of its lurking-places in various quarters, ready and at hand; for he will then have only to reduce it to a more elegant shape and diction. The person too, who shall be found spontaneously to take a pleasure in committing to writing those events which shall happen in the days of posterity, will deserve in every way to be extolled, and, as his fame increases apace, will stand conspicuous on the mountain height, ennobled by merit of a high degree.

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[12] Chap. ii. 33, &c.

At the close of this work, we did entertain a wish, in some degree, to have left a memorial of our name; that so at least, those who should read this narrative, might deign, through motives of Christian charity, in a few words of prayer, however short, to commend our soul to the mercy of the Saviour. We have, however, of our own accord, forborne so to do, to the end that we might not seem to wish to be honored here in our own country, or be deemed, in our vanity, to covet an undue meed of praise for our efforts. Committing the whole, therefore, to the Divine providence, we do, with most earnest prayers, supplicate God, that He will by way of reward for these our humble labours,of His abundant grace, command our name to be written in the Book of those who are predestined unto life everlasting.

END OF THE SECOND CONTINUATION OF THE HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

# A THIRD CONTINUATION

OF THE

# HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

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Here follows a continuation of the events that happened in the commonwealth of England and elsewhere, as also of those circumstances in especial which took place in the monastery of Croyland, after the decease of the before-mentioned abbat John; which, as already mentioned, happened on the sixteenth day of the month of January, in the ninth year of the reign of king Edward the Fourth; the same being, according to the computation of the Roman church, the year of our Lord, 1469. Still however, before we commence our narrative of the events which are known to have taken place subsequently to that year, some matters ought first to be stated, which have either been omitted by the former Chronicler already referred to, or have not been more fully set forth by him; either through zeal for the interests of holy religion, which does not generally care to be fully acquainted with secular matters, or a regard for conciseness and brevity. For it is our wish, that it may be clearly understood from the very beginning by what numerous incursions and battles the kingdom of England was harassed, before the calamitous inroad of the northmen last described took place. Those events, too, which followed after that period, down to the year that will be found mentioned below, we shall set forth in as brief terms and in as unprejudiced a manner as we possibly can.

We would wish, in the first place, here to observe, that, not so much a battle as a semblance of a battle, was first seen at the town of Ludlow, in the Marches of Wales, in the month of October, in this year of our Lord, 1459. This skirmish took place between king Henry, and those who remained faithful to him, on the one side, and Richard, duke of York, and his sons and kinsmen, connexions and adherents, on the other. Among the latter, in especial, were the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, father and son, whose opposition was greatly dreaded. The king's party, however, waxed stronger and stronger every day in consequence of endless multitudes of the nobles and common people, who now flocked together to his support; and the more especially, after Andrew Trollop and his paid followers, from Calais, who had been summoned by the earl of Warwick, their captain, from the parts beyond sea, as though to aid the king, had deserted the duke of York. For, finding that, contrary to their expectations, they had really been brought over to act against the king, they left the duke, and sided with the king, whose provisions and pay they had been in the habit of receiving. Upon this taking place, the duke's army was disbanded, while he himself retreated to Ireland, and his eldest son, Edward, earl of March, together with the before-named earls, father and son, crossed over by ship to Calais.

In the meantime, a Parliament having been summoned at Coventry, the duke and earls above-named were attainted, and their goods and properties transferred to new possessors. But, as the affairs of England, a thing that every day's experience too well teaches us, are subject to many changes and vicissitudes, in the following year, that is to say, in the year 1460, the said earls crossed over from Calais, and landed in Kent: shortly after which, a great battle was fought near Northampton, on the feast[14] of the Martyrdom of the Seven Brethren, in the month of July, between king Henry and the above-named earls, with their respective adherents. There fell on the king's side, the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shrewsbury, the lord viscount Beaumont, the lord Egremont, and other nobles, with common men innumerable. The earls, having thus gained the victory, paid all the honors of royalty to king Henry, and conducted him with a most august escort to London; Richard Neville, the before-named earl of Warwick, on this occasion, carrying a sword before the king, bare headed, and with every mark of humility and respect.

[14] Tenth of July

In the month of October, in the same year, the duke of York came over from Ireland; and repairing to Westminster, while the Parliament was there assembled, entered the upper chamber of the royal palace, where the lords spiritual and temporal were sitting; after which, going up to the royal throne, he claimed the right of sitting there as belonging solely to himself. He then genealogically traced his lineal descent from Lionel, duke of Clarence, to whom, as being the elder son, he asserted that the succession to the kingdom of England of right belonged, and not to the posterity of John, duke of Lancaster, his younger brother, from whom king Henry was descended; after which, he protested that he would no longer put up with the injustice which had been done to his line for so many years by the three Henrys, who were only usurpers. Immediately after this, making his way into the inner rooms of the royal palace, he compelled the king to remove to the queen's apartments, while he himself took possession of the whole of the king's abode. This disturbance continued, though unattended by slaughter, for about three weeks, until the vigil of All Saints; the whole Parliament being occupied, in the mean time, with the discussion of the genealogical question, and the rights of the before-mentioned duke. Upon that vigil, these differences were brought to a conclusion in the following manner: the duke and his sons, Edward, earl of March, and Edmund, earl of Rutland, who had both arrived at the years of discretion, were to swear fealty to the king, and to recognize him as king so long as he should live, the same having been already determined by Parliament. At the same time, it was added, with the king's consent, that as soon as the king should have departed this life, it should be lawful for the said duke and his heirs to lay claim to, and take possession of, the crown of England. Matters being thus arranged, the duke removed from the palace of Westminster to his mansion in London, and left the king and his people in peace.

In these days, queen Margaret, with prince Edward, the only son of the king and herself, was staying in the northern parts of the kingdom. As the above decree of Parliament appeared to the northern partisans of the queen most odious and execrable, a commotion took place there, among the nobles and common people, their object being, to have that enactment altered.[15]

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[15] There is clearly an omission in the narrative here.

The duke of York, having in company with him his son, the earl of Rutland, and Richard, earl of Salisbury, set out for the purpose of offering resistance to their movements; but, as already mentioned,[16] he was defeated at Wakefield, and there slain. Upon this ensued the incursion of the said northmen into the southern parts of England, until they reached Saint Alban's, where they put to flight the earl of Warwick, who had brought king Henry thither, as though for the purpose of fighting against the queen, his wife, and his son. After obtaining the victory there, they did not pursue their advantages any further, but led back the king and queen with them into the north.

In the meantime, the duke's eldest son, Edward, earl of March before-named, engaged the partisans of the queen in Wales, and, gaining a glorious victory over them, routed them at Mortimer's Cross. On receiving tidings of his father's death and how eagerly the people in the southern parts of the kingdom were awaiting him as their future king, he assembled his army together, and proceeded to London. Here, after mature deliberation, the council having come to the conclusion that king Henry, by taking part with the murderers of his father, had used his utmost endeavours to annul the decree of Parliament above-mentioned, the earl was pronounced to be no longer bound to observe his fealty towards him. Royal honors were now paid him by all the people, with universal acclamation, and on the fourth day of May, in the year, according to the computation of the Church of Rome, 1461, he commenced his reign, and in the power of his might won and earned the victory and the crown, in the manner which the Chronicler before-mentioned has already described.

All this I pass over in a cursory manner, as well as some succeeding events; such as the sieges of the castles of Northumberland, and various skirmishes which took place on the Scottish borders, between the remnants of Henry's party, who frequently made incursions from Scotland, and John Neville, lord Montague, who had lately been created earl of Northumberland, at the head of the other faithful partisans of king Edward; which, although attended with varying success, most frequently ended to the amplification of the glory of king Edward. In these skirmishes and battles, many nobles on the side of king Henry, Henry, duke of Somerset, for instance, and some other lords, such as the lord Hungerford, and the lord De Roos, as well as the illustrious knights, Ralph Grey and Ralph Percy, and others, were routed and slain by the prowess of the said earl of Northumberland.

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[16] P. 421.

I now come to the sixth year of the reign of the said king, when Elizabeth, the eldest daughter by his marriage already mentioned, was born. This took place in the month of February, it being the year of our Lord, according to the computation of the English church, 1465, but according to that of the church of Rome, 1466. About this time, ambassadors were sent to England from Flanders, to ask the lady Margaret, sister of king Edward, in marriage for the lord Charles, the eldest son of Philip, duke of Burgundy, his father being then living. This marriage accordingly took place, and was solemnized in the month of July in the year following, being the year of our Lord, 1467. At this marriage, Richard Neville, earl of Warwick, who had for some years appeared to favour the party of the French against the Burgundians, conceived great indignation. For he would have greatly preferred to have sought an alliance for the said lady Margaret in the kingdom of France, by means of which, a favourable understanding might have arisen between the monarchs of those two kingdoms; it being much against his wish, that the views of Charles, now duke of Burgundy, should be in any way promoted by means of an alliance with England. The fact is, that he pursued that man with a most deadly hatred.

This, in my opinion, was really the cause of the dissensions between the king and the earl, and not the one which has been previously[16] mentioned—the marriage of the king with queen Elizabeth. For this marriage of the king and queen (although after some murmuring on the part of the earl, who had previously used his best endeavours to bring about an alliance between the king and the queen of Scotland, widow of the king of that country, lately deceased), had long before this been solemnly sanctioned and approved of at Reading, by the earl himself, and all the prelates and great lords of the kingdom. Indeed, it is the fact, that the earl continued to show favour to all the queen's kindred, until he found that her relatives and connexions, contrary to his wishes, were using their utmost endeavours to promote the other marriage, which, in conformity with the king's wishes, eventually took place between Charles and the lady Margaret, and were favouring other designs to which he was strongly opposed. It is to reasons of this nature that may be attributed the overthrow and slaughter of the Welch, with their leader, William Herbert, lately created earl of Pembroke, at the battle previously mentioned, which took place at Hegecot, near Banbury: for that nobleman, at this period, had great weight in the counsels of the king and queen, his eldest son having previously married one of the queen's sisters. The queen's father also perished, Richard, earl of Rivers, already mentioned, together with Sir John Wydville, his son.

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[16] P. 445.

In the meantime, king Edward was taken prisoner at a certain village near Coventry, and, all his attendants being dismissed, was led thence to Warwick Castle, where he was detained in captivity. This calamity was caused by his own brother George, duke of Clarence, Richard, earl of Warwick, and his brother George, archbishop of York: and befell him in the summer of the ninth year of his reign, being the year of our Lord, 1469.

Lest it should come to pass that the faithful subjects of the said king, in the southern parts of the kingdom, should attempt to avenge the commission of so great an injury, and liberate him from his captivity in the said castle, they now transferred him to Middleham Castle, in the north: from which place, however, in a manner almost miraculous, and beyond all expectation, he did not so much make his escape, as find himself released by the express consent of the earl of Warwick himself. For there was now a rising in England, in the vicinity of the Scottish border, of many persons who formed the remains of Henry's party, and who had chosen for their captain one Sir Humphrey Neville. The earl of Warwick found himself unable to offer an effectual resistance to these, without first making public proclamation in the king's name that all the king's liege subjects must rise to defend him against the rebels. For the people, seeing their king detained as a prisoner, refused to take any notice of proclamations to this effect, until, having been entirely set at liberty, he had made his appearance in the city of York: after which, the enemy were most valiantly routed by the said earl, and the king, seizing the opportunity, in the full enjoyment of his liberty came to London

From this day, as already stated, there were repeated messages and embassies passing to and fro between the king and the dissatisfied nobles. In the end, a grand council of all the peers of the kingdom was summoned, and on a certain day which had been previously named, there appeared in the great chamber of Parliament, the duke of Clarence, the earl of Warwick, and the rest of their confederates; upon which, peace and entire oblivion of all grievances upon both sides was agreed to. Still however, there probably remained, on the one side, deeply seated in his mind, the injuries he had received and the contempt which had been shown to majesty, and on the other—

"A mind too conscious of a daring deed"

At last, after the celebration at London of the feast of the Nativity, upon the approach of the fast of Lent in the year of our Lord, according to the computation of the Church of Rome, 1470, the king and the said nobles bade adieu to each other, the king intending to remain for a short time in London, while the others returned, each one as he pleased, to their respective homes.

In the meantime, the monastery of Croyland being vacant by the death of abbat John Lytlington, which took place, as already stated, on the sixteenth day of January in this present year, being the ninth of king Edward the Fourth, provision was duly made for supplying his place by the canonical election of the lord John Wysbech, a most prudent and circumspect man. At the time of his election, he held the office of prior of the cell of Freston; which cell had, from ancient times, been annexed and appropriated to the use of the said monastery of Croyland. This election took place on the thirteenth day of February, in the year of king Edward abovementioned, the same being the year of our Lord, according to the computation of the English Church, 1469, but according to that of the Church of Rome, 1470.

Here, it seems as well, for the instruction of the young, who, perhaps, do not understand this variation of the modes of reckoning, or, at least, the causes thereof, to explain, in a few words, how it happens that the Romans, who reckon from a later event, namely, the Nativity, precede us, who compute from a prior one, the Incarnation, by the space of time which, each year, falls between the feast of the Nativity and the feast of the Annunciation of our Lord: the remaining part of the year being numbered exactly the same by us and by them. For the purpose of understanding this, it ought to be observed, that Chroniclers who write annals, or the events of each year, have two modes of terminating the year. One of these methods is, where, from the beginning of the event which they wish to commemorate, they wait a whole revolution of the sun's motion, and until he has passed through the Zodiac, or three hundred and sixty-five days [before they begin to count]; which is the way in which the English church reckons, not completing[16] the first year of any event which takes place, until three hundred and sixty-five days have elapsed from the beginning of that event. Hence it is that it always concludes and terminates each year from the Incarnation of our Lord (from which event it mostly makes its calculations), on the same day on which the actual mystery of our Lord's Incarnation commenced, that is, at the feast of the Annunciation.

The Romans, on the other hand, out of the respect anciently entertained for the god Janus, from whom the month of January received its name, begin all their years on the first day of January, and finish them on the last day of December, in whatever intervening month the act which it is their intention to commemorate may have happened. Consequently, with them the *first* year of our Lord's Nativity, from which event the Romans are wont to calculate, was finished in seven days after that event; and hence, with them the year *two* began on the first day of January next ensuing. When we come to understand this equivocal method of terminating the year, it is clear that, in reality, there exists no error at all; but that, according to the first mode of computation, it is only the year of our Lord, 1469, up to the feast of the Annunciation; while, on the other hand, according to the second mode, by which the new year always begins in January, it may be said that it is the year 1470. This method of beginning and concluding each year after the Roman manner, is supported by the usage observed in our manual reckoners and the customary Calendar of the church, as the Dominical letters, which are to serve for a whole year, are always changed on the first day of January.

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[16] He means, "not considering it as a year in the computation, until a whole year has been completed;" according to which mode of reckoning, the year *one* would begin not *at* the Incarnation, but at the end of 365 days after the Incarnation.

[17] Meaning that the year *one* would not begin to be reckoned till the first anniversary of our Lord's Incarnation, on the feast of the Annunciation.

But now let us return to the said John Wysbech, who was, as we have already stated, at this time elected abbat of Croyland. He was a truly wary man in all his doings, having gained experience in former years in fulfilling the duties of many offices which he held in the monastery; besides which, he enjoyed this singular and especial privilege and piece of good fortune, which never fell to the lot of any of his predecessors. As often as any spark of litigation appeared about to be kindled, through his sagacity and the discreet moderation of his acts, he always quenched it, before it had burst into an open flame; so much so, that throughout the whole period of his pastoral duties he enjoyed perfect peace and tranquillity. Let us, however, for a time dismiss any further notice of this good father or his pious deeds, of which we will make mention, when we come to the events of the year in which he was withdrawn from this world, the same being the year of our Lord, 1477; and let us now return to the narrative of the secular history of the kingdom.

After the departure of the nobles before-mentioned from London, the men of the county and district of Lincoln, for the first time allying themselves, as it were, with the Kentish rebels, and resisting the laws and customs of the country, appeared in arms, under the command and guidance of the son and heir of the lord Wells. King Edward, however, having levied an army, as soon as he had arrived at Stamford, at the same instant, both saw and conquered them. All the leaders of the hostile force fell into his hands; and after inflicting capital punishment on them for their misdeeds, he showed grace and favour to the ignorant and guiltless multitude. Upon the news of his having gained this great victory reaching the ears of the duke and earl the noblemen already mentioned, being fully conscious of their share in promoting this insurrection, they consulted their safety in flight; upon which, the king followed in pursuit of them, along their route from the county of Lancaster across the intervening counties, until they had arrived at the city of Exeter in the county of Devon. Having arrived here before the king could come up with them, and finding a few ships in readiness, they embarked; and after spoiling of their property, in ships and wares, all the Hollanders and other subjects of the duke of Burgundy they could meet with engaged in mercantile pursuits, they pushed on with the utmost speed, and at length, with their confederates, landed safely in Normandy.

Here they were kindly received by king Louis, and being after some difficulty admitted into the favour of queen Margaret and her son prince Edward, made a promise that they would in future faithfully support their cause and that of king Henry. In addition to this, that their reconcilement and good faith towards each other might appear in the eyes of future ages the more undoubted, espousals were contracted between the said prince and the lady Anne, the youngest daughter of the said earl of Warwick; the duke of Clarence, himself, having previously to this, married his eldest daughter, Isabella.

Hardly had these men been six months in exile, when, behold! recruited by means of the treasures of the king of the French, they landed in the same parts of England from which they had taken their departure. All the English in the neighbourhood felt compassion, as always is the case, for the exiles who had thus returned, and, not so much joining them, as waiting upon them to show them every attention, increased their forces to such numbers, that the troops of king Edward, for which he was waiting at Doncaster, withdrew from a contest so doubtful in its results. There was then living in the neighbourhood, at his own mansion at Pomfret, John Neville, brother of the earl of Warwick, and who at this time had the title of marquis of Montague. Although he had sworn fealty to king Edward, still, on hearing of the arrival of his brother, he had recourse to treachery; and entered into a conspiracy, the object of which was to seize the king's person by means of the large body of men, which, by virtue of the royal proclamation, he had levied. As soon as this reached the king's ears by the secret agency of a spy, he found himself compelled to consult his own safety and that of his followers by a precipitate flight to the port of Bishop's Lynn, in Norfolk. Here finding some ships, he caused himself and his followers, nearly two thousand in number, to be conveyed across the sea to Holland, a territory of the duke of Burgundy. These events took place about the festival of Michaelmas, in the year of our Lord, 1470, it being the ninth year of the reign of the said king Edward.

In this manner did the lords before-mentioned gloriously triumph over the said king Edward, and that without the least slaughter or bloodshed; after which, they repaired to London with a degree of pomp befitting such great success. Taking king Henry the Sixth out of the Tower, where he had been so long detained in captivity, they once more placed him on the throne of the kingdom: and in the month of October, on the feast of the Translation of Saint Edward the King and Confessor, after walking in solemn procession, had the crown publicly placed on his head. Now all laws were once more enacted in the name of this king Henry, and all letters patent, writs, mandates, chirographs, and instruments whatsoever were published with a twofold mode of annotation in reference to this king's government—in this manner; "In the year from the beginning of the reign of king Henry the Sixth, forty-eight, and in the first year of the recovery of his throne by the said king."

At this time was born Edward, the first-born son of king Edward, then in exile; which event took place on the feast of All Saints, in the monastery of Westminster, at which place queen Elizabeth and her three daughters had taken sanctuary. From this circumstance was derived some hope and consolation for such persons as remained faithful in their allegiance to Edward, while those who were well-wishers to king Henry, and who at this time were many in number, deemed the birth of this infant a thing of very little consequence. You might then have heard persons innumerable ascribing this restoration of the most pious king Henry to a miracle, and this change to the working of the right hand of the Most High; and yet. behold! how incomprehensible are the judgments of God, and how inscrutable are His ways! for within six months after this, it is a fact well known, that there was not a person who dared own himself to have been his partisan.

For the said king Edward, being provided with troops and ships by Charles, duke of Burgundy, about the middle of the ensuing Lent after his banishment effected a landing with fifteen hundred English followers in the district of Holdernesse, at the same spot[19] at which Henry the Fourth had formerly landed when about to dethrone king Richard. Passing through the city of York, he assumed no other title beyond that of duke, as being heir to his father; for it was necessary to use some dissimulation there, as many of the people were opposed to him. After this, he arrived, without any resistance being offered, before the city of Coventry, in which the earls of Warwick and Oxford had shut themselves with a great body of troops.

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[19] Ravenspur, in Yorkshire

In the meantime, the duke of Clarence before-named, brother to king Edward, had been fully reconciled to the king by the mediation of his sisters, the duchesses of Burgundy and Exeter, of whom, the one without the kingdom, and the other within it, entreated the duke to make peace with his brother: after which, he hurried with a very large force from the western parts of the kingdom to the king's assistance. The numbers on the king's side thus increasing every day, the earls at Coventry did not dare venture either to proclaim war against the king or to accept the pitched battle which was offered them by him.

Upon this, the king proceeded to London, where he once more seized the person of the before-named king Henry, and George, archbishop of York, the then chancellor of the kingdom. Hardly, however, had he passed two nights there, when he was obliged to leave the city, for the purpose of manfully engaging, without it, the enemy who were hastening onward to capture him in the place. For Easter Day was now close at hand, upon which it was conjectured that the king would be attending more to prayers than arms, and it was their design at the moment when he was intent upon the duties of religion, suddenly to surprise him when unattended by any considerable number of people. This prudent prince, however, took due precautions against this stratagem of the enemy, and, paying more attention to urgent necessity than to absurd notions of propriety, on Holy Saturday in Easter week, quitted the city with his army, and, passing slowly on, reached the town of Barnet, a place ten miles distant from the city; and there pitched his camp, on the eve of the day of our Lord's Resurrection.

In the morning a dreadful engagement took place, in which there fell various nobles of either party. On the side of those who were of king Henry's party, there fell those two most famous nobles, the brothers, Richard earl of Warwick, and John marquis of Montague. Among those on that side who contrived to escape alive from the field, were Henry Holland, duke of Exeter, and John Vere, earl of Oxford, of whom, the one took sanctuary at Westminster, while the other betook himself to the sea, once more to seek his fortune. On the other hand, king Edward lost two nobles, kinsmen of his, Humphrey Bourchier, lord Cromwell, and another Humphrey, of the same surname, the eldest son and heir of the lord Berners; besides many others who fell in the battle. However, he gained a wonderful, glorious, and unhoped-for victory.

He returned in triumph to London, after midday on the same day, being Easter Sunday, and was honourably escorted thither by multitudes of nobles and people. Still however, he was not allowed to spend many days there for the purpose of refreshing his body, which had been so buffeted about by his varying fortunes. For, just after one battle had been fought, as already stated, in the east, he was obliged to prepare himself and his followers with all his energies for another in the western parts of the kingdom, which was fought under the auspices of queen Margaret and her son.

It so happened that whilst king Edward, on embarking from Flanders, had, contrary to his intention, been carried by the violence of the tempests to the coasts of Yorkshire, the queen had set sail, with her followers, from Normandy, and making a direct passage, had landed in the counties of Cornwall and Devon. The queen's army now increased daily, there being many in the west who espoused the cause of king Henry in preference to the pretensions of all others. Upon this, Edmund, duke of Somerset, who had been an exile from his childhood, and who was next in rank in the whole army after prince Edward, with his brother, John Beaufort by name, Thomas, earl of Devon, John, lord Wenlock, and brother John Lancostrother, prior of the order of Saint John throughout England, deliberated in council how they might contrive most speedily to pass along the western coast, and, making their way by Bristol, Gloucester, and Chester, reach Lancashire, where great numbers of men skilled in archery were to be found: for they felt quite confident that the nobles and people in those parts, beyond all others throughout the kingdom, were well affected to the Lancastrian line. Nor perhaps would they have been deceived in forming this opinion, had not king Edward used such great expedition in marching from London with a small body of troops to meet them, in order that their further passage might be intercepted; an object which was accordingly effected in the county of Gloucester.

When both armies had now become so extremely fatigued with the labour of marching and thirst that they could proceed no further, they joined battle near the town of Tewkesbury. After the result had long remained doubtful, king Edward at last gained a glorious victory. Upon this occasion, there were slain on the queen's side, either on the field or after the battle, by the avenging hands of certain persons,[20] prince Edward, the only son of king Henry, the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devon, and all and every the other lords above-mentioned. Queen Margaret also was taken prisoner and preserved in safety, in order that she might be carried to London, there to appear before the king's triumphal car; which was accordingly done.

But, while these things were going on, and while king Edward, graced with this twofold victory, would seem, in the judgment of all, most undeniably to have proved the justice of his cause, the fury of many of the malignants was not averted, and especially in Kent; for the hands of these people were still extended [against the king]. Some men of this description, being instigated by certain of the remains of the earl of Warwick's mercenaries, mariners and pirates from Calais, met together and placed themselves under the command of one Thomas, the Bastard of Falconbridge; after which, some by land, and others by the river Thames, reached London from the most distant parts of the county. Here having surveyed all the inlets and outlets of the city, they studied with all their energies how they might possibly subject this most opulent city to their ravages. For this purpose, they brought up ships, which they had prepared for the purpose, almost into the very port, in order that, putting on board the whole of their spoil, they might obtain subsistence by means thereof in other quarters. With this object, many of them collected together upon London Bridge, and many others on the opposite side of the city at the gate which bears the name of 'Bishopsgate'; where they made most furious assaults, and laid waste everything with fire and sword, in order, by some means or other, to effect an entrance. The vestiges of their misdeeds are even yet to be seen upon the said bridge, as they burned all the houses which lay between the draw-bridge and the outer gate, that looks towards the High Street of Southwark, and which had been built at a vast expense.

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[20] He evidently alludes either to Edward or his brother Richard, duke of Gloucester. Horace Walpole, in his "Historic Doubts," thinks that the latter is referred to, and he is probably right in his conjecture.

God, however, being unwilling that a city so renowned, and the capital of the whole kingdom of England, should be delivered into the hands of such wretches, to be plundered by them, gave to the Londoners stout hearts, which prompted them to offer resistance on the day of battle. This they were especially aided in doing by a sudden and unexpected sally, which was made by Antony, earl Rivers, from the Tower of London. Falling, at the head of his horsemen, upon the rear of the enemy while they were making furious assaults upon the gate above-mentioned, he afforded the Londoners an opportunity of opening the city gates and engaging hand to hand with the foe; upon which they manfully slew or put to flight each and every of them. Then might you have seen all the remnants of this band of robbers hastening with all speed to their ships and other hiding-places.

These abandoned men being thus routed and put to flight, both citizens, guests, and strangers, were greatly rejoiced thereat, as well as all other persons who had taken refuge in the place for the sake of additional safety during the ravages of this tempest. All these events took place in the month of May, shortly before the feast of the Ascension of our Lord.

On the vigil of this feast, king Edward entered London in state for the third time, with a retinue far greater than any of his former armies, and with standards unfurled and borne before him and the nobles of his army. Upon this occasion many were struck with surprise and astonishment, seeing that there was now no enemy left for him to encounter. This prudent prince however, fully understanding the fickle disposition of the people of Kent, had come to the resolution that he would not disarm until he had visited those ravagers with condign punishment for their misdeeds at their own doors. For this purpose, he proceeded into Kent with his horse in hostile form; having done which, he returned, a most renowned conqueror and a mighty monarch; whose praises resounded far and wide throughout the land, for having achieved such great exploits with such wondrous expedition and in so short a space of time.

I would pass over in silence the fact that at this period king Henry was found dead in the Tower of London; may God spare and grant time for repentance to the person, whoever he was, who thus dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon the Lord's anointed! Hence it is that he who perpetrated this has justly earned the title of tyrant,[21] while he who thus suffered has gained that of a glorious Martyr. The body was exhibited for some days in Saint Paul's church at London, and was carried thence by the river Thames to the conventual church of the monks at Chertsey, in the diocese of Winchester, fifteen miles from the city; a kind of barge having been solemnly prepared for the purpose, provided with lighted torches. How great his deserts were, by reason of his innocence of life, his love of God and of the Church, his patience in adversity, and his other remarkable virtues, is abundantly testified by the miracles which God has wrought in favour of those who have, with devout hearts, implored his intercession.

The praises of these regal victories having been carried to the most illustrious duke of Burgundy, who was there to be found more glad than he? For being then at war with their common enemy, king Louis, he could not entertain a doubt but that he should receive assistance against him at the hands of his allies. And who was there to be found more sorrowful than Louis? through whose craftiness alone so many domestic foes had been thus frequently raised up against the person of king Edward; but now, at last, all in vain. Certain ambassadors were accordingly sent to the king by the duke, not more for the purpose of congratulating him on his successes, than of reminding him what a degree of ill-will their common enemy had shewn against his serene highness, and advising his majesty to give his early thoughts to making and carrying out preparations for a descent on France, not so much with the object of avenging past injuries, as of regaining the rights of his ancestors, which had been lost in France; while at the same time he was assured that he should have the duke as a sharer in the expedition, and a partner in both his prosperity and his adversity. Having taken so important an offer as this into due consideration, it was at last determined that the king should send some one of his people, for the purpose of enquiring more thoroughly into the duke's intentions, and of informing the king thereon.

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[21] This appears to be a hint of Edward's complicity.

Accordingly, one of the king's council was sent, a Doctor[22] of Canon Law. He was despatched, however, by way of Boulogne (for at this time Calais had not as yet been reduced to obedience to the king); and he found the duke at a certain great and well-fortified town, situate on the river Somme, which is called Abbat's Vill or Abbeville, in the county of Pontay. Having fulfilled the object of his embassy, he returned, bringing with him most earnest requests for assistance, by way of Calais, which shortly after, with all the marches adjacent thereto, in conformity with the king's views, received William, lord Hastings, the king's chamberlain, with all respect and submissiveness, and surrendered to him possession of the place. By means of this short embassy were laid the foundations of those mighty preparations of which mention will be found made in the sequel, for recovering the king's rights in France. In this manner passed the summer of this year, being the eleventh of the reign of king Edward the Fourth, and the year of our Lord, 1471. In the Michaelmas Term after this, by act of Parliament, many persons were attainted and several other measures taken, which it is not worth while individually here to describe. This Parliament lasted nearly two years.

It is my intention here to insert an account of the dissensions which arose during this Michaelmas Term between the two brothers of the king already mentioned, and which were with difficulty quieted. After, as already stated, the son of king Henry, to whom the lady Anne, the youngest daughter of the earl of Warwick, had been married, was slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, Richard, duke of Gloucester sought the said Anne in marriage. This proposal, however, did not suit the views of his brother, the duke of Clarence, who had previously married the eldest daughter of the same earl. Such being the case, he caused the damsel to be concealed, in order that it might not be known by his brother where she was; as he was afraid of a division of the earl's property, which he wished to come to himself alone in right of his wife, and not to be obliged to share it with any other person. Still however, the craftiness of the duke of Gloucester so far prevailed, that he discovered the young lady in the city of London disguised in the habit of a cookmaid: upon which he had her removed to the sanctuary of Saint Martin's. In consequence of this, such violent dissensions arose between the brothers, and so many arguments were, with the greatest acuteness, put forward on either side, in the king's presence, who sat in judgment in the council-chamber, that all present, and the lawyers even, were quite surprised that these princes should find arguments in such abundance by means of which to support their respective causes. In fact, these three brothers, the king and the two dukes, were possessed of such surpassing talents, that, if they had been able to live without dissensions, such a threefold cord could never have been broken without the utmost difficulty. At last, their most loving brother, king Edward, agreed to act as mediator between them; and in order that the discord between princes of such high rank might not cause any hindrance to the carrying out of his royal intentions in relation to the affairs of France, the whole misunderstanding was at last set at rest, upon the following terms; the marriage of the duke of Gloucester with Anne before-named was to take place, and he was to have such and so much of the earl's lands as should be agreed upon between them through the mediation of arbitrators; while all the rest were to remain in the possession of the duke of Clarence. The consequence was, that little or nothing was left at the disposal of the real lady and heiress, the countess of Warwick, to whom for the whole of her life the most noble inheritance of the Warwicks and the Despencers properly belonged. However I readily pass over a matter so incurable as this, without attempting to find a cause for it, and so leave these strong-willed men to the impulse of their own wills; thinking it better to set forth the remaining portion of this narrative, so far as it occurs to my memory, with unbiassed words, and, so far as I am aware, without any admixture of falsehood therewith.

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[22] The writer of this history—*Marginal Note.*

During this Parliament, (which was * * presided over by a variety of chancellors, there being, first, Robert, bishop of Bath, who did nothing except through his pupil, John Alcock, bishop of Worcester; secondly, Lawrence, bishop of Durham, who became quite fatigued and weary with his endless labours; and thirdly, Thomas, bishop of Lincoln, who fully carried out all his purposes to the very end:) the principal object of the king was to encourage the nobles and people to engage in the war against France; in the promotion of which object, many speeches of remarkable eloquence were made in Parliament, both of a public and private nature, especially on behalf of the duke of Burgundy. The result was, that all applauded the king's intentions, and bestowed the highest praises on his proposed plans; and numerous tenths and fifteenths were granted, on several occasions, according to the exigencies of the case, in assemblies of the clergy and of such of the laity as took any part in making grants of that nature. Besides this, those who were possessed of realty and personal property, all of them, readily granted the tenth part of their possessions. When it now seemed that not even all the grants beforementioned would suffice for the maintenance of such great expenses, a new and unheard-of impost was introduced, every one was to give just what he pleased, or rather, just what he did *not* please, by way of *benevolence*. The money raised from grants so large and so numerous as these amounted to sums the like of which was never seen before, nor is it probable that they ever will be seen in times to come.

Besides this, in order that these intentions on the king's part might not be frustrated by multiplied hostilities, provision was thoughtfully made that the Scots should not remain like so many enemies behind our backs, and that the men of the Teutonic Hanse Towns, who had now begun to infest the English seas, should not aid the enemy in person and with their ships, against us. Accordingly, peace was first established with these two countries in our vicinity, an embassy being first despatched to Utrecht, which reached that place in three days, and after that, to Scotland.

In the following year, being the year one thousand[21] * * * and the fourteenth year of the reign of the said king Edward, in the months of May and June the king transported across all his armed force, together with most noble and most ample equipments, to Calais; where the most illustrious prince, Charles, duke of Burgundy, having arrived with a few followers, held a prolonged debate with the king's council respecting the course of the two armies, the king's and his own, and the place at which they might most conveniently meet. You might then have seen certain of our party highly elated; being those who would have gladly returned home leav-

[21] A.D. 1474.

ing the object of the expedition unattained, on the ground that the duke was to blame, for failing to have his troops ready and close at hand. Others however, whose minds were better disposed, and who studied glory rather than their own ease, thought that in acting thus the duke had performed the part of a prudent prince and of one who hoped for the best. For, as he very well knew, the king's army alone was sufficiently strong in case any attack should be suddenly made upon him. Indeed, so extremely well-prepared was that force, that if they had been his own men he would not have wished for a larger number, at the head of which to march triumphantly through the midst of France to the very gates of the city of Rome; these were the very words he uttered in public. Besides this, if the whole of the duke's army had been in sight of ours, it is by no means improbable that the first battle would have been between them, for provisions, quarters, or other things of which they might have stood in need; than which nothing could have been possibly found more gratifying to the common enemy of both.

Nevertheless, the princes proceeded onward on their contemplated route, and while, day after day, they approached nearer and nearer to the territories of the enemy, the duke on one occasion having turned aside to visit his own cities, in some way, I know not how, a suggestion reached us on part of the enemy for entering into a treaty of peace. Nor yet, as some persons have asserted, ought the conditions appended thereto to appear unbecoming or in any way disgraceful to our people; the offer being made on the terms, among other things, that the Dauphin should be united to the king's eldest daughter with a most ample marriage portion, and that a yearly payment should be made to him of ten thousand pounds for the purpose of defraying the expenses of the war that had been commenced, a truce or cessation of warfare being made for a period of seven years.

However, upon this, the duke refused to have any further dealings with the king who thus purposed to make peace with their adversary, seeing that he had previously engaged with him alone to continue the war with their united resources against their common enemy, and accordingly withdrew in a state of discontent. Our Commissioners, having now concluded peace with the opposite side, in due form and to the effect previously mentioned, brought word to the king and his council what steps they had taken; which were for many reasons considered to be very seasonable and peculiarly suitable to the present interests of the persons respectively engaged therein. Upon this, our men spent the whole of their pay, and with good-will[22] on both sides an end was put to the war; which, after preparations made with incredible expense and a degree of diligence and energy unheard-of in this age, had never yet been able to reach a commencement.

After this, a conference was held between the two kings, for the purpose of more firmly establishing the peace that had been made between them. Indeed, there was no kind of pledge, promise, or oath made in public, which king Louis would not willingly give in order to guarantee the due performance of the terms agreed on. Accordingly, our lord the king returned to England, having thus concluded an honorable treaty of peace: for in this light it was regarded by the higher officers[23] of the royal army, although there is nothing so holy or of so high a sanction, that it may not have contempt thrown upon it by being ill spoken of. Indeed, some persons immediately began to cavil at peace being thus concluded, but these soon received condign punishment for their presumption. Others, on their return home, betook themselves to theft and rapine, so that no road throughout England was left in a state of safety for either merchants or pilgrims.

Upon this, our lord the king was compelled, in person, together with his judges, to make a survey of the kingdom; and no one, not even his own domestic, did he spare, but instantly had him hanged, if he was found to be guilty of theft or murder. These rigorous sentences being universally carried into execution, public acts of robbery were soon put a stop to for a considerable time. However, if this prudent prince had not manfully put an end to this commencement of mischief, the number of people complaining of the unfair management of the resources of the kingdom, in consequence of such quantities of treasure being abstracted from the coffers of each and uselessly consumed, would have increased to such a degree that no one could have said whose head, among the king's advisers, was in safety: and the more especially those, who, induced by friendship for the French king or by his presents, had persuaded the king to make peace in manner previously mentioned.

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[22] This passage appears to be in a very imperfect state. If translated at all literally, it is impossible to make any sense of it.

[23] The fact being, that most of them were bribed.

There is no doubt that the king felt his perplexed situation in this matter most deeply at heart, and was by no means ignorant of the condition of his people, and how readily they might be betrayed, in case they should find a leader, to enter into rebellious plans, and conceive a thirst for change. Accordingly, seeing that things had now come to such a pass, that from thenceforth he could not dare, in his emergencies, to ask the assistance of the English people, and finding that (a thing which really was the case) it was through want of money that the French expedition had, in such a short time, come to nothing; he turned all his thoughts to the question, how he might in future collect an amount of treasure worthy of his royal station out of his own substance, and by the exercise of his own energies. Accordingly, having called Parliament together, he resumed possession of nearly all the royal estates, without regard to whom they had been granted, and applied the whole thereof to the support of the expenses of the crown. Throughout all the ports of the kingdom he appointed inspectors of the customs, men of remarkable shrewdness, but too hard, according to general report, upon the merchants. The king himself, also, having procured merchant ships, put on board of them the finest wools, cloths, tin, and other productions of the kingdom, and, like a private individual living by trade, exchanged merchandize for merchandize, by means of his factors, among both Italians and Greeks. The revenues of vacant prelacies, which, according to Magna Charta, cannot be sold, he would only part with out of his hands at a stated sum, and on no other terms whatever. He also examined the register and rolls of Chancery, and exacted heavy fines from those whom he found to have intruded and taken possession of estates without prosecuting their rights in form required by law; by way of return for the rents which they had in the meantime received. These, and more of a similar nature than can possibly be conceived by a man who is inexperienced in such matters, were his methods of making up a purse; added to which, there was the yearly tribute of ten thousand pounds due from France, together with numerous tenths from the churches, from which the prelates and clergy had been unable to get themselves excused. All these particulars, in the course of a very few years, rendered him an extremely wealthy prince; so much so, that, for collecting vessels of gold and silver, tapestries, and decorations of the most precious nature, both for his palaces and for various churches, and for building castles, colleges, and other distinguished places, and making new acquisitions of lands and possessions, not one of his predecessors was at all able to equal his remarkable achievements.

In the meantime, and while the king was, for some years, as we have already stated, intent upon accumulating these vast quantities of wealth, he expended a considerable part of them in a solemn repetition of the funeral rites of his father, Richard, the late duke of York. For this most wise monarch, recalling to mind the very humble place of his father's burial (the house of the Mendicant Friars at Pomfret, where the body of that great prince had been interred, amid the disturbances of the time at which he perished), translated the bones of his father, as well as those of his brother Edmund, earl of Rutland, to the fine college of Fodringham,[24] which he had founded, in the diocese of Lincoln, attended by two processions, which consisted both of persons distinguished by birth and high rank: the one being of ecclesiastics, and consisting of the prelates, the other of various peers and lords temporal. This solemnity was performed on certain days in the month of July, in the sixteenth year of the said king, being the year of our Lord, 1476.

In this year, the before-named John Wysbech, who had in a most praiseworthy manner presided over the monastery of Croyland for nearly seven years, departed the way of all flesh, on the nineteenth day of November. It is my intention here to hand down to remembrance, and, by way of example, to posterity, certain memorable actions of this venerable father, from the time at which he accepted the pastoral office. His first act, after he had received the dignity of abbat, was to cause the chapel of Saint Pega, commonly called Saint Pega of Paylond, to be rebuilt, after the same had been for many years levelled with the ground; for he wisely remembered the passage in the Gospel, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God—and all these things shall be added to you."[25] He also added greatly to the becomingness of the celebration of Divine service, both in duly repairing the old organ, and in procuring a new one. He also began several fine buildings, as well within the site of the abbey as without; and, using the greatest diligence, completed not only these, but also all the others which had been begun by his predecessor. Among those which stand conspicuous above all the rest, to the honor and glory of the abbey court, are those fine chambers which were begun by abbat Litlyngton, between the western part of the church and the almonry, but were afterwards completed by this father, at a vast expense. He also caused the great granary to be erected which is situate near the bake-house; and had four well-lighted rooms made out of some dark dens near the cloisters, for the use of the abbat's officers; besides which, a thing that ought on no account to be omitted, he erected for the scholars of this place destined for Cambridge, convenient chambers in [24] Buckingham College belonging to the monks, well suited for the purposes of study and repose. Through his diligence and considerate management, he had the service, not to call it *homage*, of the vill commuted, by means of a certain fine, from the delivery which had been customarily made yearly to the monastery of Peterborough of four stones of wax, into a payment of twenty-pence; to the end that more sincere[26] brotherly love might thenceforth exist between the brethren of the two monasteries. He, too, was the first most wisely to abolish that ancient[27] custom, or rather corrupt usage, of giving knives to every stranger on Saint Bartholomew's day;[27*] in consequence of which, the abbats and convent have considerable reason to rejoice at being for ever delivered from a piece of great and needless expense. Besides this, he obtained a bull of dispensation from the pope, which permitted the eating of flesh at Septuagesima. He was a man of distinguished piety in all his actions; the same being manifested in his conduct both towards

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[24] Fotheringay, in Northamptonshire.

[25] St. Matthew vi. 33. St Luke xii 31. [24] Now Magdalen College.

[26] In the use of the word "sincerior," the writer probably intends a pun, in allusion to the primary meaning of the word "sincerus," "without wax," from "sine cerâ."

[27] "Venustum" seems to be a misprint for "vetustam"

[27*] August 24th. This custom originated in allusion to the knife with which St. Bartholomew was flayed Some of them bore representations of the whips with which St. Guthlac inflicted self-castigation. They are still sometimes found at Croyland.

his brethren and the farmers and tenants of the place. In his days there happened a great misfortune—a fire in the vill of Croyland; in consequence of which, although the revenues of the monastery had decreased to the amount of twenty marks per annum, this pious father, entertaining bowels of compassion towards his poor tenants, in his gracious bounty distributed divers sums of money to such as had been damnified thereby, in order to encourage them to rebuild; indeed, he himself would have rebuilt the edifices belonging to the monastery, if his life had been prolonged. He died, as already stated, on the nineteenth day of November, in the sixteenth year of king Edward.

By canonical election, brother Richard Croyland, a Bachelor of Divinity, was appointed in his place, on the seventeenth day of December, in the year of our Lord, 1476, and in the year of king Edward above stated. He had previously filled the office of Seneschal of the said monastery, and of his life and fortunes I shall set forth some particulars, when I come to the year 1483.

In returning to the history of this kingdom, and recalling to memory by what glory and tranquillity king Edward had rendered himself illustrious, after having gathered together treasures innumerable from the French tribute and the other particulars previously mentioned, let us subjoin certain matters that will admit of no denial. A new dissension, which sprang up shortly after, between him and his brother, the duke of Clarence, very greatly tarnished the glories of this most prudent king. For that duke now seemed gradually more and more to estrange himself from the king's presence, hardly ever to utter a word in council, and not without reluctance to eat or drink in the king's abode. On account of this interruption of their former friendship, many thought that the duke was extremely sore at heart, because, on the occasion of the general resumption which the king had lately made in Parliament, the duke had lost the noble demesne of Tutbury, and several other lands, which he had formerly obtained by royal grant.

In the meantime, Charles, duke of Burgundy, after, as already stated, he had left the king, subjected the whole of Lorraine to his arms. Proceeding onwards, most boldly, not to say rashly, * * * * * the third time that he engaged with the people who are at the present day commonly called [the Switzers], a battle was fought on the day of the Epiphany, in which he was defeated, and met his death; it being in the year of our Lord, according to the Roman computation, 1477. This piece of foreign history I have here inserted, because it was universally mentioned that after the death of Charles, his widow, the duchess, lady Margaret, whose affections were fixed on her brother Clarence beyond any of the rest of her kindred, exerted all her strength and energies that Mary, the only daughter and heir of the said duke Charles deceased, might be united in marriage to that duke, whose wife had recently died. So great a contemplated exaltation as this, however, of his ungrateful brother, displeased the king. He consequently threw all possible impediments in the way, in order that the match before-mentioned might not be carried into effect, and exerted all his influence that the heiress might be given in marriage to Maximilian, the son of the emperor; which was afterwards effected.

The indignation of the duke was probably still further increased by this; and now each began to look upon the other with no very fraternal eyes. You might then have seen, (as such men are generally to be found in the courts of all princes), flatterers running to and fro, from the one side to the other, and carrying backwards and forwards the words which had fallen from the two brothers, even if they had happened to be spoken in the most secret closet. The arrest of the duke for the purpose of compelling him to answer the charges brought against him, happened under the following circumstances. One Master John Stacy, a person who was called an astronomer, when in reality he was rather a great sorcerer, formed a plot in conjunction with one Burdet, an esquire, and one of the said duke's household; upon which, he was accused, among numerous other charges, of having made leaden images and other things to procure thereby the death of Richard, lord Beauchamp, at the request of his adulterous wife. Upon being questioned in a very severe examination as to his practice of damnable arts of this nature, he made confession of many matters, which told both against himself and the said Thomas Burdet. The consequence was, that Thomas was arrested as well; and at last judgment of death was pronounced upon them both, at Westminster, from the Bench of our lord the king, the judges being there seated, together with nearly all the lords temporal of the kingdom. Being drawn to the gallows at Tyburn, they were permitted briefly to say what they thought fit before being put to death; upon which, they protested their innocence, Stacy indeed but faintly; while, on the other hand, Burdet spoke at great length, and with much spirit, and, as his last words, exclaimed with Susanna,[28] "Behold! I must die; whereas I never did such things as these."

On the following day, the duke of Clarence came to the council-chamber at Westminster, bringing with him a famous Doctor of the order of Minorites, Master William Goddard by name, in order that he might read the confession and declaration of innocence above-mentioned before the lords in the said council assembled; which he accordingly did, and then withdrew. The king was then at Windsor, but when he was informed of this circumstance, he was greatly displeased thereat, and recalling to mind the information formerly laid against his brother, and which he had long kept treasured up in his breast, he summoned the duke to appear on a certain day in the royal palace of Westminster: upon which, in presence of the Mayor and aldermen of the city of London, the king began, with his own lips, amongst other matters, to inveigh against the conduct of the before-named duke, as being derogatory to the laws of the realm, and most dangerous to judges and jurors throughout the kingdom. But why enlarge? The duke was placed in custody, and from that day up to the time of his death never was known to have regained his liberty.

The circumstances that happened in the ensuing Parliament my mind quite shudders to enlarge upon, for then was to be witnessed a sad strife carried on before these two brethren of such high estate.[29] For not a single person uttered a word against the duke, except the king; not one individual made answer to the king except the duke. Some parties were introduced, however, as to whom it was greatly doubted by many, whether they filled the office of accusers rather, or of witnesses: these two offices not being exactly suited to the same person in the same cause. The duke met all the charges made against him with a denial, and offered, if he could only obtain a hearing, to defend his cause with his own hand. But why delay in using many words? Parliament, being of opinion that the informations which they had heard were established, passed sentence upon him of condemnation, the same being pronounced by the mouth of Henry, duke of Buckingham, who was appointed Seneschal of England for the occasion. After this, execution was delayed for a considerable time; until the Speaker of the Commons, coming to the upper house with his fellows, made a fresh request that the matter might be brought to a conclusion. In consequence of this, in a few days after, the execution, whatever its nature may have been, took place, (and would that it had ended these troubles!) in the Tower of London, it being the year of our Lord, 1478, and the eighteenth of the reign of king Edward.

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[28] Hist Susanna, v. 43.

[29] One would think that "tantæ humanitatis," can hardly mean "of such humanity," when applied to such persons as Edward the Fourth and his brother Clarence.

After the perpetration of this deed, many persons left king Edward, fully persuaded that he would be able to lord it over the whole kingdom at his will and pleasure, all those idols being now removed, towards the faces of whom the eyes of the multitude, ever desirous of change, had been in the habit of turning in times past. They regarded as idols of this description, the earl of Warwick, the duke of Clarence, and any other great person there might then happen to be in the kingdom, who had withdrawn himself from the king's intimacy. The king however, although, as I really believe, he inwardly repented very often of this act, after this period, performed the duties of his office with such a high hand, that he appeared to be dreaded by all his subjects, while he himself stood in fear of no one. For, as he had taken care to distribute the most trustworthy of his servants throughout all parts of the kingdom, as keepers of castles, manors, forests, and parks, no attempt whatever could be made in any part of the kingdom by any person, however shrewd he might be, but what he was immediately charged with the same to his face.

At this time and during nearly two years before the king's death, king Louis failed in the strict observance of the engagements which he had previously entered into as to the truce and the tribute; as he was only watching for a time at which he might be released from all fears of the English. For after the agreement had become generally known, which had been made with the people of Flanders, and by which the daughter of duke Maximilian was to be given in marriage to the Dauphin, the king was defrauded of one year's tribute; while in the meantime, captures began to take place, both of the subjects and ships of the two kingdoms. Amid these tempests in which the English were thus involved, the Scots, encouraged by the French, of whom they had been the allies of old, imprudently broke the treaty of peace for thirty years which we had formerly made with them; and this, notwithstanding the fact that king Edward had long paid a yearly sum of one thousand marks by way of dowry for Cecily, one of his daughters, who had been promised in marriage by a formal embassy to the eldest son of the king of the Scots. In consequence of this, a tremendous and destructive war was proclaimed by Edward against the Scots, and the entire command of the expedition was given to Richard, duke of Gloucester, the king's brother.

What he effected in this expedition, what sums of money, again extorted under the name of *benevolences*, he uselessly squandered away, the affair in its results sufficiently proved. For no resistance being offered, he marched as far as Edinburgh with the whole of his army, and then leaving that most opulent city untouched, returned by way of Berwick, which town had been taken upon his first entrance into that country, upon which, the castle, which had held out much longer, not without vast slaughter and bloodshed fell into the hands of the English. This trifling, I really know not whether to call it "gain" or "loss," (for the safe keeping of Berwick each year swallows up ten thousand marks), at this period diminished the resources of the king and kingdom by more than a hundred thousand pounds. King Edward was vexed at this frivolous outlay of so much money, although the recovery of Berwick above-mentioned in some degree alleviated his sorrow. These were the results of the duke's expedition into Scotland in the summer of the year of our Lord, 1482, the same being the twenty-second year of the reign of king Edward.

King Edward kept the following feast of the Nativity at his palace at Westminster, frequently appearing clad in a great variety of most costly garments, of quite a different cut to those which had been usually seen hitherto in our kingdom. The sleeves of the robes were very full and hanging, greatly resembling a monk's frock, and so lined within with most costly furs, and rolled over the shoulders, as to give that prince a new and distinguished air to beholders, he being a person of most elegant appearance, and remarkable beyond all others for the attractions of his person. You might have seen, in those days, the royal court presenting no other appearance than such as fully befits a most mighty kingdom, filled with riches and with people of almost all nations, and (a point in which it excelled all others) boasting of those most sweet and beautiful children, the issue of his marriage, which has been previously mentioned, with queen Elizabeth. For they had ten children, of whom, however, at this time, in consequence of the decease of three, there were but seven surviving. Of these, two were boys, Edward, prince of Wales, and Richard, duke of York and Norfolk, but had not yet attained the years of puberty. Their five daughters, most beauteous maidens, were called, naming them in the order of their respective ages, the first, Elizabeth, the second, Cecily, the third, Anne, the fourth, Catherine, and the fifth, Dorothy. Although solemn embassies had been despatched, and promises made, on the faith and words of princes, respecting the marriage of each of these daughters, and the same had been, in former years, agreed upon under letters of covenant concluded in the most approved form, still, it was not believed at this time that any one of the alliances above-mentioned would take place; to such mutability was everything subject, in consequence of the vacillating conduct of France, Scotland, Burgundy, and Spain, in regard to England.

This spirited prince now saw, and most anxiously regretted, that he was thus at last deluded by king Louis; who had not only withdrawn the promised tribute, but had declined the alliance which had been solemnly agreed upon between the Dauphin and the king's eldest daughter; encouraged the Scots to break the truce, and to show contempt for the match with our princess Cecily, and, taking part with the burghers of Ghent, used his utmost endeavours to molest the party of the duke of Austria, the king's ally; as well as, with his singular craftiness, carried into execution every possible kind of maliciousness, both by sea and by land, in order that he might annihilate the power of this kingdom. Upon this, the king thought of nothing else but taking vengeance; and accordingly, having again summoned Parliament, disclosed to them this prolonged series of frauds, and conciliated the minds of all, as often as time and circumstances afforded him an opportunity for so doing, in order to obtain their assistance in carrying out his plans of revenge. Still, however, though he did not venture as yet to ask any pecuniary subsidies from the Commons, he did not conceal his necessities from the prelates, and blandly asked them, with the most earnest entreaties, to grant him the tithes then next due; just as though, when the prelates and clergy once make their appearance in convocation, whatever the king thinks fit to ask, that same ought to be done. Oh, deadly destruction to the Church, which must arise from such servility! May God avert it from the minds of all succeeding kings, ever to make a precedent of an act of this nature! lest, perchance, evils may chance to befall them, worse even than can be conceived, and such as shortly afterwards miserably befell this same king and his most illustrious progeny.

For, shortly after the events already stated, and when the Parliament had been dissolved, the king, neither worn out with old age nor yet seized with any known kind of malady, the cure of which would not have appeared easy in the case of a person of more humble rank, took to his bed. This happened about the feast of Easter; and, on the ninth day of April, he rendered up his spirit to his Creator, at his palace at Westminster, it being the year of our Lord, 1483, and the twenty-third of his reign.

This prince, although in his day he was thought to have indulged his passions and desires too intemperately, was still, in religion, a most devout Catholic, a most unsparing enemy to all heretics, and a most loving encourager of wise and learned men, and of the clergy. He was also a most devout reverer of the Sacraments of the Church, and most sincerely repentant for all his sins. This is testified by those who were present on the occasion of his decease; to whom, and especially to those whom he left as executors of his last will, he declared, in a distinct and Catholic form, that it was his desire that, out of the chattels which he left behind him in such great abundance, satisfaction should be made, either fully, or on a composition made voluntarily, and without extortion on their part, to all those persons to whom he was, by contract, extortion, fraud, or any other mode, indebted. Such was the most beseeming end of this worldly prince, a better than which could not be hoped for or conceived, after the manifestation by him of so large a share of the frailties inherent to the lot of mankind.

Hence, too, very strong hopes were afforded to all his faithful servants, that he would not fail to receive the reward of eternal salvation. For after, like Zaccheus, he had expressed his wish that one half of his goods should be given unto the poor, and that if he had defrauded any one of aught, the same should be returned to him fourfold * * * * * there can be no doubt that, through this intention on his part, salvation was wrought for his soul, because he was a son of Abraham, predestined to the light which God had formerly promised unto Abraham and his seed. For we read that it was not the works of Zaccheus which Christ regarded, but his intentions. Probably, however, this intention on the part of Zaccheus, though he was not then on a bed of sickness, was afterwards carried out; while the king, fully deserving the reward of these his good intentions, was carried off immediately [perhaps] in order that evil thoughts, supplanting them, might not change his designs.

I shall here be silent upon the circumstance which might have been mentioned above, in a more befitting place, that men of every rank, condition, and degree of experience, throughout the kingdom, wondered that a man of such corpulence, and so fond of boon companionship, vanities, debauchery, extravagance, and sensual enjoyments, should have had a memory so retentive, in all respects, that the names and estates used to recur to him, just as though he had been in the habit of seeing them daily, of nearly all the persons dispersed throughout the counties of this kingdom; and this even, if, in the districts in which they lived, they held the rank only of a private gentleman. Long before his illness he had made his will, at very considerable length, having abundant means to satisfy it; and had, after mature deliberation, appointed therein many persons to act as his executors, and carry out his wishes. On his death-bed he added some codicils thereto; but what a sad and unhappy result befell all these wise dispositions of his, the ensuing tragedy will more fully disclose.

For while the councillors of the king, now deceased, were present with the queen at Westminster, and were naming a certain day, on which the eldest son of king Edward, (who at this time was in Wales), should repair to London for the ceremonial of his coronation, there were various contentions among some of them, what number of men should be deemed a sufficient escort for a prince of such tender years, to accompany him upon his journey. Some were for limiting a greater, some a smaller number, while others again, leaving it to the inclination of him who was above all laws,[30] would have it to consist of whatever number his faithful subjects should think fit to summon. Still, the ground of these differences was the same in each case; it being the most ardent desire of all who were present, that this prince should succeed his father in all his glory. The more prudent members of the council, however, were of opinion that the guardianship of so youthful a person, until he should reach the years of maturity, ought to be utterly forbidden to his uncles and brothers by the mother's side. This, however, they were of opinion, could not be so easily brought about, if it should be allowed those of the queen's relatives who held the chief places about the prince, to bring him up for the solemnization of the coronation, without an escort of a moderate number of horse. The advice * * * * * of the lord Hastings, the Captain of Calais, at last prevailed; who declared that he himself would fly thither with all speed, rather than await the arrival of the new king, if he did not come attended by a moderate escort. For he was afraid lest, if the supreme power should fall into the hands of the queen's relations, they would exact a most signal vengeance for the injuries which had been formerly inflicted on them by that same lord; in consequence of which, there had long existed extreme ill-will between the said lord Hastings and them. The queen most beneficently tried to extinguish every spark of murmuring and disturbance, and wrote to her son, requesting him, on his road to London not to exceed an escort of two thousand men. The same number was also approved of by the before-named lord; for, as it would appear, he felt fully assured that the dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham, in whom he placed the greatest confidence, would not bring a smaller number with them.

The body of the deceased king being accordingly interred with all honor in due ecclesiastical form, in the new collegiate chapel of Windsor, which he had erected of the most elaborate workmanship, from the foundations, all were most anxiously awaiting the day of the new king's coronation, which was to be the first Lord's day in the month of May, which fell this year on the fourth day of the said month. In the meantime, the duke of Gloucester wrote the most soothing letters in order to console the queen, with promises that he would shortly arrive, and assurances of all duty, fealty, and due obedience to his king and lord Edward the Fifth, the eldest son of the deceased king, his brother, and of the queen. Accordingly, on his arrival at York with a becoming retinue, each person being arrayed in mourning, he performed a solemn funeral service for the king, the same being accompanied with plenteous tears Constraining all the nobility of those parts to take the oath of fealty to the late king's son, he himself was the first of all to take the oath. On reaching Northampton, where the duke of Buckingham joined him, there came thither for the purpose of paying their respects to him, Antony, earl of Rivers, the king's uncle, and Richard Grey, a most noble knight, and uterine brother to the king, together with several others who had been sent by the king, his nephew, to submit the conduct of everything to the will and discretion of his uncle, the duke of Gloucester. On their first arrival, they were received with an especially cheerful and joyous countenance, and, sitting at supper at the duke's table, passed the whole time in very pleasant conversation. At last, Henry, duke of Buckingham, also arrived there, and, as it was now late, they all retired to their respective lodgings.

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[30] This passage seems to be in a corrupt state.

When the morning, and as it afterwards turned out, a most disastrous one, had come, having taken counsel during the night, all the lords took their departure together, in order to present themselves before the new king at Stony Stratford, a town a few miles distant from Northampton; and now, lo and behold! when the two dukes had nearly arrived at the entrance of that town, they arrested the said earl of Rivers and his nephew Richard, the king's brother, together with some others who had come with them, and commanded them to be led prisoners into the north of England. Immediately after, this circumstance being not yet known in the neighbouring town, where the king was understood to be, they suddenly rushed into the place where the youthful king was staying, and in like manner made prisoners of certain others of his servants who were in attendance on his person. One of these was Thomas Vaughan, an aged knight and chamberlain of the prince before-named.

The duke of Gloucester, however, who was the ringleader in this outbreak, did not omit or refuse to pay every mark of respect to the king, his nephew, in the way of uncovering the head, bending the knee, or other posture of the body required in a subject. He asserted that his only care was for the protection of his own person, as he knew for certain that there were men in attendance upon the king who had conspired against both his own honor and his very existence. Thus saying, he caused proclamation to be made, that all the king's attendants should instantly withdraw from the town, and not approach any place to which the king might chance to come, under penalty of death. These events took place at Stony Stratford on Wednesday, on the last day of April, in the year above-mentioned, being the same in which his father died.

These reports having reached London on the following night, queen Elizabeth betook herself, with all her children, to the sanctuary at Westminster. In the morning you might have seen there the adherents of both parties, some sincerely, others treacherously, on account of the uncertainty of events, siding with the one party or the other. For some collected their forces at Westminster in the queen's name, others at London under the shadow of the lord Hastings, and took up their position there.

In a few days after this, the before-named dukes escorted the new king to London, there to be received with regal pomp; and, having placed him in the bishop's palace at Saint Paul's, compelled all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the mayor and aldermen of the city of London to take the oath of fealty to the king. This, as being a most encouraging presage of future prosperity, was done by all with the greatest pleasure and delight. A council being now held for several days, a discussion took place in Parliament about removing the king to some place where fewer restrictions should be imposed upon him. Some mentioned the Hospital of Saint John, and some Westminster, but the duke of Buckingham suggested the Tower of London; which was at last agreed to by all, even those who had been originally opposed thereto. Upon this, the duke of Gloucester received the same high office of Protector of the kingdom, which had been formerly given to Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, during the minority of king Henry. He was accordingly invested with this authority, with the consent and good-will of all the lords, with power to order and forbid in every matter, just like another king, and according as the necessity of the case should demand. The feast of the Nativity of Saint John the Baptist being appointed as the day upon which the coronation of the king would take place without fail, all both hoped for and expected a season of prosperity for the kingdom. Still however, a circumstance which caused the greatest doubts was the detention of the king's relatives and servants in prison; besides the fact that the Protector did not, with a sufficient degree of considerateness, take measures for the preservation of the dignity and safety of the queen.

In the meanwhile, the lord Hastings, who seemed to wish in every way to serve the two dukes and to be desirous of earning their favour, was extremely elated at these changes to which the affairs of this world are so subject, and was in the habit of saying that hitherto nothing whatever had been done except the transferring of the government of the kingdom from two of the queen's blood to two more powerful persons of the king's; and this, too, effected without any slaughter, or indeed causing as much blood to be shed as would be produced by a cut finger. In the course, however, of a very few days after the utterance of these words, this extreme joy of his was supplanted by sorrow. For, the day previously, the Protector had, with singular adroitness, divided the council, so that one part met in the morning at Westminster, and the other at the Tower of London, where the king was. The lord Hastings, on the thirteenth day of the month of June, being the sixth day of the week, on coming to the Tower to join the council, was, by order of the Protector, beheaded. Two distinguished prelates, also, Thomas, archbishop of York, and John, bishop of Ely, being, out of respect for their order, held exempt from capital punishment, were carried prisoners to different castles in Wales. The three strongest supporters of the new king being thus removed without judgment or justice, and all the rest of his faithful subjects fearing the like treatment, the two dukes did thenceforth just as they pleased.

On the Monday following, they came with a great multitude by water to Westminster, armed with swords and staves, and compelled the cardinal lord archbishop of Canterbury, with many others, to enter the sanctuary, in order to appeal to the good feelings of the queen and prompt her to allow her son

Richard, duke of York, to come forth and proceed to the Tower, that he might comfort the king his brother. In words, assenting with many thanks to this proposal, she accordingly sent the boy, who was conducted by the lord cardinal to the king in the said Tower of London.

From this day, these dukes acted no longer in secret, but openly manifested their intentions. For, having summoned armed men, in fearful and unheard-of numbers, from the north, Wales, and all other parts then subject to them, the said Protector Richard assumed the government of the kingdom, with the title of King, on the twentieth day of the aforesaid month of June; and on the same day, at the great Hall at Westminster, obtruded himself into the marble chair. The colour for this act of usurpation, and his thus taking possession of the throne, was the following:—It was set forth, by way of prayer, in an address in a certain roll of parchment, that the sons of king Edward were bastards, on the ground that he had contracted a marriage with one lady Eleanor Boteler, before his marriage to queen Elizabeth; added to which, the blood of his other brother, George, duke of Clarence, had been attainted; so that, at the present time, no certain and uncorrupted lineal blood could be found of Richard duke of York, except in the person of the said Richard, duke of Gloucester. For which reason, he was entreated, at the end of the said roll, on part of the lords and commons of the realm, to assume his lawful rights However, it was at the time rumoured that this address had been got up in the north, whence such vast numbers were flocking to London; although, at the same time, there was not a person but what very well knew who was the sole[31] mover at London of such seditious and disgraceful proceedings.

These multitudes of people, accordingly, making a descent from the north to the south, under the especial conduct and guidance of Sir Richard Ratcliffe; on their arrival at the town of Pomfret, by command of the said Richard Ratcliffe, and without any form of trial being observed, Antony, earl of Rivers, Richard Grey, his nephew, and Thomas Vaughan, an aged knight, were, in presence of these people, beheaded. This was the second innocent blood which was shed on the occasion of this sudden change.

[31] In allusion, no doubt, to the Duke of Buckingham.

After these events, the said Richard, duke of Gloucester, having summoned Thomas, the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, for the purpose, was on the sixth day of the month of July following, anointed and crowned king, at the conventual church of Saint Peter at Westminster, and, on the same day and place, his queen, Anne, received the crown. From this day forward, as long as he lived, this man was styled King Richard, the Third of that name from the Conquest.

Being now desirous, with all speed, to show in the north, where in former years he had chiefly resided, the high and kingly station which he had by these means acquired, he entered the royal city of London, and passing through Windsor, Oxford, and Coventry, at length arrived at York. Here, on a day appointed for repeating his coronation in the metropolitan church, he also presented his only son, Edward, whom, on the same day, he had elevated to the rank of Prince of Wales, with the insignia of the golden wand, and the wreath upon the head; while, at the same time, he gave most gorgeous and sumptuous feasts and banquets, for the purpose of gaining the affections of the people. Nor were treasures by any means then wanting, with which to satisfy the desires of his haughty mind; since he had taken possession of all those which the most glorious king Edward, his deceased brother, had, by dint of the greatest care and scrupulousness, amassed, as already stated, many years before, and had entrusted to the disposal of his executors as a means whereby to carry out the dispositions of his last will: all these he had seized, the very moment that he had contemplated the usurpation of the throne.

In the meantime, and while these things were going on, the two sons of king Edward before-named remained in the Tower of London, in the custody of certain persons appointed for that purpose In order to deliver them from this captivity, the people of the southern and western parts of the kingdom began to murmur greatly, and to form meetings and confederacies. It soon became known that many things were going on in secret, and some in the face of all the world, for the purpose of promoting this object, especially on the part of those who, through fear, had availed themselves of the privileges of sanctuary and franchise.[33] There was also a report that it had been recommended by those men who had taken refuge in the sanctuaries, that some of the king's daughters should leave Westminster, and go in disguise to the parts beyond sea; in order that, if any fatal mishap should befall the said male children of the late king in the Tower, the kingdom might still, in consequence of the safety of the daughters, some day fall again into the hands of the rightful heirs. On this being discovered, the noble church of the monks at Westminster, and all the neighbouring parts, assumed the appearance of a castle and fortress, while men of the greatest austerity were appointed by king Richard to act as the keepers thereof. The captain and head of these was one John Nesfeld, Esquire, who set a watch upon all the inlets and outlets of the monastery, so that not one of the persons there shut up could go forth, and no one could enter, without his permission.

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[33] Exemptions from the ordinary jurisdiction.

At last, it was determined by the people in the vicinity of the city of London, throughout the counties of Kent, Essex, Sussex, Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Devonshire, Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Berkshire, as well as some others of the southern counties of the kingdom, to avenge their grievances before-stated; upon which, public proclamation was made, that Henry, duke of Buckingham, who at this time was living at Brecknock in Wales, had repented of his former conduct, and would be the chief mover in this attempt, while a rumour was spread that the sons of king Edward before-named had died a violent death, but it was uncertain how. Accordingly, all those who had set on foot this insurrection, seeing that if they could find no one to take the lead in their designs, the ruin of all would speedily ensue, turned their thoughts to Henry, earl of Richmond, who had been for many years living in exile in Britany. To him a message was, accordingly, sent, by the duke of Buckingham, by advice of the lord bishop of Ely, who was then his prisoner at Brecknock, requesting him to hasten over to England as soon as he possibly could, for the purpose of marrying Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the late king, and, at the same time, together with her, taking possession of the throne.

The whole design of this plot, however, by means of spies, became perfectly well known to king Richard, who, as he exerted himself in the promotion of all his views in no drowsy manner, but with the greatest activity and vigilance, contrived that, throughout Wales, as well as in all parts of the marches thereof, armed men should be set in readiness around the said duke, as soon as ever he had set a foot from his home, to pounce upon all his property; who, accordingly, encouraged by the prospect of the duke's wealth, which the king had, for that purpose, bestowed upon them, were in every way to obstruct his progress. The result was, that, on the side of the castle of Brecknock, which looks towards the interior of Wales, Thomas, the son of the late Sir Roger Vaughan, with the aid of his brethren and kinsmen, most carefully watched the whole of the surrounding country; while Humphrey Stafford partly destroyed the bridges and passes by which England was entered, and kept the other part closed by means of a strong force set there to guard the same.

In the meantime, the duke was staying at Webley, the house of Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers, together with the said bishop of Ely and his other advisers. Finding that he was placed in a position of extreme difficulty, and that he could in no direction find a safe mode of escape, he first changed his dress, and then secretly left his people; but was at last discovered in the cottage of a poor man, in consequence of a greater quantity of provisions than usual being carried thither. Upon this, he was led to the city of Salisbury, to which place the king had come with a very large army, on the day of the commemoration of All Souls; and, notwithstanding the fact that it was the Lord's day, the duke suffered capital punishment in the public market-place of that city

On the following day, the king proceeded with all his army towards the western parts of the kingdom, where all his enemies had made a stand, with the exception of those who had come from Kent, and were at Guilford, awaiting the issue of events. Proceeding onwards, he arrived at the city of Exeter: upon which, being struck with extreme terror at his approach, Peter Courtency, bishop of Exeter, as well as Thomas, marquis of Dorset, and various other nobles of the adjacent country, who had taken part in the rebellion, repaired to the sea-side; and those among them who could find ships in readiness, embarked, and at length arrived at the wished-for shores of Britany. Others, for a time trusting to the fidelity of friends, and concealing themselves in secret spots, afterwards betook themselves to the protection of holy places. One most noble knight of that city perished, Thomas Saint Leger by name, to save whose life very large sums of money were offered; but all in vain, for he underwent his sentence of capital punishment.

While, amid these perplexities, king Richard was in the western parts, intent upon defeating the enemies and rebels, the venerable father, Richard Croyland, abbat of this monastery of Croyland, who had now governed the place most religiously for seven years, changed the restless life of this world for eternal repose, on the tenth day of November in the year of our Lord, 1483, being the first year of the reign of the said king Richard.

Nor ought we to leave to oblivion the virtues and merits of this father, and his remarkable long-suffering, by means of which, as we trust, he has obtained the reward of eternal happiness. His natural disposition was far more inclined to the study and writing of books, than attending to the strifes and tempests of secular occupations, so much so in fact, that some manuscripts in the monastery, which were written at his expense, as well as with his own hand, have greatly increased the library of the place.

. Accordingly, our powerful neighbours, not to call them enemies, seeing the simple innocence and the innocent simplicity of the man, arose at the same instant on all sides against this model of piety. Some, at least the men of Depyng, assembled together to the number of three hundred men, and making an irruption into the marsh of Goggislound, which undoubtedly belongs to the demesne of the said monastery, seized the reeds that had been collected by the men and tenants of the monastery, and threw into water or beat with stripes all the people they met. At last, they made an assault upon the vill of Croyland, and caused this most pious father such extreme fear that he was obliged to go forth from his chamber, and to descend to the nave of the church, there, with his clement and priestly meekness, to make answer to their importunate demands As it was necessary, in order to avoid an inundation of Hoyland, and especially in the winter, if there happened to be any floods, to cut asunder the embankments of the marsh of Goggislound, (a thing which had been already done once this season, most healthful provision being made thereby for the safety of the district of Hoyland), the officials of Depyng, placing the sickle as it were in the harvest of another, as wickedly as presumptuously imposed insupportable amercements upon the said abbat. They also seized and distrained upon the grain that came from Langtoft and Baston, by the stream which runs from Depyng; besides which, a proof of their extreme cruelty, they wantonly pierced a dog that had been set to watch by the cellarer * * * with their arrows.

Nor were there wanting in other quarters ungrateful factions of laymen, (although the same were neighbouring tenants of this place), who in many ways disturbed the quiet of this most excellent father. For, the tenants and parishioners of Whaplode, striving against the power and rights of this monastery, made an attack, with unheard-of violence, upon brother Lambert Fossedyke, the Seneschal of the place, while he was forbidding them to root up the trees which grew in the church-yard; and he was in no small fear for his life, had he not in time taken refuge in the church, or rather the sacristy of the church, and strongly bolted the doors inside.

These however, are but trifling specimens of disturbances in comparison with those which * * * William Ramsey, abbat of Peterborough, our too near, I only wish I could say "good," neighbour, caused, with reference to the marsh of Alderlound, and other undoubted lands and rights of this monastery. In these matters, which were long in dispute, you might have seen the lamb contending with the wolf, the mouse with the mouse-catcher. However, as all this dispute was brought to an end by the intervention and arbitration of Thomas Rotherham, late bishop of Lincoln and ordinary of the place, and then archbishop of York, (as, in fact, is very fully set forth in certain letters testimonial relative thereto, from which too it abundantly appears of which party he most consulted the honor and interest), we have thought proper to end our recital of this tragic matter with the end and death of the said father, abbat Richard.

Lambert Fossedyke, a Bachelor of Law, was elected, and succeeded in his stead, on the twelfth day of January, in the first year of the reign of king Richard the Third; which year was reckoned by the church of Rome, in conformity with the mode of computation[3] above stated, as being the year 1484. He was a very religious and discreet man, and, beyond a doubt, would have done and caused to be done many benefits for the monastery, had not God summoned him from this world within so short a space of time; for he did not survive to fill the office of abbat two years.

[3] P 460

For behold! on a sudden, the plague, or sweating sickness, made great ravages, and in a few days, in the city of London, destroyed two mayors, and four or five aldermen, besides many members of the highest and most wealthy classes in other parts of the kingdom. This good father being attacked by the disease, within eighteen hours rendered up his spirit to his Creator, on the fourteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord. 1485, shortly after the close of the reign of king Richard; at which period, when, after the rest of our narrative we shall have arrived, we shall conclude the relation of this history which was originally promised by us.

But let us return, in the meantime, to the events which took place after the flight of the rebels before-mentioned. While the matters which have been mentioned above were going on here and there in the western parts, and the king was still in the said city of Exeter, Henry, earl of Richmond, being unaware of these disturbances, had set sail with certain ships, and arrived with his adherents from Brittany, at the mouth of Plymouth harbour, where he came to anchor, in order to ascertain the real state of affairs. On news being at last brought him of the events which had happened, the death of the duke of Buckingham, and the flight of his own supporters, he at once hoisted sail, and again put to sea.

After these events, the king gradually lessened his army, and dismissing those who had been summoned from the northern borders to take part in the expedition, came to London, having triumphed over his enemies without fighting a battle, but at an expense not less than if the two armies had fought hand to hand. Thus was commenced the waste, in a short time, of those most ample treasures which king Edward supposed he should leave behind him for a quite different purpose. The disturbances last described were prolonged from the middle of October till nearly the end of November, at which time the king, as already stated, returned to London, in the first year of his reign, and in that of the Incarnation of our Lord, 1483.

I shall pass by the pompous celebration of the feast of the Nativity, and come to the Parliament, which began to sit about the twenty-second day of January. At this sitting, Parliament confirmed the title, by which the king had in the preceding summer, ascended the throne; and although that Lay Court found itself [at first] unable to give a definition of his rights, when the question of the marriage[33] was discussed, still, in consequence of the fears entertained of the most persevering [of his adversaries], it presumed to do so, and did do so: while at the same time attainders were made of so many lords and men of high rank, besides peers and commoners, as well as three bishops, that we do not read of the like being issued by the Triumvirate even of Octavianus, Antony, and Lepidus. What immense estates and patrimonies were collected into this king's treasury in consequence of this measure! all of which he distributed among his northern adherents, whom he planted in every spot throughout his dominions, to the disgrace and lasting and loudly expressed sorrow of all the people in the south, who daily longed more and more for the hoped-for return of tdeir ancient rulers, rather than the present tyranny of these people.

During this last Parliament of the kingdom, and after frequent entreaties as well as threats had been made use of, queen Elizabeth, being strongly solicited so to do, sent all her daughters from the sanctuary at Westminster before-mentioned, to king Richard. One day, at this period, in the month of February, shortly after mid-day, nearly all the lords of the realm, both spiritual and temporal, together with the higher knights and esquires of the king's household (among all of whom, John Howard, who had been lately created by the king duke of Norfolk, seemed at this time to hold the highest rank), met together at the special command of the king, in a certain lower room, near the passage which leads to the queen's apartments; and here, each subscribed his name to a kind of new oath, drawn up by some persons to me unknown, of adherence to Edward, the king's only son, as their supreme lord, in case anything should happen to his father.

However, in a short time after, it was fully seen how vain are the thoughts of a man who desires to establish his interests without the aid of God. For, in the following month of April, on a day not very far distant from the anniversary of king Edward, this only son of his, in whom all the hopes of the royal succession, fortified with so many oaths, were centred, was seized with an illness of but short duration, and died at Middleham Castle, in the year of our Lord, 1484, being the first of the reign of the said king Richard. On hearing the news of this, at Nottingham, where they were then residing, you might have seen his father and mother in a state almost bordering on madness, by reason of their sudden grief.

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[33] Of Edward the Fourth with lady Boteler.

The king, his father, however, still took all necessary precautions for the defence of his party; as there was at this time a report that those persons who had been attainted and banished, together with their captain, the earl of Richmond, to whom they had sworn fealty as their king, in the hope of his contracting an alliance with the daughter of king Edward, would shortly land in England. The king was better prepared to oppose them in the present year than at any time afterwards, both by reason of the treasure which he had in hand (for all the remains of king Edward's treasures had not yet been expended), as well as particular grants which had been made and distributed throughout the kingdom. He also followed the practice which had been recently introduced by king Edward in the time of the last war with Scotland, of appointing a single horseman for every twenty miles, by means of whom, travelling with the utmost speed and not passing their restrictive limits, news was always able to be carried by letter from hand to hand two hundred miles within two days. Nor was he, on the other hand, without the aid of spies beyond sea, at whatever price they could be secured; from whom he learned nearly all the movements of the enemy.

Besides this (although at the commencement of the second year of his reign, on giving some attention to maritime affairs, he had lost some ships, together with two captains of the greatest bravery, Sir Thomas Everingham and John Nesfeld, Esquire, above-mentioned, who were taken by the French near the town and castle of Scarborough), just at this period, by means of his skill in naval warfare, he had gained a victory in a surprising manner over the Scots; so much so, that although, in the same summer, they had sustained a great defeat from our people by land, they received no less a one in this. At this time, too, there fell into his hands, besides many of the English who were taken in battle, certain persons who had fled from Scotland, such as lord James Douglas, and many others of his fellow exiles. Upon this, the persons of the highest rank that could be found in that kingdom were sent as ambassadors to the king at his town and castle of Nottingham, on the seventh day of the month of September, and in a lengthy and eloquent address most earnestly entreated for peace and a cessation of warfare. A treaty being accordingly made between commissioners from either kingdom in full conformity with the king's wishes, as to those points which seemed to require especial consideration, the Parliament was dissolved, and the king returned to London in Michaelmas Term. This was in the year of our Lord, 1484.

The feast of the Nativity was kept with due solemnity at the palace at Westminster, and the king appeared with his crown on the day of the Epiphany. While he was keeping this festival with remarkable splendour in the great hall, just as at his first coronation, news was brought him on that very day, from his spies beyond sea, that, notwithstanding the potency and splendour of his royal state, his adversaries would, without question, invade the kingdom during the following summer, or make an attempt to invade it. Than this, there was nothing that could befall him more desirable, inasmuch as he imagined that it would put an end to all his doubts and troubles. Still however, most shrewdly coming to the conclusion that money, which was now nearly failing him, forms the sinews of war, he had recourse to the modes of exaction which had been practised by king Edward, and which he himself had condemned in full parliament; these were the so-called "benevolences," a name detestable in every way. He accordingly sent chosen men, children of this world, wiser in their generation than the children of light, who were by means of prayers and threats, by right or by wrong, to scrape up immense sums of money, after examining the archives of the realm, from persons of nearly all conditions.

Oh God! why should we any longer dwell on this subject, multiplying our recital of things so distasteful, so numerous that they can hardly be reckoned, and so pernicious in their example, that we ought not so much as suggest them to the minds of the perfidious. So too, with many other things which are not written in this book, and of which I grieve to speak; although the fact ought not to be concealed that, during this feast of the Nativity, far too much attention was given to dancing and gaiety, and vain changes of apparel presented to queen Anne and the lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the late king, being of similar colour and shape; a thing that caused the people to murmur and the nobles and prelates greatly to wonder thereat; while it was said by many that the king was bent, either on the anticipated death of the queen taking place, or else, by means of a divorce, for which he supposed he had quite sufficient grounds, on contracting a marriage with the said Elizabeth. For it appeared that in no other way could his kingly power be established, or the hopes of his rival be put an end to.

In the course of a few days after this, the queen fell extremely sick, and her illness was supposed to have increased still more and more, because the king entirely shunned her bed, declaring that it was by the advice of his physicians that he did so. Why enlarge? About the middle of the following month, upon the day of the great eclipse of the sun, which then took place, queen Anne, before-named, departed this life, and was buried at Westminster, with no less honors than befitted the interment of a queen.

The king's purpose and intention of contracting a marriage with his niece Elizabeth being mentioned to some who were opposed thereto, the king was obliged, having called a council together, to excuse himself with many words and to assert that such a thing had never once entered his mind. There were some persons, however, present at that same council, who very well knew the contrary. Those in especial who were unwilling that this marriage should take place, and to whose opinions the king hardly ever dared offer any opposition, were Sir Richard Ratclyffe and William Catesby, Esquire of his body. For by these persons the king was told to his face that if he did not abandon his intended purpose, and that, too, before the mayor and commons of the city of London, opposition would not be offered to him by merely the warnings of the voice; for all the people of the north, in whom he placed the greatest reliance, would rise in rebellion against him, and impute to him the death of the queen, the daughter and one of the heirs of the earl of Warwick, through whom he had first gained his present high position; in order that he might, to the extreme abhorrence of the Almighty, gratify an incestuous passion for his said niece. Besides this, they brought to him more than twelve Doctors of Divinity, who asserted that the pope could grant no dispensation in the case of such a degree of consanguinity. It was supposed by many, that these men, together with others like them, threw so many impediments in the way, for fear lest, if the said Elizabeth should attain the rank of queen, it might at some time be in her power to avenge upon them the death of her uncle, earl Antony, and her brother Richard, they having been the king's especial advisers in those matters. The king, accordingly, followed their advice a little before Easter, in presence of the mayor and citizens of London, in the great hall of the Hospital of Saint John, by making the said denial in a loud and distinct voice; more, however, as many supposed, to suit the wishes of those who advised him to that effect, than in conformity with his own.

Rumours at length increasing daily that those who were in arms against the king were hastening to make a descent upon England, and the king being in doubt at what port they intended to effect a landing, (as certain information thereon could be gained by none of his spies), he betook himself to the north, shortly before the feast of Pentecost; leaving lord Lovel, his chamberlain, near Southampton, there to refit his fleet with all possible speed, that he might keep a strict watch upon all the harbours in those parts; that so, if the enemy should attempt to effect a landing there, he might unite all the forces in the neighbourhood, and not lose the opportunity of attacking them.

A great amount of provisions and money was wasted there in consequence of this uncalled-for policy * * * * the king being put to such great expense from the circumstance of his being deceived by a quibble on the name of that harbour, which had been mentioned by many as the place of their intended descent. For some say that there is a harbour in the neighbourhood of Southampton, called Milford, just as there is in Wales; and there being some persons endowed, as it were, with a spirit of prophecy, these predicted that those men would land at the harbour of Milford, and were in the habit of looking for the fulfilment of their prophecies to that effect, not at the most famous place, but most commonly at the other one which bore the same name. And then besides, the king, at this period, seemed especially to devote his attention to strengthening the southern parts of his kingdom. But it was all in vain: for, on the first day of August the enemy landed with a fair wind, and without opposition, at that most celebrated harbour, Milford Haven, near Pembroke.

On hearing of their arrival, the king rejoiced, or at least seemed to rejoice, writing to his adherents in every quarter that now the long wished-for day had arrived, for him to triumph with ease over so contemptible a faction, and thenceforth benefit his subjects with the blessings of uninterrupted tranquillity. In the meantime, in manifold letters he despatched orders of the greatest severity, commanding that no men, of the number of those at least who had been born to the inheritance of any property in the kingdom, should shun taking part in the approaching warfare; threatening that whoever should be found in any part of the kingdom after the victory should have been gained, to have omitted appearing in his presence on the field, was to expect no other fate than the loss of all his goods and possessions, as well as his life.

A little before the landing of these persons, Thomas Stanley, seneschal of the king's household, had received permission to go into Lancashire, his native county, to visit his home and family, from whom he had been long separated. Still however, he was permitted to stay there on no other condition than that of sending his eldest son, George lord Strange, to the king at Nottingham, in his stead; which he accordingly did.

The king's opponents, as already stated, having landed at Milford in Wales, made their way through rugged and indirect tracts in the northern part of that province; where William Stanley, the brother of the said lord seneschal, as lord chamberlain of North Wales, was holding the sole command. Upon this, the king sent word to the said lord Stanley, requesting him, without the least delay, to present himself before him at Nottingham. For the king was afraid lest that, as it really turned out, the mother of the said earl of Richmond, whom the lord [Thomas] Stanley had married, might induce her husband to go over to the party of her son. On this, with wonderful * * * * he made an excuse that he was suffering from an attack of the sweating sickness, and could not possibly come. His son, however, who had secretly prepared to desert from the king, was detected by stratagem and taken prisoner; upon which, he discovered a conspiracy which had been entered into by himself and his uncle, Sir William Stanley before-mentioned, and Sir John Savage, to go over to the side of the earl of Richmond; while at the same time, he implored the king's mercy, and promised that his father would with all speed arrive to the king's assistance. In addition to this, he sent word to his father by letter, of the danger to which he was exposed, and, at the same time, expressed his own wish that he would give the assistance beforementioned.

In the meantime the said two knights being publicly proclaimed at Coventry and elsewhere traitors against the king, and the enemy hastening on and directing his steps night and day to meet the king, it became necessary to move the army, though its numbers were not yet fully made up, from Nottingham, and to come to Leicester. Here was found a number of warriors ready to fight on the king's side, greater than had ever been seen[35] before in England collected together in behalf of one person. On the Lord's day before the feast of Bartholomew the Apostle, the king proceeded on his way, amid the greatest pomp, and wearing the crown on his head; being attended by John Howard, duke of Norfolk, and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and other mighty lords, knights, and esquires, together with a countless multitude of the common people. On departing from the town of Leicester, he was informed by scouts where the enemy most probably intended to remain the following night; upon which, he encamped near the abbey of Mirival, at a distance of about eight miles from that town.

The chief men of the opposing army were the following:—in the first place, Henry earl of Richmond, whom they called their king, Henry the Seventh; John Vere, earl of Oxford, John lord Wells, of Wells, uncle to king Henry the Seventh, Thomas lord Stanley and William his brother, Edward Wydville, brother of queen Elizabeth, a most valiant knight, John Cheyne, John Savage, Robert Willoughby, William Berkeley, James Blunt, Thomas Arundel, Richard Edgcumbe, Edward Poynings, Richard Guilford, and many others of knightly rank, who had been distinguished before these troubles, as well as at the commencement of the present war. Of the ecclesiastical orders, there were present, for the purpose of giving their advice, the following persons, who had similarly suffered banishment—the venerable father, Peter, bishop of Exeter, the flower of the knighthood of his country, Master Robert Morton, clerk of the Rolls of Chancery, Christopher Urswyk, and Richard Fox, of whom the one was afterwards appointed to the office of Almoner, and the other to that of Secretary, together with many others.

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[35] This is not the fact. It is supposed that at most not more than 18,000 men engaged on both sides at the battle of Bosworth Field.

At day-break on the Monday following there were no chaplains present to perform Divine service on behalf of king Richard, nor any breakfast prepared to refresh the flagging spirits of the king; besides which, as it is generally stated, in the morning he declared that during the night he had seen dreadful visions, and had imagined himself surrounded by a multitude of dæmons. He consequently presented a countenance which, always attenuated, was on this occasion more livid and ghastly than usual, and asserted that the issue of this day's battle, to whichever side the victory might be granted, would prove the utter destruction of the kingdom of England. He also declared that it was his intention, if he should prove the conqueror, to crush all the supporters of the opposite faction; while, at the same time, he predicted that his adversary would do the same towards the well-wishers to his own party, in case the victory should fall to his lot. At length, the prince and knights on the opposite side now advancing at a moderate pace against the royal army, the king gave orders that the lord Strange[36] before-mentioned should be instantly beheaded. The persons, however, to whom this duty was entrusted, seeing that the issue was doubtful in the extreme, and that matters of more importance than the destruction of one individual were about to be decided, delayed the performance of this cruel order of the king, and, leaving the man to his own disposal, returned to the thickest of the fight.

A battle of the greatest severity now ensuing between the two sides, the earl of Richmond, together with his knights, made straight for king Richard: while the earl of Oxford, who was next in rank to him in the whole army and a most valiant soldier, drew up his forces, consisting of a large body of French and English troops, opposite the wing in which the duke of Norfolk had taken up his position. In the part where the earl of Northumberland was posted, with a large and well-provided body of troops, there was no opposition made, as not a blow was given or received during the battle. At length a glorious victory was granted by heaven to the said earl of Richmond, now sole king, together with the crown, of exceeding value, which king Richard had previously worn on his head. For while fighting, and not in the act of flight, the said king Richard was pierced with numerous deadly wounds, and fell in the field like a brave and most valiant prince; upon which, the duke of Norfolk,[36] before-mentioned, Sir Richard Ratclyffe, Sir Robert Brackenbury, keeper of the Tower of London, John Kendall, secretary, Sir Robert Percy, controller of the king's household, and Walter Devereux, lord Ferrers, as well as many others, chiefly from the north, in whom king Richard put the greatest confidence, took to flight without engaging; and there was left no part of the opposing army of sufficient importance or ability for the glorious conqueror Henry the Seventh to engage, and so add to his experience in battle.

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[36] See p. 501.

Through this battle peace was obtained for the entire kingdom, and the body of the said king Richard being found among the dead * * * * Many other insults were also heaped upon it, and, not exactly in accordance with the laws of humanity, a halter being thrown round the neck, it was carried to Leicester; while the new king also proceeded to that place, graced with the crown which he had so gloriously won. While these events were taking place, many nobles and others were taken prisoners; and in especial, Henry, earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, the eldest son of the before-named duke of Norfolk. There was also taken prisoner William Catesby, who occupied a distinguished place among all the advisers of the late king, and whose head was cut off at Leicester, as a last reward for his excellent offices. Two gentlemen, also, of the western parts of the kingdom, father and son, known by the name of Brecher, who, after the battle, had fallen into the hands of the conquerors, were hanged. As it was never heard, nor yet stated in writing or by word of mouth, that any other persons, after the termination of the warfare, were visited with similar punishments, but that, on the contrary, the new prince had shewn clemency to all, he began to receive the praises of all, as though he had been an angel sent down from heaven, through whom God had deigned to visit His people, and to deliver it from the evils with which it had hitherto, beyond measure, been afflicted.

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[36] On the contrary, the duke of Norfolk was the only leader of eminence who gave his entire support to Richard in this battle.

And thus concluding this history, which we promised to set forth down to the death of the said king Richard, so far as a truthful recital of the facts suggested itself to our mind, without knowingly intermingling therewith any untruthfulness, hatred, or favour whatsoever. We began this description, chiefly, for the purpose of aiding the pious and praiseworthy ignorance[37] manifested by the Prior of this place, who compiled the preceding portion, and who, though extremely well versed in Divine matters, was sometimes most reasonably mistaken in those of a secular nature.

We accordingly made a beginning at the battle which it was feared was about to take place at Ludlow, in the marches of Wales, between king Henry the Sixth and the duke of York, in the year of our Lord, 1459, and have brought the narrative down to this battle, which was fought near Mirival, and which took place on the twenty-second day of the month of August, in the year of our Lord, 1485; thus comprising a space of twenty-six years. These events thus taking place, it appears from the Chronicles, that a similar death of a king of England, slain in a pitched battle in his own kingdom, has never been heard of since the time of king Harold; who was an usurper, and was conquered in battle by William the Conqueror, who came over from Normandy, and from whom these men are descended. On taking into consideration the signs and badges of the conqueror and conquered in our day, as well as those of the children of king Edward, whose cause in especial was avenged in this battle, and the events which happened to the three kings who have borne the name of Richard, since the Conquest of England, a certain Poet composed these lines:

The fate of our three Richards in their deaths
Was much alike, though otherwise their lot
Was most dissimilar. Each of these kings
Died without issue, cut off by a death
Sudden and cruel. But the First acquir'd
The greatest glory. In the Holy Land
He fought; and thence returning safe, he fell,

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[37] On secular matters.

Pierc'd by an arrow in a foreign clime.
Reft of his throne, and many a month immur'd
Within a dungeon's walls, the Second chose
Rather to die than forfeit his fair name.
Edward's vast hoards of wealth consum'd, the Third
Was not content therewith, but must destroy
His brother's progeny, and then proscribe
Their partisans. Two years had he usurp'd
The throne, when, meeting these, he lost his life
And ill-gain'd crown, upon the battle-field
The year one thousand, hundreds four, and five
To eighty added, when of August came
The twice eleventh day, the Boar's tusks quail'd;
And, to avenge the White, the Red Rose bloom'd.

At the beginning of the new reign, the sweating sickness, of which we have previously made mention, prevailed to a great extent; and Lambert, abbat of Croyland, being attacked by it, departed this life on the fourteenth day of October, as already stated. He was succeeded in the dignity of abbat by Edmund Thorpe, formerly prior of the same place, a Bachelor of Divinity, who was elected on the feast of Saint Theodore, being the * * * day of the month of November, in the year of our Lord, 1485.

At the commencement of his holding office, he prudently recalled to mind the disturbances which his predecessors had had to endure from their ungrateful, proud, and almost indomitable neighbours; upon which, he omitted no exertions on his part, to take care and have all matters settled and adjusted in every respect. For there were three principal questions which still remained unsettled; the first, as to the Precinct of Croyland, as to which, extreme opposition was offered by the men of Multon and Weston. The second, relative to the boundaries, the demesne rights, and the manner of commonage and pasturage in Goggisland, was at issue between the tenants of the monastery and the people of Depyng; while the third was with reference to the marsh of Alderland, which seemed to have been brought to a very imperfect, though expensive conclusion, by the arbitration previously[36] mentioned.

The burden of the first question already mentioned, fell wholly and entirely upon the shoulders of abbat Lambert, who, as we previously stated, presided over the monastery for a short time only. For the malice of the people in those parts increased

[36] P. 494.

to such a degree, that at one time they terrified the whole monastery by their dreadful threats, at another by their ferocious deeds; and when, at last, they were sensible that they could not in that way escape the snares consequent upon breaking the peace of the realm, confiding, as it were, in the goodness of their cause, they most presumptuously laid a complaint against the monastery before the king's council.

They accordingly procured a visitation of their district by William Hussey and Guy Fairfax, knights, and justices in eyre; and in their presence alleged recognizances and acquittances, in the names of the prior of Spalding and others of the chief men of Multon, of right of common in the said Precinct, made by fine to the abbat and convent of Croyland: as being a circumstance which seemed to presuppose right of common of such a nature, that the lords before-mentioned had not the power of releasing it to the prejudice of their tenants. The judges, with considerable shrewdness, saw what an extraordinary degree of caution and moderation was necessary in dealing with such a clamorous multitude; and, upon finding the trifling character of the allegations made by these men, and seeing that they had never held possession of the pretended right of common, dismissed the principal complaint, and gave a decree with reference to such evils as seemed to be imminent, such as the too large body of water which ran from the higher elevation of the Precinct to the lower grounds of Hoyland; and thus did they appease these men for the time, and sent each of them to his own home, without inflicting any injury upon the rights of the monastery.

To these results, which had been obtained as a final settlement of the matter in the time of abbat Lambert, Edmund, who succeeded him, to his great praise, added the resources of good policy; for, by many singular marks of attention, he obtained favour and support for the place from the principal inhabitants of Multon, a family highly ennobled and of gentle blood, known by the name of Welby, and to whom the people of those parts were not in the habit of offering opposition.

The second question was the one which concerned the people of Depyng. Although these people, with a sort of innate frenzy, are always struggling to preserve their boundaries, still, what with the patience displayed by the said abbat Edmund and his monks, and the prudent counsel of the most illustrious mother of our lord the king, to whom the manor of Depyng is well known to belong, the question has hitherto received such treatment, that, through God's protection, the monastery seems likely neither to lose its rights nor to incur the resentment of those more powerful persons, with whom it cannot place itself upon an equality.

As to the third, which has always been found to be the most important and the most knotty question of all, it so came under the management of this abbat Edmund, that it seems as though he had been found worthy by Him without whose aid[37] we can do nothing. For the sum of the arbitration before-mentioned was as follows; in the first place, both parties submitting themselves to the judgment of the said[38] lord archbishop under a penalty of one thousand pounds, among other things he imposed this burden on the monastery of Croyland: that the abbat and community thereof should pay an annual sum of ten pounds to the said monastery of Burgh, until lands of the said value should have been purchased at the proper expense of the said abbat and community, and delivered into the proper hands of the monastery of Burgh St. Peter, or until, at the like expense, the church of Brynkhurst or Eston in the county of Leicester, which is in the patronage of the said monastery of Burgh St. Peter, should have been appropriated by or united to the said monastery. An option of this nature being accordingly given by the award, of following the one course or the other, the before-named Edmund, by the advice and consent of the members of the chapter, determined by every possible means to follow the second course, and make an appropriation of the said church of Brynkhurst to the perpetual use of the monastery of Burgh; which, however, could not be done, in contravention of the statutes of the realm, unless the royal licence should be first had and obtained. So cautiously, however, and so diligently did he, through the medium of his friends, employ all possible labour, energy, and outlay, that at length he was found deserving to gain the end desired. For he obtained letters patent of the king granting a licence to that effect, and directed to the convent and abbat of Burgh; an account of which, and the whole of the process thence ensuing, will perhaps be written at greater length by some other person hereafter in its proper place:[39] as it is the usage with those who write history to be silent upon the actions of living persons, lest a description of their vices should prove productive of odium, and a recital of their virtues be imputed to the writers as so much adulation.

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[37] This may be the meaning of the passage, but it is evidently imperfect.

[38] See p. 494.

[39] See p. 514.

Influenced by this consideration, the writer before-mentioned determined to end his labours with the death of king Richard; only adding the fact that, after the victory of the said king Henry the Seventh, and the ceremonies of his anointing and coronation, on the last day but one of the following month, by the hand of the most reverend father, Thomas, cardinal archbishop of Canterbury, and in due conformity with the ancient custom, the marriage was celebrated, which had from the first been hoped for, between him and the lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of king Edward the Fourth. This was duly solemnized, at the instance and urgent entreaty of all the three estates of the realm, in presence of the Church, on the eighteenth day of the month of January, in the year of our Lord, according to the computation of the Roman Church, 1486; a dispensation having been first obtained from the Apostolic See on account of the fourth degree of consanguinity, within which the king and queen were related to each other. And although, by these means, peace was graciously restored, still, the rage of some of the malignants was not averted, but, immediately after Easter, a sedition was set on foot by these ingrates in the North, whence every evil takes its rise; and this, even although the king was staying in those parts. Taking note of this, he who has written this narrative, has added to the preceding history, for the inspection of posterity, a few lines of exhortation on peace and long-suffering, to the following effect:

"Thou who dost read these changes in the fate
Of mighty men, must needs despise the frail
And unsubstantial glories of this world
Why should its fleeting pomps and short-liv'd pride
Enthral thy mind? Full many a king has fall'n,
Who to another had disdain'd to bow
His head Emerging from the palace doors,
Others have enter'd at the postern gate;
Eager for rule, and, for their private ends,
Ready the common weal to sacrifice.
Nor age, nor blood, nor valour in the field
Shall now ensure a king his rights. Let those
Who come hereafter be upon their guard,
And know that o'er a populace they rule,
Fickle and fond of novelty—"

In the same composition, the Poet also alludes to the failure after such vast preparations made by king Edward for the expedition against France; the like of which will never be seen again—

"Gaul hath escap'd our vengeance, and we ourselves
Have pierc'd our vitals with our own good swords.
Now this, now that side conquering, this realm
Hath been the prey of factions. But since God
Hath now united them, and made but one
Of these two factions, let us be content.
A better fortune will ensue, if we
Receive these timely blessings of the Lord
With grateful hearts. But, if the blood-stain'd sword
Should still remain suspended, and great Jove
Cease not to hurl his lightnings, then must we
Bear our misfortunes with a patient mind."

I shall now subjoin some lines written in praise of this monastery, which begin as follows:

"How sweet to be one of a brotherhood
Where envy is unknown. Such praise alone
Our Croyland claims, and as her own demands.
Here concord ever reigns, all strife afar;
Here do we recognize the grateful rights
Of hospitality; and every guest
Is amply cater'd for, and without charge.
This to her praise we tell, for we ourselves
Have witness'd it; and how within her fane
Devoutness hath subdued the minds of men.
The humble heart, the look sincere and frank,
The foot unfalt'ring, and the voice attun'd
To praise of the eternal God, find here
A holy refuge. May their pious life
Meet its reward in heav'n; and, while for you
I breathe a brother's prayer, my every good
I recommend to yours—well may they fare,
Who wish for you the same. In Christ, Farewell."

This was done and completed at Croyland, in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six, in the space of ten days: the last of which was the last day of the month of April in the said year.

# A FOURTH CONTINUATION

## OF THE

# HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

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Although the person who wrote the History immediately preceding, whoever he may have been, has brought his work to a close, at a point beyond which, for the reasons stated by him, he did not think proper to proceed; still, as I find, each day, something worthy of remark, and of such a nature, that if it be not immediately committed to writing, it may either be lost in oblivion or suffer from an unfaithful relation, I do not hesitate to write what follows, by way of Continuation of the preceding History. In so doing, I have determined to set an example to those who shall come after us, to the end that they may be encouraged, in a similar manner, at once to commit to writing such events as may happen in their times.

After the coronation of king Henry had been solemnly performed on the day above-mentioned, a Parliament was held at Westminster, on which so many matters were treated of (I wish I could say "all *ably* treated of"), that the compendious nature of this narrative cannot aspire to comprise an account of the whole of them. Among other things, proscriptions, or, as they are more commonly called, "attainders," were voted against thirty persons; a step which, though bespeaking far greater moderation than was ever witnessed under similar circumstances in the time of king Richard or king Edward, was not taken without considerable discussion, or, indeed, to speak more truly, considerable censure, of the measures so adopted. Oh God! what assurance, from this time forth, are our kings to have, that, in the day of battle, they will not be deprived of the assistance of even their own subjects, when summoned at the dread mandate[39] of their sovereign? for, a thing that has been too often witnessed, it is far from improbable, that, deserted by their adherents, they may find themselves bereft of inheritance, possessions, and even life itself.

In this Parliament, the sovereignty was confirmed to our lord the king, as being his due, not by one, but by many titles: so that we are to believe that he rules most rightfully over the English people, and that, not so much by right of blood as of conquest and victory in warfare. There were some persons, however, who were of opinion that words to that effect might have been more wisely passed over in silence than inserted in our statutes; the more especially, because, in the very same Parliament, a discussion took place, and that, too, with the king's consent, relative to his marriage with the lady Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of king Edward; in whose person it appeared to all that every requisite might be supplied, which was wanting to make good the title of the king himself. But more, perhaps, on this subject hereafter.

This general sitting of Parliament being concluded, the king kept the festival of Easter at Lincoln; whither news was brought of the death of the most noble father, cardinal, Thomas Bourchier, and archbishop of Canterbury. He died in Easter week, in the year 1486, A being the Dominical letter; just as, thirty-nine years before, under the same Dominical letter, and in the same week of the festival of Easter, a great cardinal of England, Henry Beaufort by name, bishop of Winchester, had departed this life, it being the year 1447. The following is the noble lineage of each of these prelates, each being, in pedigree, lineally descended from king Edward the Third:—Henry, bishop of Winchester, was descended from him in the second degree, through his father, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of the said king Edward; while Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, was descended from him in the third degree, through his mother, the countess of Stafford, and the father of the said countess, Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, another son of the aforesaid king Edward the Third.

There recurs to my recollection, at the moment while I am writing this account of these circumstances, a praiseworthy deed, and one most deserving of all imitation by others, of that glorious and Catholic man, the said cardinal bishop of Winchester. When he was ill and at the point of death at his palace of Wolnesey, near his cathedral church of Saint Swithun, in the said year 1447, he caused all the ecclesiastics, religious, and laymen in the vicinity to be summoned to the great hall of the palace, on the Saturday on which the office *Sitientes* [those who thirst] is chaunted, and which immediately precedes the Sunday of the Passion of our Lord. Here he had a solemn funeral service and the mass of the *Requiem* performed in his presence, as he lay on his bed; and, on the fifth day after,[40] the whole of the office was performed by the prior of that cathedral church in full pontificals. Shortly after the funeral service, his last will and testament was publicly read aloud in presence of all; and, certain corrections and codicils[41] having been added by him thereto, on the morning after the mass was performed, publicly and in an audible voice he confirmed all his said testamentary dispositions, which were then once more read over, after which, he bade farewell to all, and departed this life at the time above-mentioned. For, he who wrote this account, was present, and both saw and heard all these things, and we know that his witness is true. Having thus digressed a little, we will hasten to return to the acts and fortunes of the king.

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[39] The text seems to be in a defective state here. He probably alludes to the desertion of Richard by his party at the battle of Bosworth.

On passing from Lincoln on his way to York, by his castle of Nottingham, he there heard various rumours of a certain rising[42] of the people in the north; upon which, for the more securely establishing his position, he caused a great multitude of men, but all of them unarmed, to be summoned and collected from the county of Lincoln; it being his wish to appear rather to pacify than exasperate the people who were opposed to him. When he had come to York, and was intent upon his devotions, on the feast of Saint George, he was nearly slain by means of a stratagem on part of the enemy. The earl of Northumberland, however, prudently quelled this insurrection at its first beginning, and caused certain of those who had prompted the movement to be hanged on the gallows: after which, the king returned in peace towards the southern parts.

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[40] This account of the death of Cardinal Beaufort differs very materially from the picture painted of that scene by Shakspeare in his King Henry VI., Part 2; and which is supposed, in some respects, to have been founded on the account given in Hall's Chronicle.

[41] These were added on the seventh and ninth of April. He died on the eleventh.

[42] Headed by lord Lovel, and Humphrey and Thomas Stafford.

While these commotions were still going on in the north, there came to the house of Croyland the reverend man, John Russell, bishop of Lincoln, and stayed there the space of a whole month, making payment every week for himself and a retinue of twenty persons, on such terms as were deemed satisfactory by both parties. During this period, a conference was held at Singlesholt with the abbat of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, as to the mode and order of proceeding in the matter of the appropriation of the church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, and how much should be held to be payable each year by that church for indemnification due to the bishops, archdeacons, and the cathedral church; upon which, the said bishop, with the express desire and consent of the before-named abbat, appointed a day and place, in the parish church of Croyland, when and where the Proctor of the abbat and convent of Burgh, having received full powers to act as Proctor, should appear. This was, accordingly, done; and, at the prayer of the said Proctor, the matter of the said union or appropriation was in all respects discussed, and, by sentence of the bishop judicially pronounced, in all respects concluded; the said Proctor being present, and giving his entire consent thereto, as well as the before-named abbat of Croyland, who, according to the force and effect of the said award, bore and paid throughout all and singular the costs and expenses necessary in that behalf. We have here inserted the form of this act of impropriation:

"To all sons of Holy Mother Church, to whom these our present letters shall come, or to whom this public instrument shall come, John, by the Divine permission, bishop of Lincoln, health in the Lord everlasting. It behoveth all Catholic bishops, within the limits of their respective jurisdictions, to give their especial attention to those things which concern the peace and tranquillity of convents of the religious; and more especially of those, the proximity of the confines of which may more readily give cause and occasion for dissensions;

as also, at the same time, in every way to provide for the preservation of peace and tranquillity in this behalf. For this reason we do bring it to the notice of all of you, that, in the matter under-written of the union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, in our diocese of Lincoln, with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, in the same our diocese, it being the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six, then current, and the fourth year of the indiction, and the second of the pontificate of the most holy father and lord in Christ, the lord Innocent, by the Divine Providence the Eighth pope of that name, on the twenty-second day of April, in the parish church of Croyland, within the conventual church of the monastery of Saints Bartholomew the Apostle, and Guthlac the Confessor, of Croyland, in our said diocese, and on the northern side of the said conventual church we publicly sitting, before us there judicially and in judgment seated, there did personally appear in court the religious man, the lord John Croyland, a brother of the said monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, and Proctor thereof, appointed to act as Proctor in the name and behalf of the venerable and religious men, the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid; and that, he having in his hands and actually producing his commission of Proctorship sealed with the common seal of the said monastery of Burgh, as also the royal letters containing therein the royal licence granted to proceed in the matter aforesaid, we were, often and urgently, and with no small importunity, entreated by the same lord John Croyland, the Proctor aforesaid, that we would deign to make inquisition and to proceed in the said matter of the union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation of the parish church aforesaid, in such manner as should be canonical, and to examine the reasons for making such union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation, and duly to expedite the said matter. Wherefore, we, John, the bishop before-named, there sitting in judgment, and being of opinion that the requisition to the said effect was just and consonant with reason, at the instance and prayers of the Proctor before-mentioned, did determine so to make inquisition and to proceed, so far as should be duly canonical, in the matter aforesaid; there being then present

Masters Thomas Hutton, Doctor of Laws, and William Spencer and William Miller, clerks and notaries public, specially summoned and invited to be witnesses to the premises: and, all and singular the premises being so arranged, we, John, the bishop before-named, still there sitting in judgment, did name and appoint the discreet man, Master William Spencer, clerk and notary public, before-mentioned, to act as our secretary in the said matter, so far only as setting forth the things to be done in this behalf, and did make him there to remain with us, for the purpose of faithfully writing down all and singular the things then done in this present matter, in the order and succession in which the same should take place. And forthwith, the said lord John Croyland, the Proctor before-named, in virtue of his Proctorship, then and there did actually produce the commission of his said Proctorship, of which mention has been made above, in writing, and sealed in white wax with an impression of the common seal of the said monastery, and did take upon him to act in the aforesaid business in behalf of his masters, the said abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh: of which commission of Proctorship so granted to the said Proctor, the tenor was to the following effect:—

"Be it known unto all men by these presents, that we, William Ramsey, abbat of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, of the order of Saint Benedict, in the diocese of Lincoln, and the convent of the said place, having the advowson and the right of patronage of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, in the said diocese, and well known to be patrons of the said parish church, do by these presents, name, ordain, make, and appoint our dearly beloved brethren in Christ, John Gente, John Croyland, and Richard Sutton, monks of our said monastery, jointly and severally, and each of them by himself, wholly and solely, that so any one of them who has begun to act may not have more force and effect than the others, but that what any one of them has begun, any other of them may be at liberty by himself to carry into effect and conclude, our true and lawful proctors, agents, factors, and managers of our business, and our especial deputies; and we do give and do grant, and by the tenor of these presents do give and do grant to the same our Proctors, jointly, and to each of them, by himself, severally and wholly as before-stated, general power and special authority, for us, and in the names of us and of our said monastery, in a certain matter of union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, with the before-named monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, canonically to be made, to appear before the reverend father and lord, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of Lincoln, his commissary or commissaries in that behalf deputed or to be deputed; as also to give and propound, and pray, and obtain, to be admitted, any article or articles, and any other petitions whatsoever, whether of a summary, solemn, or simple nature, and to declare, allege, propound, and prove the reason and reasons for the union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation aforesaid; and, as to the truth of the said reasons, to make oath required by law, as also to cause and procure the truth to be testified and declared as to the said reasons and the validity thereof; and to produce and exhibit, and demand to be admitted, the testimony of witnesses, letters, and instruments, both public and private, and all other kinds of proof whatsoever; and to demand witnesses in this behalf to be produced to be sworn and examined, and to see their words and evidence duly published; as also to swear, and to give and make any lawful oath whatsoever upon our souls, which shall be necessary or requisite in this behalf; and to demand that the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, before-named, together with all the lands, tenements, revenues, rights, and appurtenances, to the said church pertaining, or in any way belonging, with the before-named monastery of Burgh Saint Peter and us, the abbat and convent aforesaid and our successors, may, under the authority of the reverend father before-named, be united, annexed, and incorporated: and that the said monastery and parish church, saving always the portion of the perpetual vicar of the said church from ancient times set apart, limited, and appointed, may be consolidated, and to ask, hear, and see that sentence or final decree of union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation aforesaid, is pronounced and published; and likewise to ask and obtain the consent of all persons whatsoever having any interest in this behalf, the same to be really and effectually had and given, to the union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation aforesaid, and to the final decree for the same, as also to the whole and entire process in this behalf to be had, and in its various steps and successively to be carried on. and after such union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation aforesaid, to ask and to see that it is decreed, and is effectually ordered and enjoined that we, so empowering them as aforesaid, or our Proctors for us, shall be inducted and placed in real and bodily possession of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston before-named, and all other its and our appurtenances, saving always the portion of the perpetual vicar, as previously stated; and to obtain possession to that effect, and when so obtained to continue and preserve the same. We do also authorize them to ask for and obtain letters testimonial or other public instruments of and concerning the union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation before-mentioned, and that the same shall be ratified by the seal of the venerable father before-named; and to promote the matter of the said union, annexation, incorporation and consolidation, unto the final and effectual conclusion thereof, and duly to prosecute, manage and complete the execution of the decree before-mentioned; and to treat of and communicate upon, the indemnifications, unto the before named reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of Lincoln, and his future successors, as also, the lords the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln and the archdeacon of Leicester, for the time being, and their future successors, such indemnifications being due by reason of the said union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation; and, in our name, to consent and assent to the assignment, limitation, and transfer of any yearly payment for and in place of such indemnifications, by the before-named reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of Lincoln, to be agreed upon, and, by his authority, in this behalf to be made; as also to bind us and our monastery, when it shall be so, as already stated, united to the parish church aforesaid, to make payment of any sums whatever which shall in name of the indemnifications aforesaid, by the authority of the reverend father before-named, be assigned and limited, the same to be faithfully made by us and our successors in our said monastery; and in our name to offer, set forth, and give securities both by oath and by sureties for the payment of the said sums as already stated, as also all other securities whatsoever which shall be necessary and sufficient in this behalf; and likewise to make challenge and appeal, and to demand and receive oath upon the Apostles, and to substitute any other or others as Proctor or Proctors, in place of them or any one of them, and to revoke the substitution of such substitute or substitutes, and to resume to himself or themselves the office of Proctor, and exercise the same, so often as and when it shall seem best and most expedient to them or any one of them, their present Proctorship in the meantime remaining valid and of full effect: and generally to make, do, and execute, all and singular other the things in and about the premises which may be necessary thereto, or which may in any way at their pleasure seem desirable, although the same may demand of them an authorization more special than is in these presents set forth, and which we ourselves, so appointing them, would have made, done, or executed, or ought to have made, done, or executed, in case we had been personally present in the premises. We, the before-named abbat and convent, so appointing them, do also promise that we will for ever hold as ratified, good, and established, all and whatsoever our said Proctors, or those by them to be substituted, shall do, or any one of them shall do in the premises or any one of the premises; and will abide by the judgment, and will do what shall be adjudged, under pledge and obligation of forfeiting all our goods both present and to come; and in that behalf we do by these presents make offer of the said security. In testimony whereof we have to these presents set our common seal, the same being given in our Chapter-house, on the twenty-first day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six."

"Accordingly, we sitting there in judgment, in presence of the Proctor of the said abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh aforesaid, appeared there, personally in court, the discreet man, Master William Miller, clerk and notary public, and Proctor, as he stated, of the venerable men, the lords the dean and chapter of our cathedral church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln, and before us actually produced the commission of his Proctorship by his said masters granted to him, and signed with the impression in green wax of their common seal, and made his appearance in behalf of the same his masters in the matter before-named. At the same time also, appeared there, personally in court, in presence of the Proctors before-named, the discreet man, Master Roger Wood, Master of Arts, who stated that he was the Proctor of the honorable man, Master Richard Langueder, Doctor of Laws, our archdeacon of Leicester, in our cathedral church aforesaid, within the precincts of whose archdeacoury is situate the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston * * * and then and there actually produced the commission of his Proctorship, set forth in writing, and sealed with the impression in red wax of the seal which the before-named Master Richard Langueder, our official in the diocese of Lincoln, uses by right of his holding the said office, and made his appearance in behalf of the said archdeacon, his master, in the matter before-named. The terms of the commission of Proctorship of the Proctors of the said dean and chapter, and of the archdeacon, of which mention is made above, were in words as follow;

"Be it known unto all men by these presents, that we, Philip Lipyat, Licentiate in Laws, Subdean of the Cathedral church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln, in the absence of the Dean of the said church, and with the unanimous consent and assent of the Chapter of the said church, do, by these presents, ordain, make, name, and appoint, our dearly beloved in Christ, Masters Thomas Hutton, Doctor of Laws, Canon of the Cathedral church aforesaid, Andrew Bensted, Master of Arts, William Spencer, John Bevyll, and William Miller, clerks and notaries public, jointly and severally, and each of them, by himself, wholly and solely, that no any one of them who has begun to act may not have more force and effect than the others, but that what any one of them has begun, any other of them may be at liberty by himself to conclude and carry into effect, our true and lawful proctors, agents, factors, and managers of our business, and our especial deputies; and we do give and do grant to the same, our Proctors, jointly, and to each of them by himself, as before stated, severally and wholly, general power and special authority, for us, and in the names of us and of the said cathedral church, to proceed and to view proceedings in a certain matter of union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, in the diocese of Lincoln, with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, in the said diocese, and the abbat and convent thereof for the time being and all their future successors whatsoever in the said monastery, the same to be duly and canonically made, before the reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of

Lincoln, or his commissary in that behalf deputed or to be deputed; as also to be present and to see that the witnesses, letters, instruments, and other documents in proof in that behalf necessary and requisite, are produced, and that the said witnesses are admitted and sworn, and that their words and attestations are duly published: also, in like manner, to give our consent and assent, and in our name really and effectually to consent and assent, that the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, before-named, together with all its rights and appurtenances, shall be canonically united, annexed, incorporated, and consolidated with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid, the abbat and convent thereof for the time being, and their successors for all future time whatsoever, the same to be held for ever to their own proper use; and, if need shall be, to dissent from the same; saving always to ourselves and our successors, a certain yearly payment of six shillings and eightpence of and from the fruits and profits of the parish church of Brynkhurst aforesaid, the same to be paid for ever in each year at the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, as and for an indemnification to us and our successors; and to demand and see that the parish church of Eston aforesaid, and the fruits, rents, profits, rights, incomes, offerings, tenths, and all and singular the emoluments whatsoever of the said church, are bound to payment and security for payment of the yearly sum aforesaid, and that the said abbat, and convent, and all their successors whatsoever are charged with payment of the said sum to us and our successors, in manner before stated, for ever; and in our name to receive all other bonds and securities whatsoever sufficient in that behalf; and to make demand, and to hear, sentences both interlocutory and definite, given and pronounced, and other enactments, ordinances, and decrees, in that behalf requisite, made and ordained, and to consent to the same, or otherwise, if needs be, to dissent therefrom; as also to carry out the said matter of union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation, until and unto the final close thereof, and so to conclude the same; and to substitute any other Proctor or Proctors whatsoever, in the place of them and of each of them, and to revoke each substitution, and to resume to themselves the duties of such Proctor, so often as, and when it shall seem good and expedient to them or to any one of them: and generally, to make, do, and execute all and singular other the things in and about the premises which may be necessary thereto, or in any way desirable, although the same may require of them an authorization more special than is in these presents set forth. We do also promise that we will for ever hold as ratified, good, and established, all and whatsoever our said Proctors, or those by them substituted or to be substituted shall do, or any one of them shall do, in the premises or any one of the premises; and will abide by the judgment, and will do what shall be adjudged under pledge and obligation of forfeiting all our goods; and in that behalf we do by these presents, make offer of the said security. In testimony whereof, we have to these presents set our common seal, the same being given in our chapter-house on the first day of the month of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six."

"Be it known to all men by these presents, that we, Richard Langueder, Doctor of Laws, archdeacon of Leicester in the cathedral church of Lincoln and officer of the consistory court of Lincoln, have named, ordained, made, and appointed, and do by the tenor of these presents, name, ordain, make, and appoint our dearly beloved in Christ, Masters Thomas Hutton, Doctor of Laws, Andrew Bensted, and Roger Wood, Masters of Arts, and William Spencer, John Bevil, and William Miller, clerks and notaries public, jointly and severally, and each of them, by himself wholly and solely, that so any one of them who has begun to act may not have more force and effect than the others, but that what any one of them has begun, any other of them may be at liberty by himself to continue, conclude, and carry into effect, our true and lawful proctors, agents, factors, and managers of our business, and our especial deputies: and we do give and do grant to the same our Proctors, jointly, and to each of them by himself, as before stated, severally and wholly, general power and especial authority, for us and in the name of us and of our said archdeaconry, to appear in a certain matter of union, annexation, incorporation, appropriation, and consolidation of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, in the diocese of Lincoln, with its rights and appurtenances, with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, in the said diocese, the same to be duly and canonically made, before the reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of Lincoln, or any his commissary whatsoever, in that behalf appointed; as also to hear the reasons for the said union, annexation, appropriation, and consolidation, and as to the reasons so admitted and pronounced, to estimate the validity of them and each of them: and to consent, and in like manner to make and give our assent and consent, that the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston aforesaid, together with its lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, profits, commodities, and all other its rights and appurtenances whatsoever, shall be canonically united, annexed, and incorporated with the monastery of Burgh aforesaid, and the abbat and convent thereof, and all their successors in future times whatsoever: saving always unto ourselves and our successors, archdeacons of Leicester, a certain yearly payment in each year to come, as and for an indemnification to our said dignified office; seeing that the said parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, is known to be situate within the precincts and circuit of our archdeaconry aforesaid—the same to be faithfully paid; and to demand, see, and obtain, that the said parish church, and the yearly fruits thereof, for all future time, are bound and charged for security of payment being made of the said yearly sum; and to prosecute, carry on, and conclude the said matter of union, annexation, incorporation, and consolidation, until and unto the final close thereof, and so to finish the same, and to make, do, and execute all and singular other the things in and about the premises, which may be necessary thereto, or in any way desirable, although the said things may be such as by their nature may require an authorization more special than is set forth in the premises, and which we ourselves would have done, made, or executed, in case we had been personally present in the premises. We also, the archdeacon before-named, do promise, for ourselves and our successors, that we will for ever hold as ratified, good, and established, all and whatsoever our said Proctors, or any one of them shall do in the premises or any of the premises; and will abide by the judgment, and will do what shall be adjudged under pledge, and obligation of forfeiting all our goods, and in that behalf we do by these presents make offer of the said security In testimony whereof, because we do not happen to have the seal of our aforesaid archdeaconry at hand, we have to these presents set the seal of our office aforesaid. Given, so far as the sealing of these presents, at Stamford, on the fifth day of the month of

April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand four hundred and eighty-six."

"After these premises had been completed, the before-named lord John Croyland, the Proctor of the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh aforesaid, in their names, did before us judicially and actually present the royal letters containing the royal licence granted to the said abbat and convent, for despatching the said matter of union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation, the same being sealed with an impression of the king's great seal on wax of a green colour, in presence of the Proctors there before us still in person remaining, of the lords before-named, the dean and chapter and the archdeacon, to whom reference has been made above; the tenor whereof was to the following effect:

"Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting. Know ye that we, of our special grace, as also at the humble prayer of Edmund, abbat, and the convent of Croyland, have granted and given permission, and by these presents do grant and do give permission, for ourselves and for our heirs, so far as in us lies, unto our dearly beloved in Christ, the abbat of Burgh Saint Peter and the convent of the said place, and their successors, that they shall be empowered and enabled for ever, for themselves and their successors, to appropriate, unite, annex, and consolidate, the church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, in the county of Leicester, and in the diocese of Lincoln, together with all the rights and emoluments, thereof whatsoever both spiritual and temporal, with the said abbat and convent, and their successors, and their house and church aforesaid, and when so united, appropriated, annexed and consolidated, to hold, possess, and retain the same to their own proper use; and that, without in any way taking, making, or paying any fine or fee for the same to our use, and without any writ being in any way had or issued of *Ad quod damnum*,[13] by reason of the premises, and without any demand, let, or hindrance on part of ourselves, or of our heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, or other the bailiffs or servants of ourselves or of any of our heirs whatsoever. We do will, however, that the vicarage or vicar of the church aforesaid, or in the said church, sufficiently * * * * * and a certain sum of money from the fruits and profits thereof each year to be paid and distributed by the diocesan of the said place, shall be divided among the poor parishioners of the said church, according to the form of the statute in that behalf made and provided. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be made. Witness, myself, at Westminster, this twenty-fifth day of February, in the first year of our reign."

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[13] A writ to enquire whether a grant intended to be made by the sovereign will be to the damage of him or others.

"The royal licence being then and there by us inspected and understood, the before-named lord John Croyland, the Proctor aforesaid, in name thereof, and in presence of the others, that is to say, the Proctors of the lords the dean and chapter and the archdeacon, who were still present, then and there did actually propound a certain article or petition, set forth in writing, and urgently requested that the same might be admitted and that inquisition might be made thereon, and that he might be decreed to be admitted, and so be effectually admitted, to make proof of what was set forth and contained in the same. The tenor of the said article or petition is set forth in the form of words which follows:

"In the name of God, Amen. Before you the reverend father and lord in Christ, John, by the grace of God, lord bishop of Lincoln, or your commissary in this behalf last appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, on part of the religious men, the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, of the order of Saint Benedict, in your diocese of Lincoln, patrons of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, in the same your diocese, and canonically holding the right of advowson and patronage in the said church, in the matter underwritten, it is, in such mode, manner, and form, as it may be best, most usefully, and most efficiently, consistently with what is lawful, said, alleged, and in these writings, lawfully propounded: That the abbat and convent before-named have been and are the true and lawful patrons of the parish church of Brynkhurst aforesaid, and that the right of patronage and advowson thereof, have anciently and from ancient times, and have in times and from a time to which the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, peacefully and inviolably belonged, do belong, and for ever ought to belong unto the monastery aforesaid, and the abbat and convent thereof for the time being: And that the present abbat and convent, have been, and still are, through and by reason of the premises, openly, publicly, and notoriously, commonly held, had, called, named, and reputed to be the true and lawful patrons and the canonical possessors of the said rights of patronage and advowson: and that, between the venerable monasteries of Burgh Saint Peter and of Saint Bartholomew the Apostle and Saint Guthlac of Croyland, of the order of Saint Benedict, in your diocese of Lincoln, holding lands and territories close adjoining to each other, and without limits sufficiently set forth, there have long prevailed, and have arisen, now on the one side and now on the other, strifes, dissensions, quarrels, and disputes, the which have notoriously caused, and still do cause, to the communities of both convents many vexations, expenses, and damages, by both greatly impeding and lessening the worship of God, and the due observance of hospitality, in the said places, to such a degree that unless by means of the moderate measures of wholesome counsel, provision shall be duly made for the indemnifying of each, the advantages and prosperity of the one monastery or the other, or perhaps, which may God forbid, of both, must be utterly sacrificed: And that, for the purpose of allaying strifes, dissensions, quarrels, and disputes of the said nature, and of encouraging and nourishing peace and concord amongst the parties aforesaid, (seeing that only in the time of peace is the Author of all peace duly worshipped), and to the end that thereby the duties of hospitality as well as the worship of God may be promoted in either monastery, it has seemed that the same could not be more conveniently brought about or provided for, than by an arrangement that the parish church of Brynkhurst aforesaid, together with its lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, and profits, as also all the advantages to the said church belonging, (saving always the portion from ancient times reserved and set apart for the support of the perpetual vicar of the said church), should be duly and canonically united, annexed, incorporated, and granted, for their own proper use for ever to be held, to the said lords the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid and their successors, at the costs and expenses of the said lords the abbat and convent of the monastery of Croyland. All and every of which things have been and are true, public, notorious, manifest, and well known; and public rumour and report have long treated of and still do treat of the same. Wherefore, the sureties having been given which were required in this behalf, it is prayed on behalf of the said lords, the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, that the reasons for the union, annexation, incorporation, and appropriation aforesaid, and above set forth, shall be admitted, and that it shall be pronounced and declared as to the same and the validity thereof; and that the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston aforesaid, together with its lands and tenements, rents and services, fruits, proceeds, and all the advantages thereof, may by and with the licence of the king's majesty, and the consent and assent of all and singular the parties having an interest in the said matter, be duly and canonically united, annexed, incorporated, and appropriated to the aforesaid monastery of Burgh Saint Peter and the abbat and convent thereof, and all their future successors whatsoever, and may, saving always the portion aforesaid of the perpetual vicar, be granted for ever to be held to the proper use of the said abbat and convent of Burgh, and their successors; and that the said monastery and parish church, saving always the portion of the perpetual vicar aforesaid, may be consolidated; and that the abbat and convent, for the time being, of the monastery of Burgh aforesaid, may be decreed, by themselves or by their Proctors, to be inducted into real, corporal, and actual possession of the said parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, and of the lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, and proceeds thereof, so soon as it shall happen that the said parish church is vacant, by reason either of the resignation, cession, or death of Master John Tapton, the present rector thereof, or in any other lawful way, and may then be effectually inducted therein; and that leave may be effectually granted and given by you, and by means of your sentence and decree, Reverend Father before-named, unto them, the abbat and convent of Burgh, so soon as the same shall happen to be vacant in manner aforesaid, to enter upon the same, and to take possession thereof, together with all the rights and appurtenances above-mentioned, and, after possession so taken, to keep and continue to keep the same: and that further, all things may be enacted and decreed to be done in the premises, and in all matters concerning the same, which shall be consistent with law and reason. All which things are propounded and prayed to be done, on part of the said abbat and convent of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid, jointly and severally; the said parties not restricting themselves to the proof of all and singular the premises, nor yet undertaking the burden of making any superfluous proof, against which they do hereby protest; but, confining themselves solely to those things which shall suffice in this behalf lawfully to manifest their intention to establish their right; and, saving in all things what is for their benefit, in this behalf, Reverend Father before-named, humbly invoking your aid.

"And we, John, the bishop before-named, seeing that it would be meritorious to grant to this prayer that which is only just, and regarding the contents and tenor of the said article or petition, which we there did have and hold as set forth and fully understood, did, at the instance and prayer of the said Proctor, so propounding and praying, as before stated, as also with the consent and assent of the said Masters William Miller and Roger Ward, the Proctors of the lords the dean and chapter and our archdeacon of Leicester before-named, judicially decree that the said article or petition should be admitted, and that inquisition should be made of and concerning the truth of the matters in the said article or petition contained; and that the said Proctor of the said abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh, should be admitted to make proofs of the contents of the said article or petition; and we did name and appoint unto the before-named John Croyland, the Proctor aforesaid, the Monday then next ensuing, and the eighth hour before mid-day of the same day, at the parish church of Croyland aforesaid, for him to produce witnesses and all other kinds of proof whatsoever, to him belonging in this behalf, the same being granted at the prayer of the said Proctor of the abbat and convent aforesaid; so continuing and proroguing the said matter, in the plight in which it then was, until the said day, hour, and place.

"Accordingly, upon the said Monday, at the eighth hour before mid-day of the same day, in the church aforesaid, we then sitting there in judgment, in presence of the Proctors then personally present of the lords the dean and chapter and the archdeacon before-named, the lord John Croyland, the Proctor of the abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, and in their name, did produce John Hyeremouth, John

Douthfiere, William Digle, John Slyng, and William Spencer, of Croyland, and Thomas Grace, and Robert Austhorp, of Peterborough, as witnesses to depose to and upon the truth of the contents of the said article or petition above-specified, as also to undergo the examination by us, and of our authority, in that behalf to be made; and did urgently request that the said persons might by us be received, admitted, and, after the form of swearing witnesses, sworn and examined. Upon which, the said John Hyeremouth, John Douthfiere, William Digle, John Slyng, William Spencer, Thomas Grace, and Robert Austhorp, the witnesses before-named, then and there, by our commands, touching the Holy Evangelists of God, did make oath upon the same, that they would speak all and every the truth in this behalf, to the best of their knowledge, all love, hatred, fear, solicitation, reward, and all other things whatsoever like thereunto, utterly removed and set aside. The burden of the examination of all and singular which witnesses in this behalf to be made, we, being then occupied with other business, so as not to be able to give our personal attention to the examination of their evidence herein, did, by the consent and assent both of the before-named lord John Croyland, the Proctor of the said abbat and convent of Burgh, and of the before-named Masters William Miller and Roger Wood, the Proctors aforesaid, fully entrust unto the venerable man, Master Thomas Hutton, Doctor of Laws, then present, who did willingly accept and undertake the same; and we did then and there give and grant unto the said Master Thomas full power to do the same, acting in our behalf, and to examine them orally and by word of mouth: and did then and there continue and prorogue the aforesaid matter, in its then plight, until the second hour after mid-day of the same Monday, at the parish church of Croyland aforesaid.

"At the said second hour after mid-day, on the said Monday, in the parish church of Croyland aforesaid, we, John, the bishop before-named, then sitting there in judgment, did, at the prayer and instance of the before-named lord John Croyland, and Masters William Miller and Roger Wood, the Proctors aforesaid, who did then appear and were personally present before us, publish the words and evidence of the witnesses before-named, so as aforesaid produced before us and by our authority sufficiently examined, and did then and there cause the same to be publicly declared; after publication of which words and evidence, so made as before stated, the discreet men, Masters William Miller and Roger Wood, Proctors of the lords the dean and chapter and our archdeacon of Leicester, saying before us, that, as it appeared to them, the reasons set forth in the article or petition aforesaid, for such union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation, were well and sufficiently proved, did, at the prayer and request of the before-named lord John Croyland, the Proctor of the lords the abbat and convent of Burgh, before-named, then and there spontaneously and voluntarily consent and assent to the union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation, so to be made as already stated, and did likewise give their consent and assent in that behalf. After which, the said lord John Croyland, the Proctor before-named, and in the same behalf, did often and repeatedly, with urgent prayers, request that the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston aforesaid, might, in manner above prayed in the article before stated, be united, annexed, appropriated, and incorporated, with the monastery of Burgh aforesaid, and that decree or sentence of the said union, annexation, appropriation, and incorporation, might by us be made and in that behalf pronounced, and that the other things might be done, enacted, and decreed, according as, in the aforesaid article or petition it was prayed, and that justice might be done for him in the premises. Wherefore we, John, bishop of Lincoln before-named, considering the reasons for the union, annexation, appropriation, and incorporation aforesaid, to be fully and effectually before us proved, and that the same are reasonable, and were and are of such a nature as may, by reason of the premises, be in many ways to the advantage of both of the convents before-mentioned, and wishing, so far as we were able, with all becoming speed, to bring to an end and conclusion the matter aforesaid, of which, as it is not unknown to us, the abbat and convent of the monastery of Croyland have borne and supported the whole expense, and so, duly to provide for the convenience of both the monasteries of Croyland and of Burgh Saint Peter in the premises, did, at the prayer and instance of the before-named lord John Croyland, the Proctor before-named, in presence of the before-named Masters William Miller and Roger Wood, the Proctors of the lords the dean and chapter and our archdeacon of

Leicester, then personally present, and with their assent and consent thereto expressed, determine that we would proceed to pronounce our decree or sentence in this behalf to be given, and accordingly did so proceed, and did then and there read, give, and publish our decree or sentence in writing, in words to the following effect:

"In the name of God, Amen. The merits and circumstances having been heard, understood, and fully discussed by us, John, by Divine permission, bishop of Lincoln, of a certain cause or matter of union, annexation, appropriation, and incorporation of the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, in our diocese, together with the lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, and proceeds, and all the advantages thereof whatsoever, the same canonically to be made, with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, in our diocese aforesaid, and the abbat and convent of the said monastery, and all their future successors whatsoever, and which cause or matter is being discussed before us, and is still pending, and undecided, and undisposed of; and there appearing personally before us the discreet man, brother John Croyland, a brother and monk of the said monastery of Burgh, as also the Proctor, well and sufficiently appointed of the abbat and convent of the said monastery, patrons of the aforesaid parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, and known to hold the right of patronage and the advowson of the said church; as also in presence of the discreet men, Master William Miller, clerk and notary public, Proctor of the venerable men the lords the dean and chapter of our cathedral church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln, and Master Roger Wood, Master of Arts, Proctor of the venerable man Master Richard Lavynder, Doctor of Laws, our archdeacon of Leicester, within the precincts and circuit of whose archdeaconry the said parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise Eston, is known to be situate; the said Proctors there personally appearing and being sufficiently and lawfully appointed, as from the commissions of Proctorship of the said Proctors before us in the said matter by the said Proctors severally and actually exhibited and lawfully empowering them to act in this matter or cause, sufficiently appeared; and [the said Proctor of the said abbat and convent of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid],[11] by their petition, often and urgently requesting of us that the reasons for the said union, annexation, and appropriation may by us, of our authority as ordinary, be admitted and approved of, and the validity of the same be declared and pronounced, and that the aforesaid parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, together with all its lands, tenements, rents, services, fruits, and enrolements whatsoever, may be canonically united, appropriated, annexed, and incorporated with the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter aforesaid, and the present abbat and convent thereof, and their future successors, the same to be held for ever to their own proper use, and that the said monastery and parish church may be consolidated, and that sentence or final decree may by us in this behalf be given and pronounced:—we have thought proper to proceed to give or pronounce our sentence or final decree in the said matter, and do proceed to pronounce the same, to the following effect:—

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[11] Some words to this effect are evidently omitted in the original.

"Forasmuch as, upon diligent inquisition by us and of our authority made, of and upon the reasons for the union, annexation, incorporation, appropriation, and consolidation of the premises, before us in this behalf alleged and proposed, fully, sufficiently, and canonically made, and upon the sufficient and lawful proof by witnesses before us in this behalf had and made, as also the other kinds of proofs and evidences sufficiently before us in this matter exhibited and produced, we have found and understood that the reasons for the union, annexation, incorporation, appropriation, and consolidation above specified, are true, reasonable, satisfactory, and admissible in this behalf, and that the said abbat and convent of the monastery of Burgh Saint Peter, have on their behalf, expressed their intentions in a certain article or petition on behalf of the said abbat and convent before us in the matter aforesaid actually propounded and given; in which said article or petition the causes for the said union, annexation, incorporation, appropriation, and consolidation are more fully set forth; and which said article or petition begins in the words following, the tenor thereof being to the following effect:—'In the name of God, Amen. Before you, the reverend Father and Lord in Christ, the lord bishop,' &c; and the tenor whereof we shall hold as read and as inserted herein, and have found the said intentions sufficiently set forth so far as is here under-written, and the same to be well-founded and the reasons thereof fully proved; and have found that no other matter has intervened to preclude us from proceeding to the sentence and decree aforesaid, and from giving or pronouncing the same in this behalf: therefore, we, John, the bishop before-named, considering how pious and meritorious it will be to allay and quiet the strifes, discords, disputes, and dissensions which have long continued between the before-named monasteries of Burgh and Croyland, to the heavy and almost insupportable detriment of them both, and for ever, as we do firmly hope, to put an end to the said strifes, discords, and dissensions, and to do those things which shall tend to nurture and cherish peace, amity, and brotherly love between the parties aforesaid, to the end that in the said monasteries the Divine worship and the observances of religion may be the more quietly performed, and wishing, with all the ability we can, to interpose our duteous offices herein, the licence of his royal majesty for the union, annexation, appropriation, incorporation, and consolidation aforesaid, with the said abbat and convent of Burgh, being first, as already stated, graciously granted in this behalf and obtained at the prayer and instance of the before-named the abbat and convent of Croyland, and before us, in the present matter actually produced, do, having first invoked the name of Christ, and having God Himself alone before our eyes, by the advice of persons learned in the law with whom we have held communication in this behalf, as also of the Proctors before-named of the venerable men, the lords, the dean and chapter of our Cathedral Church of the blessed Mary at Lincoln, with whom we have treated upon this union, appropriation, annexation, consolidation, and incorporation, so to be had, and, with the consent of them in chapter assembled, to be made, and of the venerable man, Master Richard Lavynder, Doctor of Laws, archdeacon of Leicester, within the precincts and circuit of whose archdeaconry the parish church of Brynkhurst, otherwise called Eston, aforesaid, is known to be situate; the said Proctors, so as aforesaid, appearing before us, and expressing the wishes, consent, and assent of both of them the said Proctors, as to the union, appropriation, annexation, incorporation, * * * * * *

[*The rest of this Continuation is lost.*]

THE END OF THE HISTORY OF CROYLAND.

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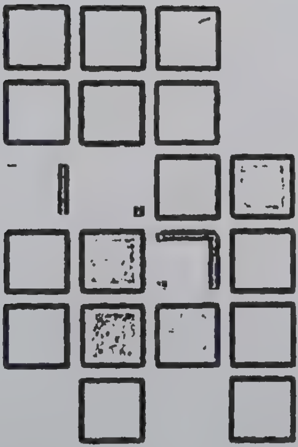

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